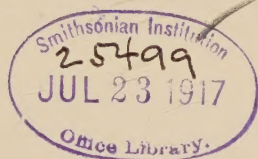


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CONTENTS OF VOLUME CXI.

JANUARY, 1917.

	PAGE
The Change of Ministry. By The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, M.P.	I
A Parallel in Statesmanship: Lincoln and Asquith. By Harry Elmore ...	11
The Red Cross at the War. By Wilson Macnair	19
The Agony of Belgium. By Demetrius C. Boulger	28
Portugal's Effort. By Aubrey F. E. Bell	37
Shall We be Poorer After the War? By J. A. Hobson	43
The Methods of Theological Reconstruction. By The Rev. Dr. R. F. Horton ...	54
Imperial Defence After the War. By A. G. Gardiner	64
Why Need We be Poisoned?—II. By Mrs. Drew	76
Our Hopes for India. By C. E. Maurice	87
Nationality and Naturalisation. By Dr. E. J. Schuster	93
The Lawyer in Politics. By G. H. Knott	100
A Theatre Reform Association. By William Poel... ..	108
Literary Supplement:—	
The Haunted Farm. By J. E. G. de Montmorency	113
Reviews of Books: The Reunion of the Churches; Treaties of Peace; Classical Education; The Virginians and Education; Historic Edinburgh	119

FEBRUARY, 1917.

A National System of Education for England and Wales. By Lord Gainford (The Right Hon. Joseph A. Pease)	137
The Theory of Trade War. By the Right Hon. J. M. Robertson, M.P. ...	145
Switzerland and the War. By O. de L.	155
The Humanising of Industry. By Percy Alden, M.P.	164
Impressions of a Recent Tour in the United States. By Sir Edwin Pears ...	172
Food Control and Hasty Decisions. By Walter W. Berry	183
West Highland Sheep-Farming. By the Rev. Angus Fletcher	190
A Book of War and Peace. By Sidney Low	197
Excavations on the Palatine. By Commendatore Prof. G. Boni	203
General Lyautey and His Work. By Charles Dawbarn	209
The Revival of the Religious Spirit in French Poetry. By the Count de Soissons ...	215
The Place of Events in Religious Experience. By the Rev. A. D. Martin ...	226
An Englishwoman in Salonika, 1916 By Mrs. Duckworth	234
The Neutrality of Moresnet. By Ch. Flor O'Squarr	242
Literary Supplement:—	
Preachers. By J. E. G. de Montmorency	249
Reviews: American Foreign Policy; Giordano Bruno; A World Outlook; A Chinese Dante	256

MARCH, 1917.

America and the War. By The Right Hon. Sir Charles Hobhouse, M.P. ...	273
Wheat Supplies of the United Kingdom. By Lord Sheffield	282
Armed Pacificism. By Sir John Macdonell, K.C.B.	290
Germany After the War. By William Harbutt Dawson	301
The Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform. (1) By Mrs. Fawcett and (2) By Joseph King, M.P.	312
The Indian Services Report. By Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.	327
Lord Cromer Behind the Scenes. By T. H. S. Escott	336
German Social Democrats and the War. By Thomas F. A. Smith, Ph.D. ...	345
The Need of a Church Theory for Church Union. By The Rev. Principal Forsyth, D.D.	357
The Genesis of National Guilds. By S. G. Hobson	366
The Brenner Pass and its Traffic in Old Days. By F. Baillie-Grohman ...	375
Literary Supplement:—	
An Epistle to Laodiceans. By J. E. G. de Montmorency	385
Reviews of Books: The Future of Labour; A Naturalist in Borneo; Lady Login's Recollections; Great Victorians; Songs and Lyrics of Russia; Much Ado About Nothing	391

INDEX.

APRIL, 1917.

	PAGE
The Dayspring in Russia. By Henry W. Nevinson	409
An Indian Catechism for the British Elector. By Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.	419
The Dardanelles—First Phase. By A. MacCallum Scott, M.P.	428
President Wilson's Pan-American Policy. By Professor Lindsay Rogers ...	437
The Value of Parliament. By Charles E. Mallet	448
Joffre's Successor, General Nivelle. By Charles Daybarn	458
Germany's Lost Colonial Empire. By John H. Harris	464
On the British Somme. By Laurence Jerrold	472
Conscription for Women. By Elizabeth Robins	478
The Armenian Massacres. By Lewis Einstein	486
The Present Financial Position of Russia. By Professor J. Y. Simpson ...	495
"Our Sons Have Shown Us God." By the Rev. Canon C. H. Robinson ...	501
Alsace-Lorraine. By Daniel Blumenthal	509
The Educational Use of the School Garden. By J. Eaton Feasey	514
Literary Supplement :—	
Pharaoh's Daughter. By J. E. G. de Montmorency	521
Reviews of Books : The Cambridge History of English Literature ;	
Cardinal Mercier, The Philosopher ; Insect Life ; Armed Merchant	
Ships	527

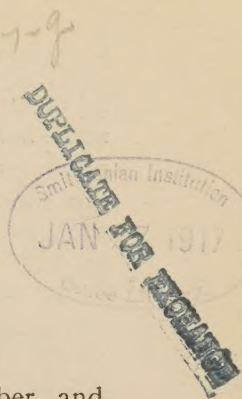
MAY, 1917.

The Report of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee. By Earl Beauchamp, K.G.	545
Some Impressions of the Russian Revolution. By Sir Paul Vinogradoff ...	553
America Then and Now : Recollections of Lincoln. By Lady Macdonell ...	562
The Report of the Agricultural Policy Sub-Committee of the Reconstruction	
Committee. By the Right Hon. F. D. Acland, M.P.	570
The Root Fault in the English Attitude to Education. By Ronald M.	
Burrows, D.Litt.	579
Ulster Home Rule : A Proposal. By Alfred Perceval Graves	588
The British Revolution. By Harold Spender	598
Parliament During the War. By the Right Hon. Thomas Lough, M.P. ...	607
The Prospect in Poland.—I. By O. de L.	618
War, Religion, and the Man-in-the-Street. By the Right Hon. Sir Joseph	
Compton-Rickett, M.P.	629
The Relations Between the Trenches. By S. Stapleton	636
Literary Supplement :—	
The Voice from the Mizzen Mast. By J. E. G. de Montmorency ...	645
Reviews of Books : President Wilson ; Swinburne ; The Grotius	
Papers ; The Reconstruction of Europe ; English Gipsies ;	
Unknown Seas	650

JUNE, 1917.

A League of Nations and its Critics. By The Right Hon. W. H. Dickinson,	
M.P.	665
America and the War. By Lord Charnwood	674
The Destiny of the Turkish Straits. By Noel Buxton, M.P.	679
The Prospect in Poland : II. By O. de L.	690
Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections. By Sir Courtenay Ilbert, G.C.B. ...	701
The Jewish Claim to Palestine. By Joseph Cowen	709
The World War and the Small States. By Johan Castberg	715
Parliament and Expenditure. By W. M. J. Williams	719
Economics of Personal Energy. By Eustace Miles... ..	727
State Housing (Rural). By Ernest Betham	734
Undesigned Experiments. By Dr. Walter Kidd, F.R.S.E.	741
The German War and the German Poets. By A. W. G. Randall	747
Orthodoxy and Heresy in the New Day. By The Rev. Willard L. Sperry ...	754
Literary Supplement :—	
The New Schoolhouse. By J. E. G. de Montmorency	761
Reviews of Books : Higher Criticism and the Old Testament ;	
Physical Welfare of Mothers and Children ; Proofs of Immor-	
tality ; Ancient Sardinia ; An Old Soldier	765

THE CHANGE OF MINISTRY.



THIS article was written in the earlier part of December, and should be read as an attempt to give an impartial account of the difficulties which led to a change of Government, and to the problems at home and abroad which the new Ministry are called upon to face. It is written from the point of view of an ordinary observer with such facts as were at the disposal of the general public, without attempting to draw upon special information. The defence of the Coalition Ministry and of its late Prime Minister must be regarded as including all his colleagues, Conservative, Liberal, and Labour alike.

In a world crisis like the present the fortunes of war determine the fate of ministries more than any personal responsibility for events. When a struggle is prolonged, and faith and patience are sorely tried, even people of moderate opinion are disposed to assume the staleness of their rulers, and become willing to accept change for the very sake of change. We have seen this in the case of countries other than our own where men of tried ability are withdrawn from duties with which they have been charged for many months in order that new minds and new methods may be tested. Much more is a Ministry open to attack from critics impatient of every reverse, full of alternative methods when the Executive has failed to accomplish victory. Once let the clouds gather and difficulties multiply, the moment has then arrived for a popular attack in a clamour for reconstruction, or even for revolution. In dealing with this we must exclude recrimination, disclaim personal motives, and attribute to the most severe newspaper critics patriotic purpose behind the wealth of invective. There is no time to waste upon temperamental differences or suggested intrigue. History will only concern itself with the large outlines of the position and will do justice to those who have first at heart the interest of their country.

There are two circumstances which are considerably responsible for the fall of the Asquith Ministry.

The first was the defeat of Roumania, and the abandonment of its Capital. Yet this tragic episode does not really concern us

so much as our Allies. It is generally believed that Roumania made her own choice; there was no attempt to force her intervention prematurely, and her invasion of Hungary was by no means part of the concerted plan of campaign. If she had held the passes leading into Transylvania until they were blocked with snow, and turned her attention to Bulgaria, it is possible that with the help of Russia and of the Anglo-French Serbian Army a line of communication might have been opened from the Mediterranean to the Danube. Probably the little which Britain could do for her new Ally was to furnish her with financial credit. The rest depended upon Russia and upon the Roumanians themselves. For reasons not yet apparent, probably through deficiency in heavy artillery, the Roumanian armies retired, Bukarest was doomed, and the Asquith Government went out of office.

The other fact of importance which has affected the situation is the renewed submarine activity of Germany. This activity is most marked in the North Sea, but it has extended to the open Atlantic. So long as the submarines limited their attention to the shallow waters of the narrow seas they were successfully handled by the British Navy through methods yet to be fully explained. But the wider distribution of submarines of larger build, and more powerfully equipped with guns, presents a fresh problem. It is not to be settled in a moment, possibly not by one kind only of naval tactics. It does not follow that the arming of merchant ships will dispose of the danger, especially if the submarine employs still heavier guns as an alternative to the torpedo. Merchant ships generally cannot be converted into battleships. Neither can we expect the Admiralty to scatter their forces when rapid concentration may be demanded at any moment. Whether by convoying fleets of merchantmen, as in the old wars, or by other methods not to be disclosed, there is no doubt that means will be found to abate considerably this attack upon our lines of maritime communication. Of course, the position is disquieting, and it has largely contributed to the overthrow of the late Government.

But what are the general charges which are urged to condemn and to disqualify the late Administration? They are accused of a failure to anticipate events. Contingencies have arisen which, it is contended, they ought to have foreseen, provided against, and handled with dispatch rather than with deliberation. Let us look at this charge as a whole. The country was suddenly plunged into war, unprepared for anything beyond a defence of these Islands and an Expeditionary Force to hearten but not to contribute much to the defence of Belgium. If the neutrality of Belgium were violated, then it was intended to co-operate with the French Forces

in stemming the first German onrush to Paris. Neither France nor Russia, our possible Allies, expected more from us at the outset. We were actually free in regard to both of them until the cause of their quarrel with Germany should be known and justified. It is admitted that the mediating efforts of this country were exercised up to the last moment possible. Can it be argued that we ought to have gone any further in the past? If we had prepared for war on a scale commensurate with our resources we should have been met by enquiries, remonstrances, and finally by threats on the part of Germany. It is not likely that a great military Empire contemplating a possible war at any moment would have permitted us to transform ourselves from a commercial nation with a powerful Navy into a military Empire of even second-class importance. The activity of our arsenals and of the armament firms would have provoked suspicion. It is true that we might have made the increase of the German Fleet a subject of remonstrance; or have precipitated war to shatter its rising pretensions, but in what position should we have placed ourselves? We should have been accused of disturbing the peace of the world by our provocative action, and should have lost the sympathy of neutral and peace-loving peoples. It is useless to urge that a scheme such as Lord Roberts suggested would have saved the situation. There was not time for it to come into force and to have appreciably increased our powers of offence and defence.

If the Government had communicated any fact to the nation which had appeared ominous it would only have accelerated German preparations. Besides which, the temper of the country was not favourable to any increase in armament, and a strong anti-war party, far more embarrassing than any that now exists, would have sprung into being. Upon a balance of disadvantage the Liberal Government could not have done otherwise than maintain its Fleet at the highest point of preparation, and see to it that its small Army was retained in these Islands and perfected in organisation. The charge of want of preparation must, therefore, fall to the ground.

But it is said that we did not understand the method of the German attack; were not acquainted with the value of high explosives; and nearly lost the War during its first few weeks through a vain reliance on the fortresses of Northern France, the modern Belgian forts, and the proud outworks of Antwerp. Perhaps we ought to have known more about the heavy German artillery, but so ought the French and Russian War Offices, not to speak of threatened Belgium. If this be a capital offence then the Cabinets of all the Powers allied in the Entente ought to have resigned during the first three months of military operations. Our

small Army with imperishable glory covered the French retreat whilst with bitter regret we left Belgium to her invaders.

But, it will be added, how long did it take the War Office to increase their supply of munitions, and to substitute high-explosive shells for shrapnel? This technical question was one for the Military to answer, and Lord Kitchener was at the head of the War Office. The public generally had not sufficient information as to the cause for the delay, but it must be presumed that there was no refusal on the part of the Government to meet the demands of the Army. At the present time, however, there is no suggestion that there is not enough and to spare of every form of munition for the conduct of the war. Yet after suffering a continuous attack of shrapnel, in various forms of criticism, the Government has been destroyed by a highly-explosive class of public opinion.

But the charges of failure are of doing too much as well as of doing too little. One school of critics accuse the Government of supineness, with a general lack of imagination and of initiative; the other of dispersing our forces about the world, overstraining our transport service, and attempting too much and too little at one and the same time.

There was much to say for a campaign in the Near East. We had to defend Egypt and the Soudan, maintain our communications with India and the Southern Hemisphere. Above all we had to join hands with Russia wherever we could best make the connection so that we might open a way for munitions, for grain, for co-ordinating her man-power with the material resources of the Allies. If we had once succeeded in depriving Turkey of the assistance of the Central Powers we should soon have released the large armies locked up in India, Egypt and Salonica. What has been the result? The Anglo-French Army was for long immobile; but Salonica is safe, and Monastir has been recovered. Gallipoli is a monument of heroic failure, and Mesopotamia is still waiting for our strategy to be justified.

There is much to admit of national misfortune in all this, but we do not execute our Generals, like the Carthaginians, when they return unsuccessful. If these mistakes are due to the insistence of a civilian Government in the face of military opposition the criticism would be grave indeed. Does anyone allege this to be the case? Is it in the least likely to be the explanation? If not, the critics cannot have it both ways. The Government have been warned not to interfere in the disposition of our naval and military forces. Are they, therefore, to be impeached for the misfortunes incident to a great war? When it is safe for the whole story to be told, there may be some political and military compensation for even these temporary disasters.

At the lowest point in the fortunes of Rome, with the Carthaginians over-running Italy, and with the Roman forces repeatedly defeated, the State was saved through the patient and delaying policy adopted in face of a triumphant enemy. Fabius Maximus Cunctator is the great classic example of "Wait and See."

Meanwhile, what was the position in the House of Commons? In the earlier part of the war the Liberal Party were in power, generously supported by the Conservative Opposition. It was, of course, proper for the Government of that day to confer confidentially with the Opposition Leaders. At last a time arrived, as might have been expected, when the Opposition claimed to differ on certain points from the Government, and suggested that it might be their duty to offer criticism openly. The Prime Minister decided that it would be preferable to form a Coalition Ministry, one combined party to direct the course of affairs, and privately to settle their differences, rather than to bring the discussion into open daylight. But this expedient did not prevent a recurrence. Difficulties were usually composed, but necessarily at the cost of delay, and possibly by a compromise which was not always satisfactory. In the course of a war presenting so many points for discussion in detail, and which has not yet reached a decision, it was only to be expected that an irregular Opposition would assert itself. Soon the Opposition took a more definite shape, gathered to itself a body of Unionist opinion together with a nondescript following. Such a difference of opinion tended to place the better instructed members of the Coalition Government on the one side, and a group of private Conservative members on the other. This difficulty could best be met by re-casting Conservative representation in the Cabinet, and this no doubt had its share in the crisis. If the late Prime Minister had proposed to revert to a purely Liberal Administration, in what position would the Government have found itself? It could have refilled its vacancies, no doubt, but it would have been confronted by a Conservative Opposition; a dissentient group of Liberals whose support wavered, a group that was critical without being always consistent. Labour would have remained staunch, but the Irish were hostile. At any moment they could have divided against the Government, and possibly have overthrown it. If more than seventy members of the present House of Commons are converted from supporters into opponents, with the general irregular and uncertain attendance, it must be admitted that the balance of power has shifted. The action of the Irish Party can be easily explained, although it is regrettable. Home Rule, an accomplished legislative fact, was not to be realised until after the war, and then only under restricted conditions. The miserable rebellion broke out and Ireland passed under martial law. Mr.

Asquith visited Ireland, and upon his return expressed the hope that some advance towards self-government might be attempted. In good faith, Mr. Lloyd George and the Irish leaders agreed upon lines of compromise. The Irish leaders interviewed their countrymen, and succeeded almost beyond expectation. Then it was found that the Cabinet were not at one upon the subject, and the settlement failed to materialise. Perhaps it would have been better if a reconstruction of the Cabinet had then taken place. It is little wonder that Irish Nationalists felt themselves to be badly treated, and that their attitude in the House of Commons altogether changed. Perhaps it is wise not to add anything to this, as there is still hope that an Irish peace may be brought about. Amongst so much that is evil, one fact emerges which makes for good. The Nationalists are purged of the irreconcilable Sinn Fein element; and that fear of disloyalty to the Crown which restrained Ulstermen from collaboration with Nationalists no longer applies, so that the way is open to a magnanimous partnership in Irish affairs.

The Parliamentary position was further complicated by the fact that Mr. Lloyd George differed from some of the methods of the late Government in relation to the war, and might have passed into opposition. Such opposition, however restrained, honest, and even necessary, would have proved a grave embarrassment to any Ministry, both in Parliament and in the country. It was far better that a leader of such ability, one essentially an idealist, should be made responsible for his own ideas, and should have every opportunity for putting them to a practical test. His Ministry is largely Conservative-Labour, with some Liberal additions. It will be National so far as it commands the approval of the nation for the specific purpose of the war. It is promised the support of Liberals of all distinction. There is no compromise with political principles on the part of anyone who associates himself with others with whom he does not usually co-operate. In the same way constitutional government is not destroyed; it is recognised by the country as existing, although the suspension of our common liberties in war-time has apparently thrown us back under Tudor or Norman conditions.

There is no such thing as the destruction of party distinction in this country. Party must reappear as soon as a state of war has passed away. Attempts which have been made in other countries to supersede the dual party system have had scant political success. The stability of Ministers in this country is in marked contrast to constitutional experience abroad. The alternative to our party system is the system of groups, which determines the rise and fall of Ministries by negotiations; a give-and-take system

of compromise under which principle often disappears altogether. A regular Opposition is a necessary part in Parliamentary government, and that Opposition, if exercised wisely, is a strength to the Government, and not a weakness. It helps to mould legislation by criticism, guards a Government against its own mistakes and oversight. For the Liberals to go into regular opposition is to relieve the House of Commons and the country from the impatience and futility of a mere discontent which has no responsibility to regulate its expression.

It does not follow that criticism must take the form of disapproval. It will add to the strength of Mr. Lloyd George's administration when it is known abroad that he has the support of his late colleagues, who are ready to suggest and to improve rather than to weaken and to destroy.

The country must be reasonable in its anticipation. It will not press its new Government to make changes for mere spectacular purposes. One of the reasons for disappointment is the failure of the Allies to carry on the war as a whole. They have been dealing with it too much in sections. We need not be surprised if a War Council of the Allied Powers should be permanently established in close touch with the different frontiers, and in daily reference to the capitals of the Entente countries. The full team has to draw the load, and to each horse its appropriate part.

It is manifest that if peace can only be obtained by patient and prolonged effort, it is impossible for the Government to reorganise society at one and the same time. There are neither men, means, nor the opportunity to work out the details of great reforms, whilst this war is rising to its maximum effort. When we speak of "taking over" an industry we mean by that the exercise of a supreme control to restrain or to co-ordinate competing forces. To attempt more at the present crisis would be to discredit and to defeat those very objects which, under leisurely handling, may be successfully carried through. At present the nation will naturally desire as little disturbance of labour conditions, of trade unions, and of the employment of capital as may be possible under the national emergency. None of us wish to be side-tracked into discussions which are not pertinent to the war. When the peaceful days return we must then endeavour to settle those delicate adjustments of Labour and of Capital upon which the future prosperity of this country depends. Labour which was beginning to export itself before the war, particularly from the agricultural districts, will be more than ever demanded in every department of industry. At present the country is "carrying on" in trade as in everything else. Machinery is wearing out; necessary extensions are held up, and much capital and labour will be

required to re-start business within the ordinary lines, as well as to develop and to enlarge it. A great amount of capital is being drawn into the War borrowings of every denomination, and, therefore, the value of money is rising like that of other commodities. We shall require the capital of the United States and of other wealthy neutrals if London is still to remain the financial centre of the civilised world. In addition to undoubted security we shall be compelled to offer high rates of interest. There will be plenty to do and we ought to direct the flow of capital wherever it is most required, whether to build up the ravages of war on the Continent of Europe, to open up Asia, or to take our part in the expansion of the New World.

As the writer of this article has ventured to suggest in a previous issue of *THE CONTEMPORARY*, and elsewhere, it will, in his opinion, be absolutely necessary to relieve the pressure of taxation in the future by taking over a number of industries which at present are either monopolist or which have some natural relationship to government itself. But in this country we have been accustomed to a liberty which almost borders on licence; an individualism which requires time for its suppression. We should never have got conscription if we had not waited for public opinion to mature. Though it is difficult to force the pace we can no doubt adopt rationing, many other restrictions, and novel forms of industry, as we carry with us the assent of the nation.

It is well known that the old-fashioned business firm whose partners invested their surplus profits in their business, and where son followed father, belongs to a past age. Trade is now financed by bankers and by private investors, who will have many competing opportunities to place their money within the Empire as well as without. The maintenance of public confidence and the credit of the nation are as essential to this country as are munitions of war. Before we distribute either our capital or our labour worldwide, we had better wait till the war is finished to see how much of both are required at home. Equally necessary is it to rebuild the old confidence between employers and employed, and to remove that suspicion which has led to many errors of judgment on both sides.

Two great Ministers of State have served the country during this life-and-death struggle, and both have served it well. Mr. Asquith is a typical Englishman. He has the characteristic of the race, that reticence which so often accompanies sagacity. It may be that the country has not always done him justice, because he has thought right to maintain an almost continuous reserve in the face of national anxieties. No doubt he has withheld information from motives of prudence, but a little more confidence at crises of

absorbing interest might have been given, we submit, without any national peril. He would have justified his Government as well as reassured the public mind. But it was a matter of first importance that, at the outbreak of war, when those vital decisions had to be taken from day to day, we had at the head of affairs a man of sterling character and of keen insight; one who had held office for a long time and was deep in the confidence of his countrymen. He never wavered; the trumpet gave no uncertain sound, and the nation prepared itself for the battle. He has borne the weight of responsibility, placed his own health and life at the disposal of the Empire, and although he lays down his office with the regret of many and the goodwill of all, the relief which it will temporarily afford him compensates in the eyes of his personal friends, in some degree, for his resignation. To the last, whether in or out of office, he will serve his country and take rank in history as one of the greatest Ministers who has controlled the Empire. The man who takes his place has been marked out by experience, circumstance, and ability for this great position. His name is familiar in all the Allied countries, amongst the peasantry, as in capital cities and Courts. It is a great thing to have received this popular call, this general assent, both at home and abroad. It not only makes the path easier for an incoming Prime Minister, but the judgment of the world reacts upon the individual himself. Great things are expected of him, and he will certainly respond. A prophet needs honour even in his own country if he is to do the best for it. Though the wind bloweth where it listeth and inspiration is not fettered, there is an atmosphere of receptivity which brings the man and his age into proper relationship. Mr. Lloyd George has fortunately had a long training in public affairs. The practical discipline of the Board of Trade and of the Exchequer may fire and chasten imagination without diminishing those vivifying qualities. He is the man of the moment, and to withhold from him full-hearted support would be doing a harm to the nation as well as being unfair to a leader chosen by general acclamation. Let the curtain fall upon the past, and let the nation give him his opportunity generously with both hands.

To forecast the course of the war is highly speculative and not altogether profitable. It may have more surprises for us. As these last words are written a tender of peace has come from Germany; but what a peace! Unless the implied terms are vastly amended there is scarcely a basis for negotiation. It will be generally accepted that it must be a peace agreed upon between all the Allies. It must attempt to repair the terrible injuries which have been inflicted upon the innocent as well as provide for the future tranquillity of the world.

It must at least be a peace which contains some hope of developing into goodwill later on. It is only when Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other that the world may look for real tranquillity. Are we within a measurable distance of these necessary conditions? Are the men and women of France, who have given up everything for the sake of their country, to be denied the satisfaction of their patient hope, the restoration of their lost provinces, and the security of their northern frontiers? Is Italy to be called upon to leave the men of her own blood under Austrian rule? Is Russia to be despoiled and insulted, whilst the Balkans remain a hot-bed of German intrigue? and are we not to deprive Turkey of her last foot-hold in Europe with Constantinople and the Straits as some punishment for her treatment of the Armenians, and in order to protect the World against her renewed misrule? Why should not Russia have that for which she can make good a moral claim—a safe access to the Mediterranean, and the guardianship of the bridge which unites the two Continents of Europe and of Asia? Above all, is this Empire to submit to a renewal of Prussian pretension? We have never denied her fair sea ways, access to all parts of the world, including our own Dominions, opportunities for trade, for her legitimate expansion. Are we to restore her colonies and give her back her military bases in Asia and in Africa with the certainty that she is founding a military Empire like Rome, and one even more overbearing? It is a truism to repeat that our own great Empire has grown together more by circumstance than by conquest or by purchase. It has been largely founded by traders who never started with the idea of political domination, and by men who sought the wilderness for the expansion of their own liberties, and for the sake of conscience. Providence has brought our Empire together as it is teaching our hands to war in defence of it. Slowly we are learning the lesson of founding communities, differing in race and colour, faithful to one central hope and allegiance. Let us ask ourselves whether it is not our duty to-day to set all other questions aside for the time, and to make one supreme effort on behalf of a beneficent civilisation.

JOSEPH COMPTON-RICKETT.

A PARALLEL IN STATESMANSHIP : LINCOLN AND ASQUITH.

NOTE.—Since the following was written Mr. Asquith has been compelled to resign—but the parallel in statesmanship with which the article deals is as much a fact as when the words were penned : the difference is that Lincoln lived to see the success of his statesmanship, whereas circumstances have forced Mr. Asquith to retire from his task. It is worth notice that prior to Lincoln's second election his influence in the North had fallen so low that his re-election was considered to be hopeless ; he himself was so convinced that he would be unsuccessful that he wrote a memorandum setting forth what his attitude would be towards the new President. But, two months before the election, a series of victories raised the spirits of the Northern people, and in November, 1864, Lincoln was re-elected by a huge majority. Had the hopes of the past two months been realised, there is little doubt what Mr. Asquith's position would now be. Events have been against him. Lincoln was more fortunate.

MANY references have been made during the past two and a-half years to the man who is the national hero of America, Abraham Lincoln. Most of these have been ill-informed, nearly all have been used to belittle our own statesmen. Time has indeed brought its revenges when he who in his lifetime had to endure more depreciation than almost any national leader is held up to the men of our days as the example of the perfect statesman and man of action. There is nothing in this to marvel at, for a man is rarely seen in his true perspective until he is dead. The passions and prejudices of the moment have then subsided, opposition has long since passed away, and only what he accomplished is seen. Comparisons of dead and living statesmen are therefore difficult to make ; as a soldier has not sufficient knowledge of the reasons for his superiors' plans to judge the wisdom of their orders, so in the absence of knowledge necessarily withheld one cannot accurately judge a living statesman's acts and compare them with those of a man seen in the fuller light of disclosed facts.

Broad comparisons, however, may be made, based on results already known, and, thus compared, it is possible to point to remarkable similarities in the statesmanlike qualities of Abraham Lincoln and Mr. Asquith. Comparison need not be pushed to extremes to prove this ; facts are too plain to be ignored except by those who have no heroes but the dead.

In a measure, much as he suffered from misunderstanding, Lincoln was more fortunate than Mr. Asquith in that he was a man of the people. It was easier for the common people of America to understand Lincoln than it has been for those of England to understand Mr. Asquith. Lincoln was typically a people's man, sprung from their lowest ranks. He was also an " odd " character ; his personality was like his physique—full of queer points, on which

the popular fancy could hang facts and fables, stories true and only artistically true. On the contrary, Mr. Asquith is a product of the cultured classes, and, though born of middle-class stock, a patrician by nature. He has no foibles, and is by no means "odd"; his personality is clear-cut, and he is to most something of an embodied intellect, which may be admired, but is somewhat awful and distant. Stories—so beloved of the people—naturally grow around so strange and whimsical a figure as that of Abraham Lincoln, with his career of romance, his jokes, and his brooding melancholy, the shadowing legacy of a hard youth. But stories do not cluster round Mr. Asquith, and there is nothing so far as the public know in his whole career to give rise to the friendly gossip which, it may be observed, is by no means a drawback to a statesman. Romance is an invaluable ingredient in the make-up of a great man, and in that its lack has prevented him from becoming popular in the accepted sense, Mr. Asquith has been unfortunate in being so uniformly successful. Self-made as he is, he has marched from triumph to triumph with sure steps—school, university, the Bar, Parliament—all opened their doors as to a master: it is wonderful, but it is not romantic. Lincoln, unlike Mr. Asquith, after a boyhood of penury, passed a mid-manhood of struggle in a back-woods town, found nothing but disappointment in every political venture to which he set his hand, and had retired from public life to follow his profession of a country attorney when roused by the slavery issue to forsake his cases—to fill later on what is perhaps the most powerful position in the world, and to go down to history as the greatest of Americans. Moreover, Lincoln was an obviously human man. A natural humourist, his affinity with the common people enabled him to use with consummate art his propensity for joking, and while he exercised the highest statesmanship he at the same time endeared himself to the people, who understood him. Mr. Asquith has, to say the least, no reputation for humour; what he is like in private, few know; indeed, it is only of later years that he has given signs of a softer side to his character, which has brought him nearer to the hearts of the people. But compare Lincoln's early environment with that of Mr. Asquith, and it will be seen how the child in both cases was the father of the man. Lacking popular gifts, Mr. Asquith's ascendancy over his countrymen is therefore the more remarkable.

Thus on the surface the two are quite dissimilar, yet in statesmanlike essentials there are many and striking points of comparison. In another place* the writer has briefly indicated what seem to him from an extensive study of Lincoln, and from what anyone can observe of Mr. Asquith's career, noticeable

* Letter to *Spectator*, September 16th, 1916.

similarities in their qualities as statesmen. The most striking seem to be these: ability to see a problem whole, and steadfastness in dealing with it; great deliberation in action; unlimited patience; continuous capacity to rise to great occasions; readiness to accept responsibility. To these should be added the not less valuable and equally rare qualities of loyalty to colleagues and supreme capacity in the management of men. A minor but important similarity is the accuracy in speech of the two men—an accuracy probably unexampled among statesmen. Those qualities, it is to be noticed, are not of the spectacular variety, but then both Lincoln and Mr. Asquith belong to the order of plain men. Lincoln's triumph was eminently that of the plain honest man of great powers acting in the way a plain man would act: Mr. Asquith's success so far has been the same. He has been described as a man with common powers in an uncommon degree—a most useful endowment for a statesman when we remember that, as Lincoln said, "the Lord "must have loved common people: He made so many of them." Unfortunately, common people do not always recognise such powers; they call brilliance genius, while supreme ability operating in ways akin to their own methods is often considered mediocrity—whereas it may amount to genius. Such men of non-spectacular qualities as Lincoln and Mr. Asquith, as a rule, must wait for their full reward in the judgment of posterity.

All students of Lincoln's life have recognised that the rock upon which his state-craft was founded was his power of determining what were the essentials of a problem and the tenacity with which through the obscuring changes of a varying situation he held to the position he took up. In the course he set he might well have taken as his motto the words used by Mr. Asquith half a century later, soon after the outbreak of this war: "We must learn to take "long views and to cultivate above all other qualities—those of "patience, endurance and steadfastness." Plain qualities these in ordinary days, but purest gold in times of stress. Abraham Lincoln took the clear long view that nothing mattered so that the Union was saved, while many another, including Gladstone himself, failed to see the issues involved. Through the four long years of the agony of the Civil War Lincoln patiently endured all that fidelity to conviction brings in its train. All that he did during that time—even the emancipation of the slaves—was to preserve the Union. While it is true that the slavery issue was the cause of the War, and by the War it received its death-blow, it died in the greater cause to Lincoln of the maintenance of the Union. At this moment when the war in which we are engaged has already lasted more than half the period of the Civil War we may ask, What is now the position of Mr. Asquith? It is what

it was at the beginning of the struggle. In the House of Commons on August 6th, 1914, he defined the cause for which we are fighting in two sentences: "In the first place to fulfil a solemn "international obligation. . . . and in the second to vindicate "the principle. . . . that small nationalities are not to be "crushed in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary "will of a strong and overmastering Power." In other words, "public right " (see speech at Dublin, September, 1914) is the cause for which Britain and her Allies fight. Mr. Asquith has sometimes been accused of complacency by those whose hopes rise and fall with every passing phase of the conflict, but nothing in those famous speeches he delivered in the chief cities of the Kingdom in the early days of the war led to the supposition that he had not counted the cost of our participation in the great fight: "The task will not be a light one. . . . its full accomplish- "ment may even take years." Those were the reasons given by Mr. Asquith two and a-half years ago for our entry into the war, and his recognition of the price that might have to be paid. In the interval he has moved steadfastly on his course, undeterred, like Lincoln, by attacks springing from misunderstanding, envy, malice and foolishness. "Patience, endurance, steadfastness"—when he uttered those words Mr. Asquith might have had a prophetic view of the qualities he himself would need to support him in his task.

It is almost of necessity that the statesman to whom is given the capacity to see his problem whole, and the power to proceed to its solution should be deliberate in action. His methods of advance are by gathering up every available force or influence until the whole is welded to his hand; such a man does not work by the swift dramatic stroke, which in statesmanship usually has ten chances of failure to one of success. The maker of "hammer-strokes" is often a meddler in the affairs of other people; but in a war the functions of a statesman are not those of a soldier, though many Press-made Solomons do not appear to be aware of the fact, and it is a gift for which a nation may thank Providence when it has been provided in times of crisis with a statesman who is such and not a mixture of civilian and soldier. The adventures into generalship in which Lincoln indulged were his least successful efforts, though it must be admitted that the poverty of the North in military capacity in the early days of the Civil War led him to interfere more than he otherwise might have done. It was as a statesman that Lincoln towered above his fellows, and it was precisely because of his deliberation and caution—which are so characteristic of Mr. Asquith—that he was able to gather together the whole force of the North and forge it into a sword for freedom.

The analogy in this respect between Lincoln and Mr. Asquith is seen best in the former's handling of the question of emancipation and the latter's dealing with conscription. It is commonly supposed that Lincoln acted as an autocrat, and dramatically bestowed freedom on a race, but in reality he did nothing of the kind. He hesitated long before he took the step which, as he himself said, was determined purely by its expediency in the interests of the Union, much as it, of course, coincided with his own desires. By this procedure he drew on himself the attacks of the short-sighted folk of his time. Mr. Asquith's attitude on the vexed question of conscription was decided much in the same deliberate way—a way that exposed him to the same reproaches of lukewarmness in the national cause as were cast at Lincoln; but, like Lincoln, he was guided by the resolution to do what was best in the interests of the country at the most suitable moment. It was, he said, a pure question of practical expediency, and when he thought the opportune moment had come he acted, with the result that the passage into law of a principle detested by the mass of the people was accompanied by remarkably little friction. The acts of such statesmen as Abraham Lincoln and Mr. Asquith are not heroic in the methods by which they are accomplished, though they may appear to be so in retrospect. Such phrases as "He freed the slaves". . . . "To win the war he compelled every man to bear arms" give the impression that the word was spoken and it was done; the countless difficulties overcome are forgotten. There is another important point to be remembered in comparing this common quality of the two statesmen. Lincoln's difficulties were greatly increased by the fact that he was the leader of a democracy—and so have been Mr. Asquith's; for while it may sometimes be possible for a democratic leader to act like an autocrat, it is generally an absolute necessity that he should move slowly, leading public opinion, the ultimate sanction of democracy, step by step towards the goal for which he is making. This is a task demanding greater skill than acting the part of a man in authority who can say "Do this or that," and it is done. The fact remains that it would not be done in a democratic country like England—rather the natural obstinacy of the race would impel them to refuse to move. "Too slow" was the accusation thrown at Lincoln, and it has often been flung at Mr. Asquith by those whose only conception of action is a blow; but such deliberation is the slowness of the tortoise—it arrives at the goal.

The unlimited patience of Lincoln is almost proverbial, and it is not improbable that among his other claims to remembrance Mr. Asquith will be known as the most patient of British

statesmen. The fact of his patience is too evident to need elaboration.

The next quality possessed in common by the two statesmen—continuous capacity to rise to great occasions—is the endowment only of the greatest, and is seen in few figures in history. We have all seen men on the stage of public life, or in the records of the past, doing good work full of the promise of greater things to come, but the promise remained unfulfilled, the curtain fell and one looked in vain for the actor's reappearance. The reason was that such men were possessed of sufficient capacity only to enable them to carry out projects of a like nature; when confronted by different problems they could not rise to their solution; there was, in fact, no mental capacity for expansion. The faculty of rising to the occasion was notable in Lincoln, never free from new and complicated problems, but he was always competent to deal with them, eagerly as those who loved him not looked for his failure. Perhaps the most spectacular quality in Mr. Asquith is this same gift. Time after time during his long career as Prime Minister he has been confronted with crises of extreme difficulty, but he has risen on the wave; indeed, his ability to surmount difficulties practically has amounted to genius. His enemies do not sufficiently appreciate this gift, nor did Lincoln's; the President's opponents were a long time learning that he was a consummate politician, and so were the opponents of Mr. Asquith.

But neither Lincoln nor Mr. Asquith lost their power of action by their deliberation. Both could act and assume entire responsibility for so doing if necessary. The story is well-known of Lincoln's procedure when he thought the time to free the slaves had come. He called his Cabinet together and informed them of his decision in this wise: "I determined as soon as it (the Rebel "army) should be driven out of Maryland to issue a proclamation "of emancipation such as I thought likely to be most useful. I "said nothing to anyone, but I made the promise to myself and"—here he hesitated a little—"to myMaker. The Rebel army is now "driven out and I am going to fulfil that promise. I have got "you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish "your advice about the main matter for that I have determined for "myself. This I say without intending anything but respect "for anyone of you." That story illustrates Lincoln's capacity for taking responsibility, notwithstanding the extreme care with which he moved in preparing the ground; public opinion was ripe, the time had come, and he acted. In much the same way we see Mr. Asquith, most determined opponent of conscription in the Government, driven by events to see its expediency, waiting and watching for the moment when he had by careful preparation led

public opinion to accept the necessity for the step—and he himself brings in the Bill. This, when it stands out in the clear light of history, will be looked on as a dramatic act in Mr. Asquith's career.

But there was another and yet more momentous assumption of responsibility, of which the future will have much to say in the light of fuller knowledge; the fateful decision which brought us into this war. We do not know Mr. Asquith's exact share in this decision, but it may be guessed, for in the House of Commons on November 2nd, 1915, he said, speaking of the determination to enter into the war: "*I take my share—and no one has a larger share—of* responsibility at that supreme moment in the attitude and policy of this country. A terrible responsibility it is, measured by what has happened and what is still to happen . . . searching . . . the utmost depths of my own heart and conscience, I would not unsay or undo that great decision." Those are words which, when the clash of arms is hushed, will often be repeated as the expression of a brave man ready to bear the greatest share in the crisis of his country's fate. In the taking of that initial responsibility, Mr. Asquith was even more tested than Lincoln when he became President, for Lincoln had war forced upon him, while there was every temptation for us to keep outside the whirlpool of the European War. But the other way was that of honour, a path that has ever been dear to Mr. Asquith.

Lastly, in this comparison of the statesmanlike qualities of Lincoln and Mr. Asquith are those of loyalty to colleagues and management of men. The one, indeed, is dependent upon the other, for men could not be managed if loyalty was absent in the leader. Men of great parts have not always possessed this power—certainly men of intellectual eminence but small character never have it; there must be magnanimity, freedom from jealousy, and the ability to inspire trust in the man who manages men. Lincoln had a difficult team to drive, made up as it was of a number of able men, with one or two brilliant members—not unlike the Cabinets Mr. Asquith has controlled. Enough is known of the personalities of some of the Prime Minister's colleagues for anyone to understand that his task must sometimes have been of extreme delicacy. When the history of the past two years is written there should be piquant revelations of the way in which Mr. Asquith presided over his Cabinet.

There are stories of Lincoln illustrating his power of management with the co-quality of loyalty. In the early days of his administration Seward—the ablest of his ministers—wrote him an extraordinary letter suggesting in unmistakable terms that the President did not know how to act, but that he (Seward) did, and would therefore undertake the duties. Had Lincoln been a jealous man he could not have wished for a better opportunity to give a fall

to a rival, but on the contrary he wrote Seward a quiet and dignified letter, then put away the papers and referred to them no more. Stanton and Chase were thorns in his flesh throughout his administration, but they were good ministers, and he therefore suffered them with patience. Not Stanton's open disrespect ("Did Stanton tell you I was a damned fool?" said Lincoln, when a story was repeated to him. "Then I expect I must be one, for he is 'almost always right, and generally means what he says,') nor Chase's disloyalty could destroy the President's magnanimity, and in the end he had no more faithful follower than Stanton, while he rewarded Chase by making him Chief Justice. In regard to Mr. Asquith there is equal ground for saying that no Cabinet has had a more loyal chief, nor one more ready to take the blame when things have gone amiss. He has often taken the kicks while others have had the applause.*

One other comparison. There is both similarity and dissimilarity in the speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Mr. Asquith. The similarity is in their extreme accuracy, which proceeds from the fact that the minds of both statesmen belong to the logical and practical order. Lucidity, order, and accuracy were the keynotes of Lincoln's speeches as they are of Mr. Asquith's; in the utterances of both one sees the argumentative method in its best form. The dissimilarity is that Lincoln's greatest utterances are superior to the best of Mr. Asquith's efforts. So far Mr. Asquith has said nothing to equal the force and beauty of the Gettysburg oration, or the moral elevation of the Second Inaugural, though there are many passages in his speeches which will rank with the best specimens of British oratory. Accuracy such as Mr. Asquith's is a most valuable gift; it has saved him from the necessity of doing that which is most fatal to confidence in a statesman—explaining away his words.

Thus in many essentials of a statesman there are striking points of comparison between the American President and the British Prime Minister. It would be unfair to push the comparison further, besides attempting the impossible task of assigning historical place to a living man, but the occurrence of like qualities in two men so unlike in other ways is arresting. In one respect we may hope that Mr. Asquith will be more fortunate than Abraham Lincoln—that not only will he live to see victory crown the arms of the nation he has led, but that he will be spared to welcome the dawn of the better day we trust will come when the fighting is over.

HARRY ELMORE.

* That, it may be said, is noble, but not always wise: to some magnanimity is only weakness, and one is sometimes inclined to fear that Mr. Asquith's magnanimity may be taken advantage of by those unable to appreciate a quality they do not possess.

THE RED CROSS AT THE WAR.

OVER against the battlefield there stands, in many a harried countryside of France, the cross of healing. Men pray at the wayside crosses these days as men have not prayed in their lives before, and women weep, kneeling before them. For with this emblem is associated now all that is permanent in a shifting world, all that is true and steadfast and holy and gracious. The unarmed men who go up into the battle without thought of personal safety, the doctors and their helpers, go up in the name of the cross. To the broken and the dying this Red Cross is the message of hope and consolation.

So also it has become to the soldier in the ranks, and to the fathers and mothers and wives of the fighting men. Who, these days, can look upon it without being thrilled? The very name of it is charged with magic. From a beginning, vague in the national mind, it has come to occupy the place of honour; day by day the meaning and significance of it have grown bigger; ever new enterprises of mercy have come to be associated with it; at a thousand places it has touched the common life, beautifying it. Every sacrifice called for in its name and made has added a little lustre to it; every advantage won has the more endeared it; every pain and sorrow comforted has given it justification, until now the Red Cross is ubiquitous as the spirit which gave it dominion, and to say where the Red Cross work begins or has its end is the most difficult task that could be imagined.

This growth becomes a matter of sheer amazement when the course of the last two years is passed in review. In 1914, the powerful instrument of sympathy which we know as the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John had only a feeble kind of existence. The British Red Cross Society was housed in small offices in Victoria Street, and even its address was known only to a few people. It was vaguely understood that the Society represented the British section of a great world-wide undertaking, and that the Red Cross flag was the flag of the town of Geneva with the colours reversed. And that, perhaps, was all which was known or understood.

Then came the blow, and in their anxiety men and women turned

to discuss some means of allaying the pain and suffering which all could see must follow in the wake of the armies. Suddenly, the little offices in Victoria Street and the offices of the Order of St. John at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, were discovered; offers of help came pouring into them; inquiries of all kinds were made at all hours of the day and night, and the small staffs were soon overwhelmed in a mass of correspondence and other work. It was at this moment that Queen Alexandra, its President, issued her famous appeal for help on behalf of the Red Cross Society. During the month of August, 1914, £60,000 was subscribed as the result of this appeal. And meanwhile Lady Lansdowne had secured from the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire the generous loan of Devonshire House to be the temporary headquarters of the Society.

Nor was this activity unjustified by events. The German army had already crushed the heroic resistance of Belgium, and was marching through that unhappy country. The Red Cross Society, on August 12th, sent out its first party of doctors and nurses to the help of Belgium; it was a gracious act, and full of confidence for the future; ever since, the Red Cross workers have gone out to the help of all the small nations in the hour of their adversity. Well may the British Red Cross Society feel proud that it set foot in Belgium before the British Expeditionary Force had sailed from its ports. Six parties of workers were sent to Brussels and began work there, determined to have no care for their own safety so long as their mission was fulfilled. The first Red Cross Commission followed within a few days, and at its head was Sir Alfred Keogh, who is now Director-General of the Army Medical Service.

This first Commission in the short time at its disposal learned lessons which were destined to exercise an important effect in the immediate and also in the more remote future. The Commission passed from Belgium to France, and in France it saw how unprepared was the British Army Medical Service for the kind of work it was now called upon to undertake. These early days of the retreat from Mons were indeed terrible days so far as the wounded were concerned. Owing largely to the exigencies of the situation there was no proper transport; equipment was also impossible to obtain, and the fact that the medical base was removed from Boulogne to Havre, and then again from Havre to St. Nazaire within a few days, made matters a hundredfold worse. The ambulance trains were little better than goods waggons hurriedly got together, carpeted with straw. They had no air brakes, these waggons, and when the engine drew up at a station they knocked together, bumping like a goods train and inflicting unspeakable torture on the wounded men. Every railway station in Northern France during these days was a place of torment.

The Red Cross Commission saw these trains; they learned of the lack of equipment. It stands to their credit that they did much to improve the situation within a very short period. For one thing a set of railway carriages with proper air brakes was secured, and a real ambulance train evolved. It stood as the model for all the other ambulance trains which were destined to come after it.

The Commission reported to London, and Mr. Arthur Stanley, now Chairman of the Joint Committee, at once acted upon its reports. He opened a store in the stables of Devonshire House and appealed for gifts, which soon began to pour in upon him. Lord Rothschild, the Chairman of the Council, appealed at the same time for the necessary funds, and in this he was associated with Sir Frederick Treves and Mr. Ridsdale. They addressed a letter to the editor of *The Times*, which has become a historic document.

"No heart in the British Empire," they wrote, "can fail to have been touched by the bravery of our soldiers and by the heroic way in which they are maintaining the reputation of our Army against tremendous odds. For the means to help the wounded, stricken while upholding every principle which England and civilisation holds dear, we plead to-day. . . . Let it never be said that in the pressure and confusion of these unhappy times the wounded soldier or sailor was forgotten. Our future is in his hands. The least we can do is to afford him such assistance in his distress as will make him feel that his country is not ungrateful."

Mr. Stanley's organisation worked at high pressure to send out to France the necessities it was collecting—beds and blankets, sheets and dressings, antiseptics and drugs, operating-room furniture, chloroform, a thousand and one things upon the possession of which depended so greatly the comfort of our wounded in France. The storehouse in the stables was filled and emptied, and filled again. Soon the tide of generosity overflowed the bounds originally set to it; the stables would hold no more.

And while the money flowed in a splendid stream, and the people saw to it that Mr. Stanley had all he asked for, and more, other branches of the great organisation were growing in importance and strength. One of the needs of the moment which the Committee perceived was a quick and efficient transport of the wounded from the battlefield to the rail-head. The soil of France has been intensively cultivated for years, and because of this it is heavily charged with bacteria of all kinds. The wounds made by the German shells were of a terrible character; but it was not the wounds themselves which, in the long run, proved so deadly, but the blood poisoning engendered by the wounds. It did not take

long to discover that the quicker a man could be brought to the surgeon the better were his chances of recovery. Speed was of the essence of this matter. A cry went up for motor ambulances and more motor ambulances.

And even when the word was spoken the ambulances were being made ready. On September 12th, 1914, a few determined men met at the Royal Automobile Club to discover what could be done. It was announced at this meeting that the War Office had given consent to the landing of motor cars in France—a matter of profound satisfaction, for, owing to some misunderstanding, difficulty had arisen concerning the landing of cars already sent out. Members of the club offered themselves and their cars; these offers were at once accepted. Next morning several of the cars were at Folkestone. In a few days the fleet comprised twenty vehicles, which scoured the North of France and brought wounded men to the base at Boulogne. From this beginning the ambulance service grew with astonishing rapidity. A better design of car was introduced, thanks to the labours of engineering experts, which were continued day and night for a whole week, until a satisfactory result was achieved. Thanks also to a public appeal, cheques for £400, the price of an ambulance car, poured in upon the Society's headquarters. Within five weeks 512 ambulances had been secured. This ambulance work was, and remains, perhaps the greatest of all the works undertaken by the Society. But in addition to money and stores and cars the British Red Cross Society was furnishing human material, and furnishing it with speed and efficiency.

Meanwhile the work had become too vast for the space available in Devonshire House. The bounty of the nation overflowed, and new premises became essential. They were found, thanks to the kindness of the Royal Automobile Club, at 83, Pall Mall, the present address of the Joint Committee. Meanwhile, also, it had been recognised that duplication of work by two great societies was a mistake, and so there had taken place a union, for war purposes, of the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John.

The campaign at that moment was in a most critical stage, and if the work of the Red Cross is to be understood, this must be realised clearly. The battle of the Marne had freed Paris from the fear of occupation; the capital was safe, and had been opened again to the activities of those seeking to bring help and comfort to the wounded. But the cloud of danger, if rolled back, was by no means dispersed. On the banks of the Aisne River the opposing armies were struggling day and night for a decision; and all the ways to the battlefield were crowded

with convoys of wounded coming to the trains, and so, slowly, to the base.

The handling of these wounded men was a gigantic work, for they came to hospitals already full with the wreckage of the retreat from Mons, tardily gathered in, and that from the wide area comprising the battlefield of the Marne. Every bed was precious; every doctor had his hands full; every nurse was working night and day to overtake the task which seemed already almost an impossible one.

Just when matters had come to this pitch, and there seemed to be no end to the stream of wounded or to the work lying ahead of the staffs of the hospitals a turn of the wheel of circumstance changed the situation. The battle of the Aisne ended; a race for the coast made by both armies simultaneously begun; each army had for its object the outflanking of its opponent. The fighting surged away to the north, and almost before the medical services realised what had happened, new conditions had been created and new demands formulated. Paris was impossible now as a medical base. Paris was, relatively speaking, far away. From the bloody fields of Ypres and La Bassée the wounded poured down into the seaport of Boulogne.

What this meant must be understood if the work and worth of the Red Cross movement is to be understood. The Army had, in a very real sense, run away from its hospitals and its hospital supplies. The exigencies of the moment had forbidden the preparation of Boulogne as a medical centre, for this would have betrayed intentions too completely. The hospitals could not follow the Army because they were full and working already day and night. If the wounded from what, at that period, was the greatest battle in British history, were to be attended to, a new hospital organisation, with its stores and its ambulances, had to be created instantly in the town of Boulogne.

The situation may well have appalled those who were sent to cope with it. Where was the equipment to come from? Much of the Army material was still at St. Nazaire, hundreds of miles away; some of it was awaiting shipment at Havre; still more of it was locked up, in active use, in Paris. The cry went up, and it was a cry of bitter anxiety, for beds and blankets, for anæsthetics and drugs, for instruments, for appliances, for all manner of stores, for doctors and nurses.

Two things were essential; a large quantity of material and a large sum of money available for immediate use. Both these things were ready to hand. The demand was no sooner made than a thousand willing hands began to satisfy it. Men, material, and money poured out from England to France. Boulogne became a

large receptacle for hospital furniture and hospital stores, and as the Army doctors laboured to build the hospital city the British Red Cross Society brought the building material to their hands. Because this combination was possible a very terrible situation was saved; the splendid fellows who in the trenches at Ypres had vindicated the honour of their country were rescued from the suffering which had made the first days of war so cruel; within a week the hospital city was an accomplished fact, and where rows upon rows of muddy stretchers had lain side by side, in chaotic confusion, and a quite inadequate staff had laboured against hopeless odds, there were now ranks of trim, white beds, centred around tables fresh with flowers, and bright with various articles of equipment. Such a transformation it was as the world had never seen before; new hospitals sprang up on every hand; as soon as they were opened the Red Cross Society filled them with every necessary.

Like clockwork the great ambulance service which was then established works between the trains and the hospitals, and again between the hospitals and the quays. It is maintained in a constant state of readiness; it responds to every demand made upon it; for sheer efficiency it stands perhaps unequalled. Nor is it to be found in Boulogne alone. Ambulance convoys have been provided with work close to the firing line, and the deeds of heroism performed by the men in charge of them are as inspiring as they are numerous.

With this splendid effort the organisation controlled from Pall Mall may be said to have come to maturity. It was now evident that the three great functions of the Committee were the supply of stores, the furnishing of transport for the wounded, and the securing of additional nursing help. It is not possible to deal fully with all the work accomplished in these three great departments, but it must be noted how important a part the Committee played in obtaining the hospital trains—"hospitals on wheels," they have been called—and in arranging for their equipment. These hospital trains represent the very acme of efficiency and comfort. As soon as he enters them a wounded man is at rest. Doctors and nurses are at his side, warm food and drinks can be secured day and night; there is a pharmacy and an operating room at his disposal, and the arrangements for attending to urgent cases or applying fresh dressings en route are above praise.

Having reached this position of strength it was possible for the Committee to cast its eyes farther afield and consider how it might bring help to the armies which were engaged in more remote theatres. We are forced to pass over the work done on behalf of France and Russia, great and acceptable as it was, and heroic as those sent out to those fields showed themselves to be, and to come

at once to the part played by the Red Cross during the course of the campaign in Gallipoli. This effort was so conspicuous and so useful that it deserves to rank with that made during the battle of Ypres.

The first actual landing in Gallipoli took place on April 25th, 1915; in May Sir Courtauld Thomson, Commissioner of the Red Cross was at work in the war area. The great difficulty of the campaign was, of course, the fact that uninterrupted work could not be carried on on the beaches. Regular supplies were the great need of the hour. Under scorching suns, and tormented by swarms of flies, the wounded man in Gallipoli had to face sufferings which almost defy description. His longing for small comforts like "sparklets" soda water, light refreshments, or mosquito netting was naturally intense, and it was clearly the duty of the Red Cross to supplement the work of the Army Medical Service by supplying these comforts to the field ambulances. Advantage was taken of the trawlers to carry out this humane purpose. The trawlers were used to carry the wounded from the shore to the hospital ships, so that it was possible to load them, on their return journeys to the shore, with all manner of Red Cross supplies.

It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the value of this additional help during the days of the Gallipoli campaign. Some there were who cavilled at the slippers, the *Eau de Cologne*, and the fans being sent out to our soldiers, and who, in ignorance, talked of effeminacy. But had they been aware that the slippers were for hospital use, that *Eau de Cologne* was destined to be employed in cleansing wounded soldiers whose bodies had become alive with parasites, and whose wounds were the seat of the operations of all manner of flies, they would have been glad to keep silence. The fans, too, were used to drive the flies away from wounds, and thus served a useful and practical purpose.

We turn from this picture to regard a still sterner field of medical endeavour—Serbia, during the outbreak of typhus fever which wrought such fearful havoc among her population. Owing to the ravages of war, Serbia was not well supplied with doctors and nurses at the beginning of this period. The campaign against the Turks and Bulgars, and the Albanian insurrections had all taken their toll, so that though 400,000 men were mobilised and put in the field, only 280 doctors were secured—and this number includes dentists—to look after them. A few months later this small band of workers had lost 80 of its number by disease and wounds.

The battle of the Jadar, which ended in the rout of the Austrian invaders in August, 1914, left Serbia with 15,000 wounded. Then the second Austrian invasion began, and the hospitals, already crowded, were overwhelmed. The new cases were perforce

deposited on the floors of evil-smelling cafés—and, in the words of a witness, “left to rot.”

At this terrible moment charitable-minded people in all the neutral and allied nations sent help to the gallant Serbians, and the British Red Cross Society, acting in accordance with the wish of the whole nation, added this country to the list of its many fields of activity, and strengthened the hands of the workers from all nations with gifts of stores and money. It further despatched a special unit to Salonika in Sir Thomas Lipton's yacht, “Erin,” kindly lent for the purpose. Help had scarcely had time to arrive, however, before the Austrians began their third invasion. They forced their way into the heart of the country only to be driven out again by a people who, in spite of wounds and disease, possessed a sublime courage and a noble patriotism. But the third Austrian invasion left behind it a danger greater by far than that arising from any weapon of man's fashioning—it left the germ of typhus fever, which is of all scourges the most infectious, and which ranks with cholera itself as the dread of armies and the destroyer of life. In every town, in every hamlet the seeds had been sown, and in every town and hamlet the fearful “spotted typhus” began to show itself. Valievo, for example, was a cesspool; there were 3,000 Austrians, mostly suffering from the disease, lying on handfuls of straw in barns and stables in surroundings of indescribable filth. The town reeked with the stench of half-buried corpses.

How shall we assess the value of the services of those who went out to do battle with this foe? They made, indeed, the great renunciation. In a remarkably short space of time the disease was fought to a standstill by means of sanitary and hygienic measures which were directed chiefly to the killing of lice and the preventing of their spread from affected to unaffected people.

The help afforded to Italy was no less opportune and welcome, while in Mesopotamia the Red Cross is now carrying on a splendid work to bring help to the brave men who have suffered so much in this theatre of the war.

The whole Empire has participated in this great work. The Red Cross Society of South Africa, for example, not only laboured to overtake the task set at home by the troublous times which followed the outbreak of war, but also sent thousands of pounds and a vast quantity of gifts to help the work in Britain. New Zealand also collected a great sum for the benefit of the joint funds and sent many gifts in kind. From Egypt, India and Ceylon, Trinidad, Java, Sierra Leone, Cyprus, Nigeria, Malta, the West Indies, Hong Kong, and a host of other places assistance has been forthcoming, and also materials, ranging from safety-pins to honey.

Canada and Australia have branches of their own, and the relationship of these and of the South African branch to the parent Society is exactly the same as that of the Dominions to the Mother Country. And just as the Dominions have sent out their manhood across the seas so have the branches of the Red Cross Society sent out their helpers and their help. The generosity of Australia is measured in hundreds of thousands of pounds and vast quantities of material. Canada has been no less generous. A headquarters of the Canadian Red Cross Society was established in Cockspur Street, and has all manner of departments of its own. The Society has given a large number of ambulances to the British Red Cross Society, and, in addition, gifts of money, which at the time of writing have reached a huge total. Further, both Australia and Canada have given generous donations to the French Red Cross Funds and the Serbian Relief Fund. Many of the patients in the Canadian Red Cross Hospitals were British soldiers, and in other ways the closest co-operation has existed between branches and parent society. From foreign countries, and especially the United States, most generous help has also been forthcoming.

Nor must we fail to regard the wider meaning and significance of this Red Cross work, its effect, that is, upon the great war as a whole. That wider meaning is summed up to-day in a single word, "Somme." In this greatest battle of our history we are able to find the full expression of all the voluntary efforts which earlier and lesser enterprises have called into being. This battle is desperate; it is without respite. It is a battle of material and of guns, but over and above that it is a battle of men in which the human factor is of first importance. Upon faith and courage and good comfort our men are fighting and winning this battle, and these supreme qualities are strengthened within them by the knowledge that in addition to the succour afforded by the State in the shape of the splendid Army Medical Service, there is the provision which comes as a gift inspired by sympathy and admiration. It is the function of the Red Cross Organisation to give effect to this sympathy and this pride, and to act as the medium of its expression. The ambulance service, perfected during the days of Ypres, the hospital equipment bestowed so ungrudgingly, the little extra comforts in the words, the books, and the papers, the attention bestowed by workers by the wayside—all these things speak with the voice of inspiration; they are the worthy message of Britain to her fighting men; they infuse a great spirit of friendship through all ranks, and they endow every man with the potent weapon of a good courage, thereby increasing manyfold the fighting value of the whole Army.

THE AGONY OF BELGIUM.

WE might have known what Germany intended to do in Belgium. It was only necessary to read and to follow up the long sequence of decrees and orders of the German administration at Brussels which commenced in December, 1914, with the imposition of a war contribution of 40 million francs a month on her unhappy people. It was only necessary to study and comprehend the principles on which Dr. Walter Rathenau and his Economical Commissions worked, to realise the fell significance of the plot to stamp out the prosperity and to stifle the life of the once happy Belgian nation, and having read and studied only one thing more was needed, and that was never to forget that German utterances are not meant, like those of our politicians, to satisfy the passing emotions of the hour, but to formulate a line of action which is to be carried out with iron resolution, and in complete disregard of every other law, human or divine. If this had been done, it would not have been possible for any one to be surprised at the wholesale deportation of able-bodied males from Belgium to slave for the German cause wherever she may command. It was part of the fixed and proclaimed programme. The worst part, indeed, remains for the next act. The reader will see what that is before this paper closes.

What have the Germans done in Belgium? At the beginning they resorted, without the slightest excuse, to the most barbarous acts of cruelty. They massacred, pillaged, and destroyed at a large number of places; some famous cities like Louvain, others humble hill villages such as Francorchamps, in order to terrorise the population. They did not attempt any excuse for these acts at the time of their perpetration, but later on they made the charge that the Belgian civil population had opposed their advance in the character of *francs-tireurs*. The statement was easily disproved, but even if it had been true it could not have justified the systematic proceedings resorted to in Louvain, where any suggestion of *francs-tireurs* would have been ridiculous. The Germans acted of set purpose in the belief that the principles of ruthless war which they had adopted had only to be carried out to give them speedy and complete victory. History contains the record of many

massacres, but there is no precedent for Germany's renewed attempt to destroy a nation by sapping its life-blood and wiping out its manhood. Baron Bissing pretends that he is averse to turn his machine-guns on an unarmed population, but he has no scruple in expelling it so that it may perish under the not less fatal influences of enforced labour on insufficient food, and of disease in pestilential and deserted camps.

Whatever other effect the deportations may have produced on the world at large, and more especially in neutral countries, the first result, then, is to revive the impression caused by the commencing massacres and destruction in Belgium, to prove once more that they were only too real, and to bring home to every observer the truth that Germany is pitiless in her treatment of her unfortunate victims. When people see what is taking place to-day they will believe the worst of what took place over two years ago. They will not ask for proof when they realise that the same ruthless procedure is in force, and not applied here and there as an example, but everywhere as a means of crushing the spirit of the Belgian people. Yet that spirit is not crushed. The *Cologne Gazette* makes the following admission: "The spirit of the Belgian people is invincible; the meagre results we have obtained by violence in Alsace in forty-five years will not be won in Belgium in less than a hundred."

The German procedure in Belgium has moved on fixed lines. The first step was to terrorise the people. German writers have brutally admitted that it is a mistake to suppose that this was due solely to the opposition of the King and his army to their passage across Belgium. They have written: "Even if Belgium had left us free passage and not attempted to vindicate her neutrality, it would have been necessary to read her people a stern lesson." What was expected of Belgium was not co-operation, but abject submission. In plain words, her treatment would have been very much the same whatever course she followed.

The next step was to exploit the wealth and resources of Belgium for the benefit of Germany. It began with the imposition of heavy contributions and fines on the chief cities. A contribution of 45 million francs was demanded of the capital. Burgomaster Max long opposed these exactions, but eventually he was sent to a German prison. His name will always be remembered as the first Belgian to resist German greed.

Much worse than anything which happened in his time was to follow. Brussels paid her contribution of 45 millions, plus a fine of five millions, with great difficulty; but scarcely had she done so when a war levy of 40 millions a month was imposed on the

whole country, and this has recently been raised to 50 millions. How the Belgians have been able to pay is not known, but the coffers are now empty. The exactions did not end there. It was not money alone that the Germans appropriated. It might be said that they took everything. To be precise let it be mentioned that they seized, and either utilised on the spot or despatched into Germany, all the available stocks of food and raw material. They seized the implements of labour, they removed the machinery from the factories, at Antwerp they appropriated a million pounds of rubber. The figures are not those of Belgians, but of the Germans themselves. Professor Ballod, for instance, recounts with gloating jubilation over so much human suffering and misery, that Belgium and Northern France fed three million German soldiers in the first year of the war.

Let us pause for a moment to contrast this action with the guarantees for the civil population of an occupied country stipulated for in the Hague Convention, and accepted and ratified by Germany herself. It stipulates that "the maintenance of the civil population of an occupied territory must be exactly what its own Government would have done, and that mainly out of the natural resources of the territory itself." Article 52 also deals in an emphatic manner with another point which has been flagrantly violated by the Germans. It prescribes that "requisitions can only be demanded, and services imposed on the communes and their inhabitants generally for the needs of the occupying army." Consequently the German proceedings in Belgium have been marked by two gross breaches of what were generally recognised as laws binding all civilised nations. They were first the abstraction of "the natural resources of the territory" which should have been assigned to "the maintenance of the civil population," and, secondly, the extension of the allowed system of "requisitions and service" into one of absolute plunder for the benefit of the immense army operating in France, and ultimately of the German people staying at home in their own country.

It must not be thought that these acts and measures were due to the whim or wickedness of any individual. They were the natural and indeed inevitable consequences of the principles laid down for the conduct of the war. In January, 1915, it was decided that "the resources of the subjected country should be devoted to the use of the German Army, and also of the industries assigned to its service." In order to discover how far this work was being carried out, and what changes could be introduced to make it more thorough and complete, Dr. Ganghofer, a close friend and adviser of the Emperor's, was sent on a special mission to Belgium. His report, dated February, 1915, dwells on "the fruitful result for the

“ Fatherland of the application in Belgium and Northern France
 “ of the principle ‘ the least possible for the requirements of the
 “ ‘ Army in the field to be brought from Germany, the most possible
 “ ‘ to be extracted from the conquered territory, and all that is
 “ ‘ superfluous for the army, but which might be of use in our
 “ ‘ country, to be removed into Germany.’ ” He also expressed
 his great satisfaction in having verified the fact that “ in the
 “ previous three months the conquered territories had provided
 “ four-fifths of the Army’s needs,” and he estimated that thus
 Germany had gained at least eighty millions sterling, or the
 equivalent of a great victory. His final conclusion was that “ all
 “ the financial resources of the territories we have conquered have
 “ been swallowed up, and secured for our benefit.” In the day of
 reckoning let not these acts be forgotten.

It must be remembered that while these were the views in the
 highest German spheres, the words and promises of the first
 German Governors in Belgium—the predecessors of von Bissing—
 were very different. They were fair in form, and seemed to afford
 reason to believe that at least some of the guarantees secured by
 the Hague Convention would be respected. In October, 1914,
 after the fall of Antwerp, Baron von Huene, the Military Governor,
 gave Cardinal Mercier assurances that the rumours current as to the
 deportation of young Belgians of military age were baseless, and
 he added to them a written guarantee in the following form—
 “ Young Belgians need have no fear of being carried off to Germany
 “ either to be enrolled in the army, or to be *subjected to forced*
 “ *labour.*” This guarantee was read out in all the churches of the
 Province of Antwerp on October 18th, 1914.

At this time the late Marshal von der Goltz had just been
 appointed Governor-General, and Cardinal Mercier thought it wise
 to go and ask him to endorse the guarantee given by the Military
 Governor of Antwerp, and “ to extend it to the whole country
 “ without any time limit.” The request was made in the form of a
 written petition, which the Governor-General said he would care-
 fully examine and “ consider at his leisure.” I will quote the
 Cardinal’s own account of what followed—“ The following day the
 “ Governor-General was good enough to come in person to Malines
 “ to express his approval, and in the presence of two Aides-de-camp
 “ and of my private secretary to confirm the promise that the *liberty*
 “ *of Belgian citizens would be respected.*” It was on the faith of
 that guarantee that many thousand Belgians returned to their
 country from Holland. It was on the faith of that guarantee,
 confirmed as we know by special and direct assurances to
 the Dutch Government, that Holland made herself a party
 to their return. In other ways the German authorities

showed a desire, and made efforts to induce the return of the fugitive Belgians. Having undertaken to respect the liberty of Belgians generally, they induced many who had remained in the country to write and promise work to exiles in England and France if they would return. In this way several thousand men accepted the bait and went back.

Another and more violent procedure was adopted to attain the same end, viz., the reassembly of the whole Belgian population in the country. An order was issued that the houses of absentees would be used for the garrison and other military purposes, and that their furniture and other possessions would be sold to meet the local rates enhanced by additional fines. It was well known that the sale would be a mere form, and that plunder alone was intended. Many hundreds of the better classes returned precipitately, but they have lived to rue the day that they blindly trusted in a German promise. This period may be considered to have ended by April, 1915, and at that moment the draining of the reserve resources of Belgium had been completed. The population was on the verge of starvation, the elements of its industrial activity had been almost completely removed, and the working man—the best and most conscientious toiler in Europe—was confronted with the impossibility of obtaining work, because the invader had carried off the machinery, the tools, the appliances by which alone his work could be done. One kind of work indeed was open to him, to serve the enemy and temporary conqueror, and thus assist his chances of triumph, but to this the Belgian workman would not stoop. He opposed to the German tyrant “the patriotism of folded arms.”

The reader must not forget that from the very beginning the German authorities entirely ignored their obligation to provide for the maintenance of the inhabitants of the occupied territory. Not a single order or regulation was passed to assist or alleviate the lot of the unfortunate population. The people of Belgium and Northern France would literally have died out of starvation if the Germans had had the sole ordering of the matter. They have only been kept alive by the magnificent efforts of the various Relief Funds, and by the still greater but less known intervention of the surviving Belgian Government, which contributes at the rate of a million pounds per month to feed and clothe its temporarily separated subjects. Germany has not merely done nothing, but she has rendered the task of the benevolent sympathisers with distress more difficult, until at last she represents that “assistance “to the unemployed, no matter whence it may come, must finally “be a charge on our finances.” The phrase is cryptic, but the facts are clear. Germany drained Belgium of her resources, she put an end to the possibility of labour, she has not from the beginning

contributed in any way to the maintenance of the people subjected to her power.

The period for employing anything like fair words having passed the next stage of issuing peremptory orders followed, and Von der Goltz, having made some embarrassing promises, gave way to von Bissing, whose favourite utterance seems to be that "compassion is an act of treason."

Having prepared the legal machinery by the creation of exceptional Courts to give German acts of administration judicial force, the Governor-General took up the question of dealing with labour. There existed a certain amount of unemployment in the country. This was inevitable, as most of the factories could not work for lack of the machinery taken away by the Germans themselves. The first German order of August 15th, 1915, "imposed forced labour on the unemployed under penalty of imprisonment and fine, but it declared that the labour to be imposed was to be exclusively on Belgian soil, and that any infringements of the order would be tried in those Belgian "Courts" which still existed side by side with the exceptional Courts. This concession was more apparent than real. Still the first introduction of forced labour was restricted to the unemployed in the country itself, and entailed no deportation.

The second Order of May 2nd, 1916, was the beginning of the new régime. It reserved to the German authorities the exclusive right of providing work for the unemployed, and it made it a penal offence for anyone to provide work for such persons without the sanction of the Governor-General, offenders to be punished with three years' imprisonment and a fine of 20,000 marks (£1,000). The same order transferred jurisdiction in these matters from the Belgian courts to the German authorities without any judicial intervention at all. A third Order, dated the 13th of the same month, extended the powers of the Administration and "authorised "Governors, Military Commandants, and Chiefs of Districts to "order the unemployed to be removed by force to the places where "they were to work." Even then there was nothing to imply that the application of force signified removal out of Belgium.

Let us pick up some of the minor points in the situation before we approach and deal with the great tragedy that is developing under our eyes. The German Orders did not stand alone. There were German acts that do not figure in the proclamations on the walls. Let us see what they were, and we cannot consult a better authority than the *Cahiers Documentaires*, so admirably edited by M. Passelecq, at Havre. We need not dwell again on acts of unveiled plunder. It must suffice to say in general terms that the labour of the country was, in consequence, smitten with paralysis.

We must refer to details which will appear insignificant to no one who knew Belgium. The Germans prohibited the people from working outside their homes. In no country did the workman travel farther afield than in Belgium for his daily toil, which he was able to do by the extensive system of light-railways and cheap tickets. This measure was largely dictated by the fact that the Germans had pulled up the rails and sent them for use on the Russian front. They had also confiscated all the tyres of private bicycles. No means were then left for rapid and cheap locomotion. But this was far from being the worst. The local bodies endeavoured to provide temporary work for the unemployed, and, in the Luxembourg province more especially, it took the form of road repairing and embankment making. Will it be believed that the Germans forbade all this work on the ground that it was "unproductive"? The indictment of the German proceedings that led up to a state of general unemployment in Belgium is well expressed by M. Passelecq in the following passage:—

"All these undisputable facts taken together show that if unemployment has spread so generally in Belgium the fact is to be imputed to the Germans alone. They have, in fact, aggravated when they did not create the shortage of work in the hope first of causing the voluntary emigration of Belgian workmen to Germany, and then, recognising the failure of this manœuvre, in order to find a pretext for the institution of forced labour and for deportations in the mass. The same tactics have also been adopted at the same time to abstract the money in Belgian banks. By its financial policy the German administration first caused the accumulation of marks in the Bank coffers. Whereupon, pretending that it was opposed to the public interest to keep money lying idle instead of employing it to bring in interest, the Germans seized the cash in the Banks of Belgium, and imposed the investment of the money, in Germany. The similarity of the two proceedings completely reveals the true motive of the German administration and the insincerity of the reasons it alleges for its justification."

The ground having been thus in every sense well prepared, the German authorities threw aside all concealment of their real purpose. The first step was taken in October last, when it was announced that the work to be given to the unemployed would be not in Belgium, but wherever the Germans chose. This covered not merely Germany herself, but the territory of her Allies and victims. It may well be that the scenes in which these free men, turned into slaves by the arbitrary decree of the tyrant of Potsdam, will toil for their and our foe is to be in either Poland or Serbia. Still this order applied only to "the unemployed." Even before

it had been put into effect Cardinal Mercier, as the last spokesman left in Belgium of the cause of patriotism and humanity, protested, lodging his petition to the Governor-General with the representatives in Brussels of the Holy See, the United States, Spain, and Holland, as the only neutral States still represented in Belgium. The Governor-General refused to receive it, and gave a curt and absolute rejection. Immediately afterwards it became known that the order did not apply only to the unemployed, but to the whole of the able-bodied male population between the ages of seventeen and fifty-five. The German rulers have proved inexorable. Thereupon Cardinal Mercier, in the name and with the concurrence of all the Belgian Bishops, made an appeal to the public opinion of the civilised world. This has roused much feeling in the neutral States, and the result remains to be seen.

Since that appeal the deportations of the able-bodied male population have been carried out on a wholesale scale. It is computed that at the moment of writing they reach a total of 350,000 persons, but it seems probable that before they cease this total will be doubled. Already a further number of 50,000 from Brussels alone have been deported. In some places, notably in Limburg, all the males from fifteen to fifty-five have been removed, and in the Hasselt district, for some obscure reason, girls possessing sewing machines have also been carried off with them. Soon, very soon, there will not be left in Belgium any but women, children, and old men. It would have been a mercy, it would have revealed some slight trace of human compassion, to have deported them to the same place as their husbands and sons. But that is not the German way. They want men to work for them so that their own men may join the fighting ranks of the army. They want Belgium to be emptied of her men so that there may be no internal danger whenever the hour strikes for their own retreat. They do not want women, children, and old men, useless mouths to fill, in Germany. For them they have other projects.

It was all set forth in the original programme of Drs. Rathenau and Ganghofer, drawn up in the spring of 1915, approved by the German Emperor, but foolishly ignored here on the ground that it was too inhuman for execution, and therefore to be deemed merely an idle threat. When the country had been drained of its resources, which is now the case, the next step was to be the expulsion of the people of Belgium from their own land. The persons who had no value as workers—viz., “the women, children under fourteen, and “men over sixty years of age, were to be driven out of Belgium at “the point of the bayonet into France.” The first part of the programme is being carried out by the deportation of able-bodied males to Germany. The still greater horror remains to be

perpetrated, but do not let anyone nurse the vain hope that even Germans will shrink from that last infamy. It figures openly in the programme that has, with that one exception, been literally executed, and no argument but that of victorious force will make them stay their hand. They are, in their favourite phrase, "bleeding Belgium white"; in little over two years they have destroyed the prosperity and happiness of one of the most admirable communities in Europe; they have scattered its men far and wide; they vow that before they have done they will leave Belgium as a solitude under the light of Heaven.

Cardinal Mercier appealed to the opinion of the world. Can such infamies be done in this twentieth century? They are done—that is the answer; and no one seems to have wit or force sufficient to arrest the bandit's arm. That is a duty imposed on neutrals as well as the Allies. Neither the Americans nor the Dutch can shirk it without ignoring their obligations to the cause of humanity. The full nakedness of Germany's horrible purpose must be exposed for the information of the whole world, so that nobody may be able to plead that they could not have believed such action to be possible. The purpose has been long declared; it is now in course of execution. Who believes now that the Germans will stop half-way?

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

PORTUGAL'S EFFORT.

THE departure of Portuguese troops to co-operate in the fighting in France is welcome news, not only as an immediate accession of strength to the Allies, but as an additional sign of that pooling of their resources which has led to so many successes on all the fronts, and as a promise of the closest relations between Portugal and the other Allies after the war, relations which may be of great value to all the countries concerned. When war broke out in August, 1914, Portugal's place was obviously, by treaty, with her ally, Great Britain, and equally obviously, by nature, with the Power that had command of the sea. Portugal subsists largely by imports, and does not even grow sufficient corn for home consumption, depending entirely on sea-borne traffic. But Portugal might easily have said: "I am willing and eager to take the side of the Allies, but years of internal upheaval have so weakened me that I am totally unable to do so. I am perfectly unprepared for war, my fleet and my army are inadequate, and my treasury is empty," and have proceeded to declare her neutrality. She could then have enjoyed Great Britain's protection by sea, and made a handsome profit by selling needed supplies to the Allies. Fortunately for herself and her future Portugal adopted a nobler course. Deeply stirred, as a country to which French civilisation means everything and German civilisation singularly little, her first impulse was to declare war upon Germany. It was at the instance of Great Britain that she did not immediately do so, and contented herself with helping the Allies in other and quieter ways. At a time when they were less rich in munitions than at present she sent whatever stores were available, and despatched her cannon, as a free gift, to the Flanders trenches, generally assisting in every way she could, while Herr Rosen the German Minister at Lisbon, poured his daily hate of protests into the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. She also sent a considerable force to protect her African colonies against their German neighbours, with whom the Portuguese troops repeatedly came into conflict. More recently they have been able to co-operate with the British and the Belgians in the conquest of German East Africa, and their rapid advance North of the Rovuma river over

a difficult country is a minor but a spirited chapter of the war. Finally, at the beginning of 1916, Portugal set an excellent example to other countries by deciding to utilise the German shipping lying idle in the Tagus, whereupon Germany, seeing that Portugal was one of her favourite enemies, a small country, immediately declared war. This declaration was received with much enthusiasm when it was read out in the Portuguese Parliament on March 10th, and Portugal at once set herself to train her troops. That process has been going on ever since, with excellent results, if one may judge by the expressed opinions of the British and French military missions, and, indeed, of all who have witnessed the manœuvres. It must be remembered that until quite recently Portugal was rent with the bitterest internal dissensions, the aftermath of the revolution of 1910. It is true that King Manoel has, on more than one occasion since the beginning of the war, sent unequivocal instructions to his followers in Portugal to place their country before their King, to think not of party but of Portugal. But the Republicans were not in agreement among themselves. It is only since the actual declaration of war that these dissensions have subsided, and in this great conflict, in which every nation, as every individual, must either find his soul or lose it, Portugal may be said at last to have found her own soul. In other words, the smothering cloak of party strife has been gradually rent and cast aside and the true Portuguese people stands revealed, ready for action, not words. Whether she has found her soul only temporarily or will in the future have the wisdom to continue to take the larger view, and set country above that sordid and petty scuffle of parties which has been her bane for nearly a century, whether more powerful countries will set her a good example by doing so themselves, it would be rash to prophesy. But meanwhile it is greatly to Portugal's credit that no serious disturbances have occurred. Apart from the question of Monarchy and Republic, the whole population of the North is devoutly Roman Catholic, and the Government is anticlerical. This antagonism, keenly fanned by German agents from over the frontier, might easily have led to trouble. The Portuguese nation, strictly organised politically, is, from a social point of view, perfectly disorganised. The peasants, and the peasants are nine-tenths of the population, are extremely ignorant, in some districts eighty per cent. cannot read or write. Under such circumstances it takes time for them to realise that they are at war. The Press can do little, it is not read; public meetings even less, for they are not attended, while the officials who represent the Lisbon Government in the provinces are distrusted, the authority of the priests has been long undermined, and the landowners are for the most part

absentee. When all is said and done, however, the fact remains that the Portuguese people is profoundly patriotic, and the peasants may have reflected that before having a religion they must possess a country in which to have it. There have been other grounds for unrest, any one of which would have caused an outbreak in ordinary times: the growing dearness of food, the scarcity of sugar, and the increase in the price of bread, which have induced statesmen to belated consideration of the advantages of planting wide districts of Portugal with beetroot and wheat. And there have been a hundred other embarrassments and annoyances, such as the prohibition for all male persons between the ages of seventeen and forty-five to leave the country, following on the mobilisation of the Army. But the Portuguese people, although it has had no enemy at its gates by land nor, owing to the British Navy, by sea, and no Zeppelins overhead, to make it realise the situation, has merely tightened its belt and supported these things in silence and even with good humour. Where the good name of Portugal is concerned, and at a crisis, one may expect anything from this people. To the people generally the British Alliance and the friendship of France mean comparatively little. It is but a section of educated Portuguese who are enthusiastically French in their ideas, while centuries of alliance have not ever really effected an understanding between the English and Portuguese peoples. Byron, who somewhat superficially sketched the Portuguese a century ago, sometimes caught the truth in passing, as when he said that the Portuguese licked but loathed the hand that bore the sword to defend them. They see what to them is the uncouth exterior of the Englishman, his rudeness and bad manners, his apparent lack of sympathy and enthusiasm, and assume that there is nothing more than this in those whom Macedo, an avowed Anglophile, during the Peninsular War, pronounced to be "in truth men of an exceeding singularity." Englishmen may smile, but can they say that they are entirely without blame in the matter? Have they ever gone out of their way to study the customs and ideas, the literature and history and folklore of a people peculiarly sensitive to blame and praise? Those inclined to answer in the affirmative may be asked the simple question: What do you, or more than half-a-dozen persons in England, know of Nun' Alvarez, or Gil Vicente or Nuno Gonçalves? Nun' Alvarez is the national hero of Portugal, a hero of whom any nation might well be proud, but who was better known to Englishmen in his lifetime than he is to-day. Gil Vicente is the most national of Portuguese poets, and one of the earliest of modern European dramatists, a great poet whose name has only recently begun to creep across the borders of Portugal. Nuno Gonçalves

was a painter who has preserved for us with wonderful distinctness and character the features of Prince Henry the Navigator and other men of that time. In art Portugal, though richer than is often supposed, cannot compare with Spain or Italy, but it must not be forgotten that she possesses one of the most beautiful of Roman temples and some of the grandest Roman buildings in Europe. A Portuguese society is concerning itself with the requirements of tourists, and as conditions, chiefly the roads and hotels, improve, the number of visitors to these buildings, set in lovely scenery and an incomparable climate, is certain to increase rapidly. As to history and literature, it would be worth while to learn the Portuguese language merely to read the accounts, in the historians and the chroniclers, who are often quite as reliable as the historians, of Portuguese deeds in the first four or five centuries of Portugal's existence. The events are exceedingly dramatic, and are described in the most lifelike way by Fernan Lopez, Azurara, Garcia de Resende, and others. It would be difficult to match for interest the brief reign of King João II. (1481-95) recorded by the latter: the beheading of the Duke of Braganza, the stabbing by the King's own hand of his first cousin and brother-in-law, the Duke of Vizen, the lavish festivities for his son's wedding, and the violent death of the prince in the following year; while the interest centres throughout in the character of the King himself. But for the English the slightly later discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese have a special significance. Much of the land discovered now belongs to Great Britain, and a study of the Portuguese historians, Barros, Conto, Castanheda, Correa, affords an excellent introduction to the geography of the British Empire. The coast towns of the country now conquered from Germany in East Africa figure largely in all these historians, as in the most famous poem of Portuguese literature, the *Lusiads* of Camões. From Kilwa, formerly Guiloa, came in 1503 the first gold from the East, out of which Gil Vicente wrought the Belem monstrance which has called forth the delighted praise of all who have seen it. The vivid accounts of Portuguese historians, travellers, soldiers, missionaries, adventurers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are not by any means the only comparatively unexplored treasures in a literature which may be described as the richest unknown literature in Europe. That it should be neglected is merely a loss to those who neglect it, and does not detract an ounce from its value. But even were literature to be set aside, it would be folly for Englishmen to forget the importance to them of the Portuguese language. It is spoken in vast regions of South America, and in Africa it is, with French, now the only neighbour of the British possessions from Cairo to the Cape. It is not so easy to learn as

Spanish, and many Portuguese themselves scarcely know how to write it, but at its best it is one of the finest of European languages and combines with the grace and concision of Castilian a drier, more concentrated strength. [Compare, for instance, *no, na* ("in the ") with Sp. *en el, en la, quente* ("hot ") with Sp. *caliente, dor* ("pain ") with *dolor*.] There is an opening for British trade now in Portugal, and Portugal will, if she is wise in her own interests, provide a further opening in her colonies. Before the war the Germans were rapidly capturing trade in Portugal by their cheap wares and easy conditions of purchase, and so far as Portugal was concerned Germany was making wonderful progress for a nation which would now gladly pose as having been cut off from expansion. Knowledge of the language and some knowledge of Portugal and her past is undoubtedly an advantage for trade in Portugal, where, as in other Latin countries, business methods are less cut and dried than they are in England. Relations are being actively drawn closer between France and Portugal, and the recent inauguration of an Anglo-Portuguese Institute in Lisbon, entirely non-political, is a step in a similar direction in the relations between Portugal and Great Britain. If there is greater understanding and greater trustfulness between the two nations, the present struggle may bear fruitful consequences for both, and means may be devised to save Portugal from a terrible financial crisis. Better mutual knowledge can alone increase the sympathy and interest on the one side and diminish the sensitive suspicions on the other. But if immediate steps are not taken to foster such knowledge, the results of the present war may be as disappointing as those a century ago, when British and Portuguese had often fought side by side on the Peninsular battlefields. A few years afterwards large numbers of Portuguese were Anglophobes, who had persuaded themselves that Great Britain was endeavouring to rule Portugal despotically in her own (Great Britain's) interests. As to the terrible, the suicidal harm done to Portugal during the last hundred years by party politics and misrepresentative parliaments, Englishmen probably need no further enlightenment; but English friendship for Portugal happily rests on no narrow political basis: it is founded on regard for individual Portuguese, on admiration for Portugal's early history, on a long connection both in battles and commerce, and on belief in the Portuguese people, the uneducated and undeveloped peasantry to whose loyalty, perseverance, courage, energy, and intelligence all observers have borne witness. One possible cause of misunderstanding should be removed by a minute's thought. There may be a tendency in some quarters in Portugal to believe that Great Britain has supported a party which, although it emphatically does not represent Portugal as a whole, has been in

power during the last few years. Great Britain, like the other Allies, has to treat with the party which for the time is at the head of affairs as representing Portugal. Not to do so would be like trying to sweep by holding the numerous hairs of the broom instead of its handle. But the idea that Great Britain would support one party at the expense of others, even if that idea be insidiously spread by the party in question, is obviously wrong. What Great Britain wants is not the triumph of this party or the other party, but to see Portugal triumph. Portugal is now wholeheartedly in the conflict, and so long as she continues to merge all other interests in the war the future of Portugal is assured. As the Portuguese Prime Minister said recently, the future of Portugal is in the trenches. There she will be in excellent company, and will never have reason to repent her straightforward realisation of her duty in this war. The Portuguese soldier untrained is in spirit, and trained is in spirit and capacity not unworthy to take his stand between the French and the British troops. If in England the soldier merely "does his bit," and in Portugal the soldier who has performed his duty "is a hero," that is only the British and the Latin way of expressing the same idea. We may be sure at least that the Portuguese soldiers *will* do their bit, and may welcome them in the words of one of their own poets three centuries ago:—

"Avante, avante, senhores,
Pois que com grandes favores
Todo o Ceo vos favorece."

(Go forward, Sirs, go forward, since Heaven's blessing on you rests.)

AUBREY BELL.

SHALL WE BE POORER AFTER THE WAR?

THE material waste and destruction of this war, with its ever-increasing area of conflict, have been far greater, more various and more widespread than would have been thought possible before the actual event. At the outset most economists in this and other countries predicted exhaustion of one or both belligerent groups before two years were passed. The actually available resources of every country have proved to be far greater than was supposed. What this country, in particular, has done amounts to an economic miracle. With some four million men taken from ordinary occupations for the fighting forces, and two more millions for munitions, we have been able somehow to maintain the ordinary productive operations of our country at so high a level as to provide with food, clothing, vehicles, and innumerable other expensive articles our own forces and a large surplus for our Allies; while our civil population as a whole has been living upon a somewhat higher level of material comfort than before.

There are those to whom the obvious explanation of the miracle is that we are living on our capital, and they insist that we shall have to pay afterwards for this necessary extravagance. Now living upon capital from the standpoint of a nation may mean one or other of two things, or both. It may mean that we have destroyed, damaged, or diminished the plant, buildings, roads, stocks, money, which we possessed in this country before the war, together with the foreign securities which represented claims upon real wealth in other countries. Or it may mean that we have mortgaged abroad portions of the wealth we shall produce after the war, by obtaining upon credit foreign goods to supplement our war deficiencies. If either of these things has occurred, it will seem to involve a diminution in our national income after the war, a measure of poverty.

Now in this country the direct material damage of war by sea and air attacks is so far negligible, except as regards our mercantile marine. The failure during war fully to replace this latter loss, retarding as it will transport for some years to come, is a considerable injury.

Apart from this our war economy will have caused a letting down

of most of those forms of fixed capital which can be let down without great immediate damage to their productive services. Repairs and renewals, both of public and private fabrics of a durable kind, have been postponed, industrial machinery and other plant have been injured by overwork and neglect. The Census of Production (1907) estimated that a sum of from 170 to 180 millions per annum represented industrial wear and tear and renewals, or approximately one-tenth of the industrial income of the nation. A considerable part of this expenditure, no doubt, has been suspended—*i.e.*, the work that would have gone for this purpose has been diverted into work for the production of immediately consumable wealth. This damage to future productive power is enhanced by a letting down of many stocks of materials, unfinished or finished goods, which in ordinary times constitute a reserve of national wealth to meet the sudden enhancements of demand, and to secure the required elasticity of trade. These stocks, both in this country and throughout the world, have been largely depleted to meet the urgent needs of the belligerent nations. Their reduction must rank as an expenditure out of capital which will have to be made good before trade can be fully restored. This expenditure of capital is probably the most serious incurred by this country. For during the first year of the war we must have recalled the great bulk of the large resources with which we have been financing the foreign trade of the world. If we are to resume this profitable line of business afterwards, we shall have to replace the hundreds of millions of money which we withdrew in the shape of over-seas supplies to help us fight the war. So far as the income-earning power of our capital is concerned, the letting down of plant and stock is the measure of the direct damage to capital due to the war. Against it may be set an estimate of the new engineering and other plant brought into existence, primarily for war requirements, but capable of adaptation to peace industries afterwards.

The large sales of American and other foreign securities, and the loans effected in the United States and in our Dominions, no doubt involve an expenditure of past capital and a mortgage of future resources. But regarded from the national standpoint, what has taken place may fairly be treated as a shifting of securities. We have sold securities and raised credits in America in order to make financial advances of at least equal magnitude to our Allies. The terms upon which these advances have been made as well as their distribution are for the present withheld from public knowledge. But it may be taken for granted that these terms are such as will not make our nation losers in the future by the total transactions. For some time to come, however, the financial credit of some of these Allies is likely to be such as will oblige us to lend them the sums

they will require to pay the interest on their borrowings. In that case it is evident that this sum of interest will represent a net reduction of the annual income of our nation available for distribution here so long as this method of payment is continued, although no permanent reduction of our national capital in foreign securities may have taken place.

Summarising the evidence we have cited, we may fairly conclude that the material capital of this country will emerge from the war not seriously damaged or diminished. Indeed, it may plausibly be argued that the better organisation of industry for obtaining a fuller use of the existing plant—*e.g.*, the introduction of a shifts system into processes where plant was lying idle for the greater part of the time, may almost compensate for the admitted loss by letting down fixed capital and stocks. The really substantial loss of capital consists, of course, in the diversion of the bulk of the annual saving fund during the war which would have gone to the enlargement and improvement of the industrial fabric of this and other countries, into war loans and taxes for furnishing explosives and other war requisites. But this only means that this country, in common with the greater part of the industrial world, has been compelled to mark time instead of marching forward during the years of war.

In a word, the supply of available industrial capital for this country after the war will not be so greatly diminished as to necessitate a total output of industry appreciably lower than it was before the war.

How, next, will it fare with the other factors of production? Will the supply of labour be reduced by the ravages of war? The loss of life and the disablement will amount to a heavy total. Perhaps it may represent a million men, or one-sixth of those withdrawn from ordinary civil occupations. But this would not mean a corresponding reduction of effective labour. There are several compensations here. First comes the stoppage of all British emigration during the war. At least half a million workers who would have gone abroad will have been kept at home. It may, indeed, be admitted that the tide of emigration after peace will carry away large numbers both of our civilians and of disbanded soldiers. But the pace of this movement will be restrained by reduced facilities and enhanced costs of transport, as well as by the lack of the money usually required to make emigration a success for men untrained in agriculture. The actual emigration for some years to come is likely to be slower rather than quicker. At any rate, no large net reduction of labour for immediate purposes of industry can be ascribed to this cause. Another compensation is to be found in the newly-discovered and trained powers of

women. Though many of the six hundred thousand who have already entered munitions and other industrial occupations will doubtless return to domestic work, the ranks of labour will permanently be enlarged, not merely by those who having already entered will remain, but by a constant flow of new female labour into occupations for the first time opened by the war. Women have discovered new aptitudes and new confidence in exercising them. Their status in industry has definitely and permanently risen. It is no mere question of numbers. Both for women and for unskilled men the artificial barriers which precluded them from learning and undertaking large numbers of skilled occupations have been broken down. After the war the proportion of workers, male and female, possessing approved skill in some productive process, will be greatly increased. This, of course, is equivalent to an enlargement of the effective productive power of the nation. When in addition to these compensations for the war-losses account is taken of the normal increase of the working-class population during the war period, it may be concluded that the aggregate labour-power available after the war will be quite as great as that available in the summer of 1914, assuming that the war is not prolonged beyond next summer.

Business ability and enterprise in the organising and employing classes ought to be enhanced rather than diminished by the lessons in adaptation and experimentation imposed by the stress of war-needs. Rapid transformations of plant and premises, novel technical processes, revolutionary changes in finance, control, organisation of labour, have everywhere been shaking the easy-going, slack, routine ways and notions of employers. Thousands of them have been compelled for the first time in their lives to "look alive" and stir their intellectual stumps. The great revelation of what could be done to maintain and enhance productivity under the spur of national necessity can never perish from our minds. We now know that with the material and human resources at our disposal it is technically possible, when the war is over, to begin producing industrial wealth at a considerably faster rate than it was produced three years ago. Before proceeding from this premiss, it is right, however, to place emphasis upon the two terms which qualify our general statement, the terms "industrial" and "technically." No small part of our success in maintaining the output of ordinary industrial wealth in war-time is due to the sacrifice of certain forms of non-industrial wealth, especially the reduction of the distributive and transport services. These services have in the past been produced in an exceedingly wasteful way, with an immense amount of overlapping and socially injurious competition. The great economies

effected by reducing our railways to a single system are only one striking example of an economy of capital and labour which will certainly be conserved in the future.

A study of the growth of occupations, as indicated in the decennial Census figures for the last half century, displays in a startling way the immense increase in the proportion of labour employed in the processes of wholesale and retail trade and in the transport processes. A very large amount of this work is sheer waste, as its withdrawal under the necessity of war has proved. It is hardly too much to say that these occupations alone have been able to spare a million men without replacement and without imposing any serious inconvenience on the national economy. The war has drawn in a huge quantity of "slack" in our economic system. Whether it will again be permitted to accumulate after the war depends on whether the economic stimuli which have concentrated our civil energies upon maximising the industrial product will remain operative in peace-time.

It is *technically* possible to maintain the industrial output upon as high, or probably a considerably higher level than before the war. But whether it will actually be so retained will depend upon the play of certain other economic and moral forces. The first of these is the confidence of the business world, and the credit which is at once its index and its economic instrument. There are those who, apparently believing that a psychological wave-movement, running "upon its own" and not closely related to any reasoning from concrete common facts, governs this confidence and credit, insist that the release from war-fears and inhibitions will at once liberate an immense "optimism" throughout the business world. Therefore, so runs their argument, an adequate supply of concrete capital and labour being available, a full effective demand for their use will be manifested, and (provided the immediate difficulties of restoring and distributing the scattered and temporarily diverted labour-forces are overcome) employment and production will be resumed in full activity. But is the movement of business confidence and credit so irrational, so independent of hard industrial and commercial facts and probabilities? The technically adequate factors of production will not, in fact, come into full effective co-operation, unless the international situation, upon the one hand, and the national situation, on the other, are such as to furnish a really valid basis for confidence in making business plans for the production and the profitable sale of goods. Manufacturers and traders will not set labour on manufacturing goods and handling them, unless they think they know what sorts of goods and what quantities are likely to be sold and in what places—unless, in other words, they can forecast the future condition of

markets at home and abroad. Banks and financial businesses will not furnish large supplies of credits and discounts to business firms which they know are not in a position to make these reasonable calculations. So far, therefore, as our credit system for the future continues to rest upon a basis of private profiteering enterprise, the translation of technical productivity into actual productivity is likely to be impeded seriously by the weakness of finance, due to difficulty in forecasting the course of trade. The resumption of normal civil life, the readjustments of the fabric of industry, must involve considerable temporary changes in demand, and a good deal of uncertainty as to their continuance. When the initial period of resettlement is passed, innumerable great and small changes in class standards of consumption, partly due to altered habits and tastes, partly to shifts in the distribution of the national income, must take time to impress their full influence upon industry and commerce. Again, in the productive processes themselves the spirit of experiment will be alive, with the risks and improvisations which belong to it. Under such conditions supplies and prices in all markets will be incalculable, and since calculability of buying and of selling prices is the root of business confidence, all business arrangements will be attended by abnormal risks. These considerations, of course, apply with special force to that large part of our industries making for foreign markets. For the dislocations and stoppages of foreign commerce during the long period of the war will have left numerous lasting changes in the channels of foreign trade. Even if our former markets all remained as open to our trade as before, it would be very difficult for our big exporters to deal confidently with the new situation. We shall certainly have lost to American, Japanese, and other traders many of the overseas markets we held securely: others that we may gain must for some time to come be held in an uncertain tenure. If the after-war commercial and shipping policy indicated by the Paris Economic Conference becomes operative, it must, of course, enormously aggravate the difficulties. To break Europe into two independent hostile economic systems, contending by tariffs and other weapons for neutral markets in all parts of the world, makes all reliable calculation of the courses of future trade and prices in these countries impossible, while the reactions of a novel protective system upon industry, employment, and the distribution of income within this country would produce an atmosphere of doubt and speculation ill-adapted to promote the business confidence which is desiderated. This condition of uncertainty about the near future would, of course, be greatly enhanced by a war-settlement which furnished no probability of a durable peace and no effective

guarantees for future reduction of armaments with the costs and risks which they involve.

If, however, we suppose that a reasonably assured continuance of peace is got, and that a commercial world-war is not substituted for the military strife, the disturbances of trade left by the war may not so weaken our credit system as to prevent a speedy return to full productive activity. For one of the most remarkable economic lessons of the war has been its revelation of the reserve forces of national credit. Is it not reasonable to suppose that the financial powers of the State, so successfully mobilised in the autumn of 1914 for the support of the shattered fabrics of private finance, can be made available for the purposes of assisting industrial and commercial recovery after the war? Already the proposal of a State-assisted financial corporation for the acquisition of new foreign markets has received much support in influential quarters. Assuming that the war is brought to a successful end at no distant date, our national credit will emerge not seriously impaired, and though there may be heavy demands upon it during the period of reconstruction, any failure of our private banking system to respond adequately to the needs of the economic situation will certainly evoke an imperative demand that State credit shall be utilised again to meet the grave emergency that would arise, if capital and labour should be prevented from producing wealth through deficiency in the monetary apparatus of the country.

But though all the separate factors of production may suffice, plant, labour, directing energy and credit, there remains the grave question: Can they be kept in effective co-operation? For several years before the war industry was in a state of unprecedented disturbance by reason of the conflicts between employers and workers in the fundamental trades. The root of the trouble was the recent stoppage of that general improvement in wages and working-class standards of comfort which had been going on for several decades, and the actual fall of real wages which had taken place in many staple trades by a failure of wage-rates to keep pace with the continuous rise of prices. Now, shall we be able to look forward to such peaceful relations between capital and labour after the war as will stimulate both employers and workers to co-operate energetically in adopting the improvements of scientific, mechanical and business organisation needed for effective production? No simple, confident reply can be given to this question. The affirmative answer seems to me to depend upon the successful solution of two problems, at first sight separate, but afterwards seen to be closely related. A prime need of the economic situation for the industrial world as a whole, and for this country, will be the

need of more saving—*i.e.*, the application of a larger amount of productive energy to the making of roads, railways, ships, machinery, buildings, and the replacement everywhere of depleted stocks of materials. For though the material equipment of this country may not have suffered heavy damage as a whole, there will be a good deal of new capital expenditure involved in restoration and adaptation to the new conditions, and our nation will have to play a considerable part in the larger task of restoration in Belgium, France, Poland, Serbia, and other war-broken lands. Moreover, it will be difficult and unwise to ignore the calls of South America and other distant lands, dependent on the stream of capital from us for the development of world resources upon which we shall require to draw ever more abundantly, lands which have been starved of this fertilising stream during the years of war. No doubt we ought to keep the bulk of our new savings for our own national work of reconstruction and shall do so. But we cannot safely or advantageously stop the overseas flow of capital. We must, therefore, considerably increase the total volume of our annual savings. If we saved 400 millions before the war, we must save at least 500 or even 600 millions afterwards. On the face of things this does not seem impracticable, or particularly difficult, on the assumption that production goes on fully and smoothly. For a strong stimulus to saving will be present in the shape of a high rate of interest, and the distribution of wealth will apparently be favourable to the process. The total deduction from the output of wealth for the payment of interest will have been greatly enhanced by the War Loans, which will probably add a sum of some 200 millions per annum (interest and sinking fund) for a long time to come to the aggregate amount of the national income of the property-owning classes. These economic conditions will favour an increase of savings, the well-to-do possessing an increased quantity of unearned income and a stronger incentive to save it. High taxation will no doubt appreciably reduce the amount thus available for private saving. But that portion of public revenue expended upon housing, education, and other productive services, may reasonably be reckoned as economic savings. If, as is likely, the State goes into business upon a far larger scale than hitherto, nationalising the railroads, and perhaps the mines and the liquor trade, enlarging the functions of the Post Office, and taking on large departments of insurance and finance, the increased capital needed for such expansions will be a compulsory saving exacted by taxation. But, however the task may be accomplished, the essential point is that more saving will have to take place than before the war. Does that mean that a larger *proportion* of the general income must be saved—*i.e.*, that a larger *proportion* of the annual product

must be in the shape of capital goods, a smaller in the shape of consumable goods. Must we reduce consumption in order to get the larger saving we require? Let me put the issue even more sharply. In order that interest may be high, must wages be low? For if out of a given annual product more must be saved, then less must be spent: if interest and profits are raised, wages must be lowered. This is what many people think must, and will, happen. During the war labour has been made artificially scarce by enlistment and enormous Government contracts. So employment has been full and wages high. After the war labour will be abundant and Government contracts will stop. So employment will be slack and wages low. Some will add that, even if this slackness of employment can be avoided and industry can be actively resumed, high interest and high taxation must take so large a share of the product that real wages must be low. Now either form of this argument brings us to an *impasse*. For just as the economic necessities of the situation are seen to demand a higher rate of saving than before the war, they can also be seen to demand a higher rate of real wages, a higher standard of working-class consumption. This may not be taken to be an economic necessity. It may be said that the rate of real wages before the war, or even a lower rate can be adequate to support the workers in reasonable efficiency until a period of reconstruction has passed and times warrant a return to the tradition of working-class progress. But this evades the real issue, which is one not primarily of economic but of psychological necessity. The workers will not consent to return after the war to steady and pacific co-operation with capital in a new era of progressive industry, unless they are assured wages and other conditions of employment more favourable than prevailed before the war. The experiences of war-time will have convinced both the workmen who have fought and those who have stayed at home that industry can afford a higher standard of wages. If the nation has been able to afford the gigantic extravagances of this war, and, at the same time, to maintain the working-classes at a higher level of consumption than before out of the current output of wealth (with six million men withdrawn from production) it will be idle to attempt to persuade them afterwards to submit to a cutting down of standards on the plea that industry cannot support the higher rates. Any doubt that may exist upon this matter will be quickly resolved by the first attempt to impose upon any great organised trade a reduction of wage-rates. The tone of the working-classes after the war is not likely to be one of submissive apathy. It is likely to be one of irritability and suspicion. The projects which employers and officials are canvassing so busily for introducing scientific management,

business syndication, compulsory arbitration, profit sharing and bureaucratic socialism, with the laudable object of enhancing productivity and reducing friction, are already beginning to stir uneasiness among the more forward-looking labour leaders. They seem to see an attempt to impose upon the workers from above an organisation of industry in which the will and interests of employers will operate through the machinery of government with the new militarism in reserve for a final guarantee of industrial peace. These suspicions are likely to spread rapidly during the preliminary period of resettlement, unless employers and the government make some genuine effort to enlist the active co-operation of trade unions and other working-class bodies, accompanied by explicit guarantees for wages and employment, and a substantial share in the government of industry, so far as it affects the interests of labour. This is no place for the close discussion of the nature of these guarantees. But adequate minimum wage-rates (with consideration of retail prices), reasonable security of continuous work and provision against unemployment, with representative control in the respective workshops or departments, public or private, on matters affecting pay, hours and discipline, must be essential features in the new business organisation, if it is to secure at the outset the consent and goodwill of the mass of workers. To discuss the problem of increasing productivity as if it were merely or mainly one of technical or financial organisation is a grave error. No success can be achieved unless the goodwill and voluntary energy of the workers are secured. And to secure these requires that the problem of production shall not be severed from the problem of distribution. In order to raise the technique and organisation of our industry to a higher level, the workers must be got to see their own substantial gain from the enhanced productivity to which their labour is required to contribute.

The net result of this general analysis is that, if we are to escape becoming poorer after the war, we must become richer. This is not the empty truism it may at first appear. It signifies in the first place that a mere return to the standard and volume of production of wealth before the war is impossible. For out of the after-war production a far larger amount will have to be taken for interest and dividends. Moreover, apart from the payment of war expenses in the shape of interest on loans and sinking fund, the needs of public revenue for social services, and probably for the maintenance of an expensive army, will involve a larger total burden of taxation than before the war. These enhanced payments, to capital, fund-holders and the State, would involve a heavy reduction of real wages, if the total production were no greater

than before the war. But labour, as we diagnose the case, would not consent to such reduction. If it be said that the operation of economic prices would compel labour to submit to the inevitable, I would reply that the evidence does not show this course to be inevitable. There is an alternative course, viz., so to raise the total productivity of industry as simultaneously to provide out of the enlarged output of annual wealth the increased aggregate of interest and public revenue, together with a higher standard of wages and consumption for the working-classes. The economic stimuli of production brought into operation during war-time show the possibility of increased production even under an improvised organisation. Our supreme task must be to devise stimuli which, though less acute in their appeal than those supplied by the emergency of war, shall yet be adequate in peace to operate successfully in a carefully reformed organisation of industry, in which the interests of all participants, capital, labour, ability and the consumer, shall be duly represented. If these changes in our industrial arrangements for producing and distributing wealth amount to a revolution, better this sort of revolution than the other sort which history teaches us may follow war.

J. A. HOBSON.

THE METHODS OF THEOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION.

ALTHOUGH for a moment the task of theological reconstruction is in abeyance, and our minds are turned rather to the reconstruction of our political and social institutions which must follow the war, that prior task is not forgotten, nor can it be. For many years past it has been apparent to all observers that the religion professed by our country does not completely grasp the country, nor even hold the allegiance of its best friends; and where that fatal separation between the religion and the intellectual life of a nation occurs, a weakness betrays itself which it must be the purpose of all earnest minds to correct. Now, the present writer, in attempting at the beginning of the war to suggest certain lines of theological reconstruction, was for the moment discouraged by the apparently cold reception which was accorded to his book bearing the name *Reconstruction*. But, much to his delight, the book has made its way quietly into far-distant quarters, and there revealed its power to meet, at least in part, the implicit demand of our time. Certain minds that had been completely alienated from the current orthodoxy of the Church, have found their way back to a joyful acceptance of the Christian Gospel through the suggestions which were there made; and this evidence gives rise to a certain hope, which may be better grounded as experience advances, that it is possible so to re-state the claims of the Christian faith, in full view of our present knowledge and our best beliefs, that numbers of those who are at present in the dreary gulfs of doubt, or wandering far away in other directions to find peace for their souls, may be brought back to a Christian faith.

The method of reconstruction which was suggested in the book cannot be even outlined in an article like this; but the problem dealt with may be so presented that scholars and thinkers, who have greater leisure and opportunity than the present writer, may work along the proposed lines with the most promising results.

The real difficulty of our time, when we come to probe it, is the dethronement of the Bible from its position of unquestioned authority. From the earliest period of Christianity, even in the writings of the earliest Fathers, the sacred scriptures were held to

be the standard and the test of Christian truth: nothing was to be taught as essential except what was contained in them or could be proved by them; and up to the middle of the last century that imposing fortress of the Book remained practically unquestioned and certainly unbreached. No one within the borders of the Church hesitated to regard the Bible as effectively infallible. A quotation from any part of it carried unquestioned weight, and decisions drawn from its decretals were the settlement of all strife. It was considered daring to question even its verbal inspiration, and when the term *plenary inspiration* was suggested as a convenient half-way house, it never occurred to anyone to suspect that doubt could go any further.

Then Criticism came, that spirit of questioning, and enquiry into all the old and accepted positions, which was the distinctive mark of the later nineteenth century; assailing everything, it at last assailed the *sacro-sanct* Book; it flowed like the tide which surrounds Mont St. Michel, at first gradually, then rapidly. First it overflowed the Old Testament, then the New; first the Law of Moses, then the Law of Christ; first the Pauline letters, then the four Gospels. Finally, everything was submerged; and when the waters subsided the scene was one of desolation and demolition; no habitable building seemed to be left. That impression was a mistake, but a very natural mistake. The Book, which had been regarded, not only in its broad lines, but in its iotas and tittles, as the Word of God, seemed hardly worth reading as the word of man. If its authority was not absolute, what use was it? If a text did not settle a controversy, how could the book as a whole help us? If there were errors of any kind in it, how could there be truth of any kind in it? That was an illogical position, no doubt, but it was quite human, quite natural. Whenever we discover an idolised person to be not perfect, we fly to the opposite extreme; we demolish the idol, we give up the person. "If I believed that," said an impetuous lad after reading a book entitled *Inspiration and the Bible*, "I should throw my Bible behind the fire." But as the facts in *Inspiration and the Bible* were irrefragable, many did throw their Bibles behind the fire; and a generation has grown up which, so far from regarding the Bible as God's word, hardly knows it as man's book. The reaction is widespread and profound. And meanwhile criticism goes on with its work; no one knows, from week to week, what new advance will be made, what further block of the old venerated building will be undermined. Daniel was moved to the second century B.C.; St. John to the second century A.D. One day the *Pentateuch* is brought down to the time of Ezra, the next it is asserted that Jesus was the deluded victim of his own apocalyptic; the following

day it is maintained that he never existed at all. See what has become of Chillingworth's "The Bible and the Bible alone is the "religion of Protestants"? Protestants have lost their Bible, and in losing it have lost their religion. How can they shelter in a building which is demolished, or which is ever hidden by the scaffolding about it, necessary for perpetual repairs? Many hark back to Rome, searching there for an infallibility which is not found in the once infallible Book. Others seek in Theosophy the immediacy and certainty which seem at first to go out of religion if the Bible cannot be trusted; and numbers, who avoid Rome and Theosophy alike, do not escape the tepid indifference, the withered belief, hardly distinguishable from unbelief, which are inevitable when the foundations have given way.

The first necessity, therefore, is to answer the perfectly just question: "If much of the Bible is not correct, how am I to know "what in it is correct? If the science in the Bible is elementary, "if its history is inaccurate, if its moral standards—say of the "*Pentateuch* or of *Judges*—are crude and inapplicable to our time, "how am I to know what is trustworthy and what is applicable "to our time?" Because the Church does not answer this just question, unbelief spreads and indifference follows on unbelief, and irreligion on indifference. Now let us see where the lines of reconstruction are to be drawn, for, in spite of the supposed demolition of the Bible, the valuable purpose of it is just as valid as it was before the tides of criticism began to flow. Nay, if that be true, we may go further and say that the Bible is more valid for being swept by the tides of criticism, because those tides have washed away much that was misleading and have brought out in its unique grandeur the truth which gives value to the Book.

In the ruinous bombardment of towns in Flanders or Picardy, again and again, when the streets are ruined heaps of buildings, and the walls of the church are pierced, shattered, falling, the solitary figure of Jesus on the Cross is seen standing unharmed. A similar result has followed from the action of criticism on the Bible. What is, what was from the beginning, the value of these writings, Jewish and Christian, which are bound together and treated as God's Book, the one authority for Christianity? The value of this bound library of a small Eastern people is this and nothing else: that it brings Christ to us, and can, if we use it aright, bring us to Christ. That is its unique value; that alone distinguishes it from the other sacred books of the world, the *Shoo-King*, the *Zend-Avesta*, the *Upanishads*, the *Koran*. Criticism, by making this clear, has really enhanced the value of the Book, for it has shown that the Authority in the Book is simply the authority that breathes from Christ's person, Christ's teaching,

Christ's spirit. It has made Christ the authority over the Bible, instead of allowing the Bible to be, as in the days before criticism, the authority over Christ.

Before expanding a little this unique value of the Bible, it may be well to remind ourselves that the authority which biblical statements or texts may have claimed, apart from relation to Christ, is of very questionable value, and has led frequently to superstition, and sometimes to a blinded bigotry. The authority of the Bible, which is final and valid, is only the authority of Christ, which is brought to us through the Book.

" Christ is the End, for Christ is the Beginning,
Christ the Beginning, for the end is Christ."

This has been the faith of the Church from the beginning, though we seldom recognise it. The Fathers used the Bible, and the Masters of those who know have always used it, implicitly, in this way; but the fact was almost entirely forgotten before the dawn of criticism; the infallibility of the whole Bible literature had taken its place. The word of God meant, not the Logos (Christ), but the collected writings of the Jewish Church and the Apostolic times. Not the Spirit, but the letter, determined religion, the letter of the Book. Christ was not so much found, as lost, in the Bible. The shattering demolition of the literature liberated the spirit that was in it; and at last the authority of Christ stands out clear above the jostling authorities of legislators, prophets, poets, moralists, evangelists, apostles, which are gathered together in the Bible, and are only of ultimate value as they merge in the one authority of Christ.

Does it seem iconoclasm to say that the Bible is of no unique value except so far as it leads to Christ? Well, if it is iconoclasm, it is the shattering of idols, that God may appear. And is it not plainly true? Suppose Christ were removed out of the Bible, not the name Messiah, Jesus, Son of Man, but the person, the character; suppose the Old Testament had not foreshadowed him, nor the New Testament shown him, what value would the Bible have for the modern world? If for Judaism the Old Testament would have a historic interest, yet even for it what could be made of a *Torah* which to-day no Jew can keep, and of sacrifices which can never be offered, because the Temple has ceased to be? What can be said of prophets that mingle denunciations of the nation's sins with forecasts of a future which never came? Even for Judaism that forward voice, which we call a Messianic hope, is the vital element of the Bible, and if Judaism does not see the hope fulfilled, at least it can only live by expecting it. But for Christians

the Bible without Christ would be absolutely useless; the vitality would have departed, because the living fact, which gives the spring and power to their faith, would never have been. The Bible for them, if they would only face the truth, is of value just because it enshrines the person of Christ; shows the historical and moral preparation for his coming; then his coming; and finally, the living forces by which he continues to work in the world until the consummation at an unknown date which he foretold.

It may be well to pause and show how this truth is demonstrated by the habit of the straitest orthodoxy of bibliolatry. The Old Testament is defended by that sect in this way: that everything in it is treated as an allegorical forecast of Christ. It will be remembered how the Subapostolic Father, Barnabas, saw the Cross in the number of Abraham's servants who rescued Lot from the Canaanite kings. The Hebrew letter that represents the Cross also stood for the number of the little army; the incident was only reported, according to this writer, as a foreshadowing of Calvary. In the same way the pietistic interpretation of the *Book of Esther* offers a good illustration. The present writer was once taken to task by the late Mr. R. C. Morgan for pointing out the historical and moral stumbling-blocks in that typical instance of Jewish Haggadah. To Mr. Morgan, it appeared, the *Book of Esther* had become the most precious in the Bible. But why? Because he found the historic facts edifying, and the unquenchable fury of the Jews against their enemies moral? No, but because he took Mordecai to be Christ, Haman to be the Devil, Artaxerxes to be God, Vashti to be Judaism, and Esther to be the Church. Of course the Book was delightful which, on such an interpretation, presented the Devil hanged on his own gallows! But this serves to illustrate the point that, in all ages, with more or less clearness, Christian men have penetrated to the core of the truth, that the Bible has for us value only as it brings Christ to us and us to Christ.

Now, to turn to the fact that the Bible, after all the work of criticism, and in face of all our scientific discoveries, is just as capable now, as ever it was, of doing what is its own unique and valid work; for it is essentially the way, historically, ethically, spiritually, by which Christ was given to the world, and it is therefore the medium by which his continued presence in the world is manifested and recognised. To show this let us look at these three points in detail:—

- (1) How it brings Christ to us.
- (2) How it brings us to Christ, and holds us in an active relation with him.
- (3) How, when Christ is so brought to us and we are so brought

to him, we are able to discriminate in the Bible literature, and to escape the Scylla and Charybdis of Biblical literalism.

For the essence of all reconstruction is this, that Christ is a living and active reality, accessible to us in the Spirit, and able to make his will known, and to exert his power directly on those who will have it so; and this living Christ is the constant critic—the higher critic—of the Book.

(1) *How the Bible brings Christ to us.* The light-centre of the Bible is the life of Jesus, the personality and character drawn by the four evangelists. That is so distinct, so captivating, so convincing, that, by universal agreement, the picture there drawn is a lasting possession, and indeed the most precious possession, of humanity. There is man as he should be; there is the morality so simple as to appeal to the most ignorant, and so profound as to satisfy the most learned; there is the revelation of human destiny, and of the goal, the spiritual goal of the human race. In that brief life the law of love is shown which commends itself to the human conscience, and is obviously the one law which, if observed, would make the world good and happy, the one law which opens up a prospect of life beyond the limits of the senses. In that brief record God is manifested, not only as righteousness or power or order, but as the Father of men; the idea of God is corrected and completed, and the *Pater Noster* is made the sufficient prayer of the human family. If the Bible therefore consisted only of that evangelical narrative, it would be the unique Book for religion, the truest revelation of God that men can obtain, and the surest guide of life.

Here is a fact from the report of the Bible Society for 1916: A Mohammedan bought a Gospel for four eggs, because, as he said, he had no money. But the day following he returned with the money, making this remark: "Your Book is very good, but 'the eggs I gave you were not fresh; I would like to pay the 'price of the Book.'" That is how the Gospels work: they touch the conscience, they awake the spiritual thirst; something happens which tells immediately upon life.

But while the Gospels are the clear and brilliant light of the Bible, that central light is surrounded by clouded glories before and after, which are not so easily defined. The Bible seems from the opening page to be preparing for and anticipating Christ; it assumes a unity, a cohesion, a forward voice, directly we recognise this fact; everything travails towards a birth, and the birth is Christ. But the preparation for that simple human life was not merely historical, it was also transcendental, it began in the spiritual world. For he came into the world; he did not originate in the world. He was not flesh that was refined to spirit; but He

was spirit that became flesh and dwelt among us. His life was an incarnation. And as it was before it was manifested, even from the beginning, so it was after it left the world, and will be for ever.

We are not for the moment speaking of the possibility or the credibility of all this; the only point is that this is the Christ that the Bible brings to us, a Being who preceded us, from whom we came, in whose likeness we were made, the intrinsic reason or Logos of the world, the efficient and the final cause of all things. This Christ, from everlasting to everlasting, lived that life, that human life, and died that death upon the Cross. Thus he appears in the Bible, not merely as a human example or a felicitous teacher, but as a wisdom, a reasonable—the most reasonable—explanation we obtain of that world of humanity to which we belong.

This is the Christ which the Bible presents to us; nor do we get any adequate idea of the commanding and convincing fact which is preserved and presented to us of Christ in the Bible from those partial glimpses and hesitating critical judgments which, it is to be feared, form, for most people, the only vision of him they obtain; for the Bible is but little and imperfectly read to-day.

(2) But now we have to observe how the book not only brings Christ to us, but brings us to Christ. Let another quotation from the Bible Society Report serve to illustrate the point. In the North Africa Mission a woman came to see “the Nazarene woman who “knew the words of Christ.” This woman had never seen a Christian, but a merchant travelling through her village had sold to her father an Arabic Gospel, a mere matter of business. She came now to see Miss Mellett, and to speak with a Christian for the first time in her life. Miss Mellett spoke of “my Lord Jesus.” “Yes,” said this untaught African woman, “He is my Lord “Jesus too.” “But how do you know that,” said Miss Mellett, “for you are a stranger to us?” And her reply was this: Her father had bought that Arabic Gospel and he had found Christ in it; and, she said, “he died trusting in Him, and I am trusting “in Him, too.” (P. 142.) That is what is always happening, what has happened from the beginning, what will happen to the end. It is the unique power of the Bible, so to bring Christ to us that we are challenged at once to a personal faith in Him; and if we respond we find Him, not as a literary fact, nor even as a historic person, but as a present spiritual reality; One to whom we surrender, One whom we believe; One with whom we become spiritually united in such a way that a new life begins in us, a life which shares His aims, His powers, and His destiny. That is to say, the Bible has come to be and makes an appeal to us, not that we may believe in *it*, but that we may believe in Christ

of whom it speaks. As Principal Forsyth said in this REVIEW, of October, 1905: "We never do the Bible more honour than when it makes us forget we are reading a book, and makes us sure we are communing with a Saviour."

The point need not be laboured, for it is self-evident: unless Christ is living and accessible, an actual person with whom we come into actual relations, what the Bible says about Him is of no value; that is to say, is only of literary or speculative, but not of practical value; but if Christ whom we find is actually here, and we are in relation with Him—and that was the experience which the Bible always promised—we have an Authority, a divine Guide, a sustaining and directing Power, that can suffice for us individually, and for the whole Catholic Church, which is composed of individuals recognising that Authority.

A passage in Dr. Dale's life has left a permanent impression on our theological literature. On a critical Easter morning the great theologian suddenly realised that Christ was living. He paced his study in an excitement of discovery. "Christ lives, Christ lives," he said, and all his life and ministry were filled with a new power. But evidently that is the essence of Christianity. Faith in Christ brings us to the realisation that Christ *is*, that we are in direct touch with Him. The Bible instructs us in what He is, and leads us to suppose that, such as He was during the incarnation, He is in the eternal life of the Spirit. But He himself is a living and operating personality, is nearer and more important than the literary records. It is not the Bible, not even the New Testament or the four Gospels, but Christ actually with us, in union with us, controlling us, that constitutes the Christian religion. "Because I live, ye shall live also," He said; "that as I am ye may be in the world."

(3) But seeing that the whole purport of the Bible is to bring Christ to us and to bring us to Christ, and seeing that Christ's living personal presence in the Spirit is the one determining factor of our religion, it becomes necessary to accept Christ as the Critic of the Bible. It is not, as may first appear, arguing in a circle, the serpent devouring its own tail, as if one were to say "we prove Christ by the Bible, and then we prove the Bible by Christ"; but it is the fact that Christ, who was from the beginning, before the world was, worked through human history and prepared for His incarnation in the life and religion of a people whose literature the Old Testament is. He came into the world, and the New Testament is the body of contemporary documents which describe that coming and its immediate effects. But as His coming constituted the whole value of those books, which either led up to it or described it, He himself is always the standard by

which they are to be tried, their value lying primarily in the testimony which some more and some less offer to Him. We have gained a clearer view than our fathers had, owing, on the one hand, to a recognition of the historic evolution of religion, and on the other, to a more searching criticism of literary sources. They, in their way, regarded the Old Testament as full of types of Christ: Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Joseph, Moses, David, were all types of Him. The Exodus, the Law, the histories, were all typical. We know how they managed to read Christ into everything, even into *Esther* and *Solomon's Song*. But for us a new light has dawned: if we do not, like our fathers, find Christ in the types, we see the Old Testament as the historical origins developed into a full revelation of God; and we find Christ casting His life back upon the origins, the unquestioned Critic, correcting, revising, and interpreting them. We may have more difficulty in seeing how He is the critic of the apostolic writings which show us, first, the dawn of the faith in Him (the Epistles), and then the records of His earthly life (the Gospels), and third, the forecasting of His kingdom (the Apocalyptic). But it is the recognition of this truth—Christ is the Critic of the very writings which in the first instance bring us to Him—that saves us from the literalism which is a bondage, and shows us how to handle ideas or practices which are only temporary and not of lasting application.

We need not be bound by any supposed infallibility of the Gospel records. The divergences of the four Evangelists warn us against such an error. Nor need we fall into the solecism of supposing that, because Paul or the other Apostles knew Christ and bring us to Him, all they heard about Him was correct, or all they thought about Him was true. The Church has fettered herself unnecessarily by inventing the dogma that the writings which tell us of the infallible Christ must themselves be infallible. There is hardly more reason for that than for the adage: "Who drives fat oxen must himself be fat." We might justly say that they who gave us the records of Christ had no need of infallibility; for His person, His truth, His authority, would be only the more impressive if they came to us through men who were obviously incapable of inventing Him. All the flaws and limitations of the New Testament—and these writers, as Deissman has shown, are not literary but popular writers, not scientific or exact theologians, but men of the people, commending to the people one whom the people heard gladly—only serve to show up in personal relief the Person of whom they speak. They are aware that the Spirit imparted to them is their sole security for truth, and they lay no stress upon their own importance or finality,

because it is their creed that the Spirit will be given to the coming generations also to guide them into truth.

Thus Christ, a living active intelligence, in the Spirit, comes with us through the earliest records of His earthly life and through the fourth Gospel, which is the spiritual interpretation of them. His presence makes clear what is but partially or incorrectly told. His presence is with us in the Epistles, and is the only true interpreter of the things hard to be understood. Paul's Master, Peter's Master, John's Master, as well as ours, He saves us from attributing to Himself mistakes which His apostles made about Him. In the Apocalyptic, whether of the Gospels, Epistles, or Revelation, His presence and corrections are of peculiar value; for no one, with Him as guide and ever-present interpreter, can ever make the mistake of supposing that the apocalyptic forecasts were the most important element of His teaching. Schweitzer only becomes plausible when the living presence of the Lord has been lost.

This, then, is the conclusion to which we move: our theology becomes credible and practical in proportion as it discovers the truth of Christ's presence with us, and makes His personal relation to us central, insisting on His accessibility to the prayer of faith and to obedience of life, as the Critic of the Bible, Church, and Dogma, or, as He would say Himself: "the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

ROBERT F. HORTON.

IMPERIAL DEFENCE AFTER THE WAR.

ALL the problems of after-the-war reconstruction are hazardous ; but Imperial Defence has difficulties peculiar to itself. On internal questions we have the raw material for speculation and constructive thought. We know the factors we have to deal with and the goal we aim at, and are not dependent in the same measure upon external and incalculable considerations. But the discussion of Imperial defence after the war cannot be isolated from a much larger problem—the problem not merely of the relations of the parts of the Empire to each other, or even of the Empire to our Allies, but of the character of the settlement in regard to the world at large.

It is not conceivable that with the experience through which the world is passing now it will return to the old system of relations and rivalries. The relapse of civilised society into the abyss of war has shown that that system of relationships cannot serve to sustain the sort of fabric which we have built upon it in the past. If we want a world society constructed on any sane and livable scheme we must discover a foundation which will bear such a structure. Civilisation and barbarism, it is clear, cannot co-exist. It is this thought which has led to the powerful movement in America, a movement to which Lord Grey and, we may hope, all the statesmanship and wisdom of the world have responded, for the establishment of a League to Enforce Peace. It is obvious that there will be great difficulties in the way of the achievement of such an ideal, and all those who believe that war is an indestructible character of human society are engaged already in scoffing at the idea. But when Europe emerges from the war and takes stock of what it has meant, it is not improbable that the believers in war, and those who advocate it as a moral medicine, will be in a decisive minority, and that the commonsense of the world will insist on some means of protection being devised against the recurrence of the present catastrophe.

It goes without saying that any such scheme could only be

carried into effect, not only with the sympathy of the British Empire, but with its readiness to make its own defensive system conform to the organisation of the world against war. Apart from this larger hope, it is tolerably certain also that, even if the policy of the League to Enforce Peace fails, the results of the war upon international relationships will be of a character that will profoundly affect the ideas of defence. What our requirements will be can only be known when we know what kind of peace has been achieved, what attitude we are called upon to adopt towards those who have been our enemies and our friends, and what is the nature of the Imperial relationships that will be found to be required as the result of the experience of these days. In these circumstances I shall content myself simply with throwing out general ideas, which I shall not necessarily present as my own, and all of which are subject to the success or otherwise of that policy of world organisation which I believe to be the only instrument for the survival, not merely of democracy, but of any form of civilised society.

Leaving that policy aside and looking at the situation which is likely to confront us after the war, there are certain broad governing facts the bearing of which is permanent. The first of these is the fact that we are an island people with affiliations scattered all over the globe. This fact has always differentiated our problem of defence from those of other countries and peoples. There is no country or Imperial federation which offers any parity to the characteristics of the British Empire. Germany, Russia, and the United States are all self-contained systems, and with them the problem of defence has been and must always be mainly a problem of armies in the field. Sea power is not vital to their existence. They may aim at sea power, but in so far as they do so they are aiming not at security, but at expansion, at strengthening not their defensive arm but their offensive resources. The case is the reverse with us. Sea power is vital to our existence as an island people, and it is equally vital to the maintenance of the commonwealth of English speaking nations. Those nations are separated by thousands of miles of sea, and it is by the command of the sea alone that their security and their community of aim are established. In a word, sea power with us is not an instrument of offence, but of defence. Without it the British system would fall into fragments, and the Colonies and India would have to look in other directions for the means of maintaining their freedom from aggression. Disraeli once said in a letter, I think to Lord Malmesbury, that the Colonies hung like a millstone round our neck, and that the sooner we were free from

them, the better. That is an opinion which, I suppose, has fewer supporters to-day than ever before—fewer here and fewer in the Colonies themselves. The war has discovered an unsuspected strength and community of purpose among all the members of the British family, and the maintenance of the Imperial association is a matter upon which there is as near an approximation to unanimity as we can expect to find on any political issue. That association has rested upon the Navy for its material foundation in the past, and it will rest still more definitely upon that foundation in the future.

It is not possible yet to form any clear conception of the changes which the experience of the war will have effected in thought on the subject of sea-power. That those changes will be great can hardly be questioned. Before the war all our controversies on naval questions turned upon the subject of capital ships. We thought and talked in Dreadnoughts. The big ship may survive the war, but if it does it will not survive with the same measure of pre-eminence. The great fact of the war on sea is the emergence, if I may use an Irishism, of the submarine. Whether it has consigned the big ship to the scrap-heap or not the future can alone show, but that it has radically changed ideas of naval defence and naval power is agreed. So far as one can judge, it has not changed it in our favour. I remember some years before the war talking to a great sailor on the question of the submarine, and he expressed the view that, like all naval developments, it would make the strong power stronger. I doubt whether he would take that view to-day. It has introduced a secret and incalculable element into naval warfare to which the big ship has no relevance, which has substantially diminished the mobility of the larger details of a fleet, and which is frightfully efficient in the destruction of that commerce which is the difference between victory and defeat to an island power. It has undoubtedly very materially modified the disparity between the stronger and the weaker naval power in this war, and has revealed an offensive value which was practically unsuspected when the war began. It is difficult to set limits to the possibilities of this arm, and the experience of the war seems to foreshadow a future in which, ungoverned by any world organisation, it will make all estimates of naval strength unstable and even worthless. The command of the sea in the sense in which we have understood it in the past will hardly be possible, and any small power concentrating on submarine constructions will be able to strike a deadly blow at the strongest.

It is obvious that this must modify thought very profoundly on the naval aspect of Imperial defence. Before the war there had been

a long controversy in the Overseas Dominions as to the relations of those Dominions to the British Navy. The main difference of opinion on the subject was as to whether the Dominions should make contributions to the British Navy, or build navies of their own. New Zealand favoured the former course; Australia finally decided on the latter; Canada, when the war broke out, was still undecided. In so far as what I may call the orthodox Navy is concerned, the experience of the war has probably favoured the doctrine of a single Navy. The sea is a unit of operations, and the Empire is a unit of interest. The vulnerable spot of Australia has been found, in the present case, not in Australian waters, but in the North Sea, and so with South Africa. It would seem to follow that a single Navy under a common control is the corollary of the conditions which the war has revealed. It has been suggested that the concentration of the Fleet in home waters might be coupled—in order to give the Colonies a show for their money—with a sort of roving squadron; but that seems an idle proposal. The Fleet is not like a fixed institution. It can be transferred wherever there is water to carry it, and, if the defence of the British Empire required that it should be established in the Pacific instead of the Atlantic, it would be established there.

But it is possible that the incalculable factor of the submarine will considerably affect opinion as to the best basis of naval arrangement. It must alter very substantially the whole problem of naval strategy and distribution, and may conceivably affect political opinion also. For we must remember that at the bottom the attachment of the Colonies to the Empire is an attachment of self-interest. There is a deep spiritual sympathy, of course, but that sympathy would not resist a really destructive practical necessity that made for dismemberment. Indeed, spiritual sympathy has sometimes thriven more under separatism than under cohesion. There is to-day vastly more passion in Chili for the tradition of Spain than there was when Spain was governing Chili with a despotic hand. But that by the way. What I mean is that Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada are fighting to-day for the Empire as a means of self-protection, and any instrument which put self-protection effectively in their own hands would affect their attitude to the problem of Imperial defence. The submarine may prove to be such an instrument. It may prove to be such a dominating factor in sea policy, such a powerful weapon in the hands of the small power, that the whole theory of naval defence, based as it has been upon the unchallenged dominion of the big ship, may be fundamentally affected. That, however, is only speculation. So far as we can see, the likelihood is that after

the war there will be a greater, and not a less, tendency to regard the Imperial Navy as a unit and not as a number of independent elements working in sympathy, but separately provided and separately controlled.

The case is clearly otherwise when we come to the question of defence on land. In this respect the tendency before the war and the clear experience of the war itself leave no doubt that in the future the Overseas Dominions will provide for their own military security and settle their own military problems in their own way. There is much discussion to-day as to an Imperial Parliament representing the Mother Country and the Dominions. There will unquestionably have to be a readjustment of the relations of the Empire, but we may seriously doubt whether it will take this form. In any case, it is not conceivable that any Imperial Parliament could, without the risk of smashing up the Empire altogether, venture to impose on Australia, Canada, or South Africa military schemes of which those countries, separately or together, disapproved. In this matter there will be undisputed local authority, influenced, it may be, by Imperial counsel, but certainly free from Imperial dictation.

The military problem for us in this country, therefore, is fundamentally different from the naval problem. In the matter of the provision of material, there may be a case for Imperial control, but in regard to the nature, constitution, and extent of our armies, the question is for us alone. And it is when we come to this aspect of the subject that we touch the thorns. The governing considerations of policy before the war were two. The first was this, that, in the phrase of Chatham, "the standing army of England " was the Navy," that the Navy was the first, second, and third line of our defence; that we were definitely outside the sphere of Continental wars; that our influence on Continental wars could only be exercised through our dominant sea power, and that the maintenance of an army on the Continental scale was impossible without disastrous consequences to our naval power. This we may call the negative consideration. The positive consideration may be summed up in the word India. All our military calculations turned upon the necessities imposed upon us for the defence of the Dependency and our extra-European connections. The Indian Army and the Expeditionary Force were the two elements of the system, supplemented by the Territorial Army which Lord Haldane designed for purely home service. The Expeditionary Force, which we have just been told on high authority was the most perfect military instrument in Europe, was not conceived for Continental warfare, although when the crisis came it played perhaps a decisive

part in the most critical opening phase of the war. If we look at the probable position after the war in the new light of present events, the first conclusion we have to face is that the conditions which imposed a certain military system on us before the war will remain. They will not remain quite in the same form. Whatever the nature of the Imperial reconstruction which is resolved on, it cannot exclude very important modifications in the relations of India to the Empire. If we set out on our scheme of Empire-building with the idea that it will, we shall be preparing ourselves for a very unpleasant and very deserved disillusion. No one who is at all intimate with Indian thought in these days can have any doubt on that point. But, whether we are wise or unwise in this matter, we shall probably find that, for a long time to come at all events, the defence of India will be a governing consideration of our military system. That fact involves the maintenance of a professional army. No other form of military service would be applicable to a task which, though it requires a relatively small number of men, requires them for a necessarily long period of service, in a remote part of the world and on terms which are entirely incompatible either with voluntary or conscript conditions. Given the Indian Empire on any basis that we can foresee, a professional army follows as a matter of course. It will, no doubt, be an army considerably changed in some of its characters from that we have known. The terms of service, for one thing, will certainly have to be better, for there will be no disposition for a long time after this war on the part of men to take up soldiering in any merely romantic spirit. The romance of war has been buried for ever in the mud of France and Flanders. It is generally agreed, too, I believe, that the constitution of the army will have to be overhauled. The regimental tradition has been found to be antiquated, false, and mischievous. The honour of the regiment belonged to a time when men had to be provided with some tangible ideal. The honour of the regiment has no relevance in relation to a democratic and educated people, who, when they offer their services, will offer them, not for the glory of a regiment, but for the nation and for the defence of liberties and ideals which they have learned to cherish and respect. The regimental tradition has been peculiarly harmful in reference to the officering of the Army. It has created narrow, limited, and grossly undemocratic views of the relation of the Army to the State. Of that we have had very unpleasant illustration in recent years, and no one, I think, who during this war has been brought into contact with the typical thought that prevails in high quarters in the Army can doubt that he has been in contact with something that cannot co-exist with a democratic

and liberalised society. Whatever else happens, we shall have to see that the officering of the Army is not only vastly more intellectual and competent than has been the case hitherto, but that it is inspired by a wholly new spirit, representing not the arrogance of a military caste, but the general temper and outlook of the nation.

But assuming that after the war a professional army will still be imposed on us by circumstances, what will be its corollary? Have we, as the result of the war, to accept the Continental system of conscription as a necessary condition of our existence? That is, of course, the claim of those who in the past have sought to impose that system upon us, and who point to the war as the indisputable evidence that they were right, and as the basis of their argument for the future. I do not think the evidence as to the past is in any sense indisputable, but that point is not really pertinent to the question we are considering. Let us admit, to clear the ground, that if conscription were necessary to the national existence it would have to be accepted. With that admission we can approach the subject as an issue to be decided on entirely practical considerations. And the first consideration which we have to keep in mind is this, that after the war, as before the war, the sea will be our primary sphere of action, both in regard to offence and defence. It is true that the era of splendid isolation would seem to have gone, and that we are involved in the Continental web beyond any power of withdrawal. It may be hoped that we shall be also involved in a world web of peace instead of a merely Continental web of war, but the point is that we cannot escape the Continental web. In spite of that, however, we shall still remain an island, the centre of an Empire which lives by its sea connections, and to which sea power will be the breath of life. That is the fact which differentiates our position from that of Continental powers, all of which have great land frontiers to defend, and none of which are wholly dependent on the sea for their existence. And let us remember that fact when we are told that this war found us the least prepared of all the Allies. So far from that being true, the reverse is the truth. The war found us, even in a warlike sense, the most prepared of all the powers involved. In our own sphere of action we have established a supremacy without a parallel in all the history of great wars. It is that supremacy which has proved to be the foundation upon which the whole Alliance rests, and, if there is one lesson more conclusive for us than another, it is that whatever our scheme of defence may be in the future it must start from the fact that we are an island and that sea power is our supreme necessity. Nothing that compromises our capacity to supply that primary necessity can be tolerated.

Now before the war it will be remembered that the strongest opponents of conscription on practical grounds were the seamen. Their opposition was based on the axiom that the country cannot both maintain a navy which is supreme and an army constructed on the Continental scale. They held that there was a certain fund possible for defence, and that the extent to which that fund was drawn on by the Army represented the diminution of the resources of the Navy. It may be pointed out that the war has got rid of that notion, and that in the end there can be no limit to the extent to which the resources of the country are used for defence. That, however, would be a very delusive suggestion. The fact that in this emergency we are flinging all our accumulated wealth into the furnace of the war leads to another conclusion altogether. It brings in another factor of capital importance. That is the factor of credit. If one may venture to draw at this stage any broad conclusions from the war, two at least seem incontrovertible. The first is that the sea-power of Great Britain saved the cause of the Allies from the beginning; the second is that the credit of Great Britain has kept the cause of the Allies in being to this moment, and is the surest guarantee of its ultimate success. Without the British Navy and without British credit the war would have been over in six months, and Germany would have been victorious in Europe to-day. The importance of sea-power and credit is no new revelation. Napoleon attributed his failure to British gold, and to the fact that wherever there was water enough to sail a cockboat he found a British ship. But certainly the importance of credit has never been realised to the same extent as in this war. As the scale of wars increases, the importance of credit grows geometrically. The struggle in the field becomes secondary to that vast trial of strength in which every function of the nation is absorbed, and in which every quality of productive capacity, whether of food or clothing, material for arms, or material for export trade becomes equally a resource of military strength and endurance. If you have men, you can speedily convert them into soldiers; but if you have not trade and industrial resources, and unlimited credit, you cannot create them in the midst of a great war. It was not the lack of soldiers that was the reason of the delay of this country in putting its full power into the war. We found that we could make soldiers in three months, but, even with all our resources, we could not convert our industrial energies into the adequate supply of the material of war in three months, or six months, or a year. There has been no revelation of the war more remarkable than the swiftness with which an educated people can be converted into armies equal in valour, discipline and endurance to any army

that was ever created. It is that fact which has furnished the great disillusionment of Germany and the most complete challenge to the barrack tradition of the past. It shows that if a nation has men and credit it has the two essentials of a military nation, no matter how peaceful may be the tenor of its normal life.

But if we agree that in the ultimate analysis credit, which is the command of the resources of the world, is the most vital instrument of war, we must bring the question of conscription under the light of that commanding fact. And the question for us will be whether we can at once maintain a supreme Navy, a Continental Army, and our credit at the same time. It was held to be impossible before the war. Will it be possible after the war? Does anyone believe that it will be possible? We have got a national debt at this moment to provide for which will mean an annual burden vastly greater than the whole national expenditure in Gladstonian days. Before the end of the war it is possible that that burden will be not less than 200 millions, and that the total national expenditure, with pensions and so on, will fall not far short of the present war basis of 500 millions. To meet this gigantic charge, and to recover the ground we have lost in the markets of the world, the nation will need to apply all its available power to industry with an energy unknown in the past. Are we to begin that great task by turning the human wealth of the nation in its most critical period into unproductive channels? The withdrawal of this enormous power from the energies of the nation would strike a fatal blow at our credit. It would impose on the shoulders of the nation a new financial burden of enormous weight. But that would be the least of its financial consequences. It would be the loss of productive power which would be ruinous, not merely to our commercial position, but to our potential military strength.

And there is another consideration which must be borne in mind. It is the consideration which has always made the best thinkers in the Army oppose conscription, and still makes them oppose it. That consideration is the fact that we are committed to the maintenance of a standing professional Army in the interests of Indian defence. It is held that a professional Army such as we are compelled to keep up cannot co-exist with conscription. The professional Army must, of course, be a voluntary Army. You must catch your man young, and, having caught him, stick to him. But if every young man is compelled to join the Army, the young adventurer will have his taste for military life gratified in the conscript service, and the conviction of the opponents of conscription in the Army is that that gratification will end all enthusiasm for military service, and that the supply of men for the Regular

Army will be dried up at the source. I do not feel competent to offer an opinion as to the full value of that argument. It seems on the face of it to be one of great weight, but we may leave it to the advocacy of those who are chiefly concerned for the maintenance of the professional Army and the preservation of the interests of Indian defence.

The point which seems to emerge from the considerations that have been put forward is that conscription is not the true path of development for us. It may be unavoidable in the case of a country with great land frontiers, but it does not apply to a country whose frontiers are the sea, whose strength must be on the sea, and whose real weapons are the Navy and trade. Conscription is held by the Navy to be inconsistent with the dominating needs of sea-power; it is held by the best intelligence of the Army to be incompatible with the maintenance of a professional Army; it is obviously incompatible with the maintenance of the credit of the country and that command of resources which credit gives and which, as we have seen, is the chief factor in war.

The true lesson of national defence for us is the necessity of increasing the value of the human material of the nation, both physically and mentally, for the purposes of citizenship. If we have a high standard of citizenship, we shall not be in want of abundant military material in the hour of necessity. This has been recognised even in conscriptionist countries. The greatest military book perhaps ever written, certainly the greatest written in our time, is *L'Armée Nouvelle*, by M. Jaurès, whose assassination constituted by far the greatest personal loss that Europe has suffered since the war began. M. Jaurès, whose whole aim was non-militarist and whose conception was that of a nation opposed to war, but capable of defending itself against aggression, admitted that conscription was, in the present state of Europe, a necessity in a country with frontiers like those of France. But he dismissed with absolute confidence the old tradition of conscript service, with the viciousness of barrack life, the long term of withdrawal from civil occupation, and the disastrous waste of time and material loss involved in years of military segregation. He very largely endorsed the Swiss system, which I think devotes only a couple of months to the preliminary training, supplementing it with fourteen days of annual service locally in subsequent years. He fiercely attacked the accepted view that the effective Army was only that Army which was passing through its period of service, and held that the true Army of a nation should be the citizen population, who, with a little preparation in the rudiments of war, was capable of being converted into an effective weapon at small notice. In other words,

he repudiated the idea of soldiering as a matter of elaborate training, and held it to be a quality of the efficient citizen. The experience of this war has endorsed his views completely. Nowhere has it endorsed them so completely as in this country, which has sent tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands of men to the battlefield within a few weeks of their being summoned to the colours and without having undergone any previous training in war. These men have shown for all time that the root of a good soldier is not in the barracks nor in long military training, but in a healthy physical and mental development. If we will take care of the child-life of the country, see that it has the best possible educational equipment, and that it is well fed and physically developed we shall have laid the best foundation that can be laid for the safety of the State in case of attack. National service by all means. I think it is one of the most urgent duties of the future that we should instil into the rising generation the sense of service to the State, a high instinct of discipline and a feeling of collective and instinctive loyalty to the commonwealth. But the conception of national service must be something larger and deeper than the idea of military service. It will include that idea. It will include the idea of dying for the community in the last necessity, but its true motive will be the idea of living for the community in the realm of civic service, enlightened citizenship, and constructive purpose. It will aim at discipline and physical training, and it will aim at them primarily because they are essential to the healthy life of a free community, and only incidentally as a preparation for a task which we may hope the civilised instincts of mankind will make unthinkable in the world which our children will have to inherit. If this policy is pursued, it would be folly to impose on ourselves the terrible burden of enforced military service, with its heavy load of taxation, its evil consequences to those defence services which are our chief concern, its ruinous drain upon our industrial energies and its consequent menace to our credit. The Territorial system, which is capable of any degree of expansion, and which, with the new inspiration to voluntary service which the war has brought and the stimulus which will come from such movements as the Boy Scouts, will be largely invigorated, is admirably adapted to our needs. It gives us, as the war has shown, a well-disciplined and intelligent soldiery, ready for instant service, consistent with our permanent obligations, and consistent also with the maintenance of the productiveness of the country at its highest power. Behind that let us aim at raising a nation of efficient citizens, disciplined to duty and responsibility in every sphere of life, and conscious that in the ultimate necessity the

safety of the State is in their hands. We do not want a people habituated to the thought of militarism, but a people habituated to the thought of high citizenship. If it is said that the way to turn a people away from militarism is to make them militarist, the answer is "Germany." There is the final proof of the evil old maxim that the way to preserve peace is to prepare for war. The flowers of peace do not grow in the barrack yard. And if it is said that the military strength of a nation consists in a ruthless conscription, the reply is that this war has shown that the military strength of a nation is not measured by the numbers of men in uniforms, but by the human material and the financial and spiritual resources upon which the nation is able to draw in the day of trial.

A. G. GARDINER.

WHY NEED WE BE POISONED ?—II.

“ THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING IS IN THE EATING.”

SEVERAL months have passed since THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW accepted the article, “ Why Need We Be Poisoned ? ” It may be useful in the light of added experience again to seek refuge within its pages. In the first place (for the sake of those who did not see it), I will repeat how accidental circumstances led to my meeting Mr. William Aird :* how I listened to his lecture on diet, and heard how our unlucky bodies are the daily receptacles of poisonous matter. How roasting, stewing, or any treatment by fire kills the life in our food. He described to us his own most interesting experiences, his sad and sickly childhood, the sufferings of his youth, the many experiments he made, the invaluable lessons he learnt by passing his holidays out of doors, in the woods and fields, away from kitchens and cooking, observing the wild animals and their freedom from disease, feeding on any nuts, roots, berries, herbs ; how health was gradually won, and immunity from all forms of sickness, simply by living on “ the kindly fruits of the earth ” in the condition in which Nature in great abundance has provided them for our use. For the last ten years or so he has enjoyed perfect health, and has discovered that so long as he lived on Nature’s food, he suffered no harm from living in the slums, fresh air was no longer vital to his well-being. In contracting disease, he said that two things are necessary—seed and soil, the poisonous seed will be innocuous unless it is sown in poisoned soil ; unless there are already poisonous deposits within, any unwholesome food germs that enter the system will do us no harm. From experiments, inoculations performed on himself, he now finds himself practically immune. Most of these ideas were new to me. It was the simplicity and common-sense that appealed to me, and, being myself an arthritic subject, I was more than ready to experiment in what appeared so easy and even obvious a way, specially as all other means, elaborate and expensive as they were, had been tried and failed. Man is the only animal that lives on cooked food, yet man

* Avalon, Sompting, Sussex.

seems to be the only animal that suffers from persistent disease. In *The Kingdom of Man*, a book that richly repays study, Dr. Ray Lankester writes that animals, *unless interfered with by man*, are practically free from disease. As an instance, African cattle were immune from rinderpest and other scourges, until animals were transported from Europe to South Africa and mingled with the native herds.

If it was our custom to pay medical fees for wellness instead of for illness, the best brains of the profession would be devoted to discovering the cause, instead of the cure, of disease. "Lawyers and doctors live on dissension and disease."* It is the profession of both to discover a way out, to settle quarrels, and to cure complaints; it is not their business to prevent the quarrel or the complaint, and when we remember that the question of diet is not included in the five years' course of study necessary to a medical degree, we cannot wonder that, busy and often overworked as he is, the doctor, once landed on the professional shore, will not turn aside to study a subject omitted from the preparatory period. A famous surgeon once said that more people died of overeating than of over-drinking; in the former case, death is nearly always attributed to the wrong cause. It is so much more interesting to die of overwork, over-strain, or a broken heart than of indigestion or food-poisoning, of eating too much or of eating the wrong things; many of us have a habit of making our Creator responsible for most of the physical ills of life, forgetting that "Thy Will be done" very often means the contrary—"my will be done."

There is a general agreement that we eat too much. It is in the application of these principles, in the question what we should eat, that we fall apart, that we split asunder. After all it is only natural that we should be irritated, bored, put out, when anything or anybody comes along to upset our inherited instincts, our deeply rooted habits, and more especially those that are congenial to us, that fit on to our sense of enjoyment, and it seems less selfish to eat whatever is put before us. Meantime, let us examine the facts. Are we healthy or unhealthy? Thirty thousand die annually from cancer. In the United Kingdom alone infant mortality reaches annually over 100,000. We are appalled, and rightly appalled by the terrible and tragic casualty lists—in this war we have lost by death alone over 200,000 men. Are we sufficiently appalled by our much larger yearly normal death-roll among the young? The average age of the adult at death is said to be thirty-nine, and it is calculated that 75 per cent. among the living are suffering from some form of disease.

* From a speech of Mr. Gladstone's. This speech I happen to remember, as in *The Times* it was misprinted *discussion* and disease.

Every standard work that has been written by doctors or professors who have given years of their lives to the study of dietetics, and who have investigated, and experimented upon themselves (and amongst them are the works of Chittendon, Professor of Physiology at Yale University, U.S.A., and of Dr. Hindehede, Official Food Researcher to the Danish Government), has summed up against the use of dead animals as food. There is, so far as I have been able to learn, no standard work, no work of note, which has pronounced after similar investigation and experiment in favour of flesh as food. This alone is surely a significant fact. There is a consensus of opinion among these authors that the chief poisons are contained in meat and in every kind of stimulant; the differences between vegetarians and fruitarians are differences in detail and comparatively slight—in all non-meat-eaters there appears to be a higher standard of health—there is also a marked improvement in health, when moderation has taken the place of over-indulgence, when meat three times a day has first been reduced to once a day, then every other day, and later, perhaps, only twice or once a week. Sir Henry Thompson gives the case of Cornaro, the Italian, who, at the age of forty, finding the doctors unable to cure him, took his own case in hand, diminished his food little by little till it reached but one poached egg a day, and lived in excellent health until the age of 103.

The attention of Dr. Bell,* the famous cancer specialist, was first called to the vital importance of diet by an event that took place in his native town about thirty years ago—the smash of a Glasgow Bank resulting in the imprisonment of the directors. Some among these men were known to Dr. Bell, and having “done themselves,” as it is called, “exceedingly well,” he felt it likely that their health would be seriously damaged by the very frugal prison fare. They came out of prison like giants refreshed, in renewed health and vigour. This acted on Dr. Bell as a revelation. For seventeen years he had been operating for cancer. He had studied in the Royal Infirmary at Glasgow under the great Dr. Lister. Gradually the truth dawned upon him that his operations were useless; more and more did the large fees received for them by medical men seem like a premium on death. Except in the very earliest stages (when the malignant character of the disease could scarcely be proved) in no case did he find the operation bring recovery; it might postpone, it could not cure. Finally, he determined to give up both operations and fees for cancer, and the experience won from the imprisonment of the Bank Directors set his feet on a new path. If an engine is

* Robert Bell, M.D., F.R.C.S., 15, Half Moon Street, W.

fed with the wrong kind of fuel it will not do its work. It may be coaxed to move; oil and other ingredients may be poured on to the coal to facilitate its burning, but as long as it is the wrong kind of fuel, there is waste, there is residue choking the flames, lessening the heat, and generally impeding progress. With man it is the same—stoke him with the wrong sort of fuel or food, poisonous deposits will be formed, choking the organs. Not one but several great authorities have confirmed Dr. Bell in his belief that the knife was worse than useless in cancer. Sir Benjamin Brodie and Sir James Paget both wrote of it as useless in the immense majority of cases, and Sir Benjamin went so far as to say that the disease actually seemed to be hastened by operation.

From this moment Dr. Bell took up the study of dietetics in real earnest, with the result that he discovered that that which is abundantly provided for us—"the kindly fruits of the earth," the natural living food, is what best of all strengthens and nourishes the human system; the blood is the life, and it is Nature's food that purifies the blood, that restores health to the organs, that counteracts debility and disease. This food he now prescribes in malignant disease. His book, *The Cause and Cure of Cancer*,* will inform all who care to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest. For venturing to leave the beaten track, he has incurred the antagonism of the medical profession in general. In 1912 he was accused of deceiving the public. The judge summed up against this accusation; the jury awarded him heavy damages. If any of my readers is interested in this subject I would strongly advise him to read for himself the full report of this most instructive trial†—if he is a subscriber to the Imperial Cancer Research Fund, it is doubtful if he will continue to subscribe. But it is more than likely he will subscribe to the Cancer Research Department of the Battersea General Hospital, where this disease is treated without operation. Most pioneers have to suffer for their courage, martyrs to their cause. May Dr. Bell live to see the triumph of his beneficent and humane methods.

Several medical men and bacteriologists whom I have met have assured me that a year's recovery of health is no real test of the value of a cure. Is this a test which a doctor is accustomed to apply in a case with which he is himself dealing? Besides, though it is only lately that I have become an enquirer on this subject, I have met various people who have recovered from illness and flourished on fruitarian diet for one year, two years, five years, ten years, fifteen years, twenty years, thirty-five years. Everyone of these is personally known to me, and I could easily lengthen the list.

* Pub. 153, Brompton Road, S.W. 1s.

† 12th, 13th, 14th June, 1912.

In a former paper I gave instances of some first-hand cases I had come across. In each of these instances the excellent results there mentioned have continued. Mr. Aird, his father and his daughter, continue to live on salad and fruit—all three still enjoy absolute freedom from ill-health. Mr. Aird and his daughter, twelve years old, spent their holiday this last summer in the South of England; they each carried a rug and a bag, they walked an average of twenty miles a day, they slept in the open, their food cost them a shilling a day between them. Mr. Aird walked to Glasgow, 500 miles, on similar lines. His food bill for the sixteen days' walk was 8s. 6d.

Mr. Fuller, of Storrington College, is still in perfect health. He writes to *T.P.'s Weekly* on "How to Do Without Servants." "I personally need no fire, no cooking, no washing up. An occasional hour from a charwoman would suffice for my needs." For two years, he says, he has eaten nothing but fruit. He finds it as easy to sleep out in the garden, wet or dry, as in his own bed. After twelve years of crippling sciatica one can realise what life must now mean to him. Ten years ago a lady who lives near me in London returned from India (where she had lived on a mixed diet) and became a victim to neurasthenia. Doctor after doctor, cure after cure, she tried in vain. After five years of misery she started a meatless diet, and has enjoyed the best of health ever since (six years). Advisedly I confine myself to those cases personally known to me. I am not writing for the hardened sceptic or the deeply prejudiced, but for those who keep an open mind, and who take a genuine interest in the welfare of their country and of mankind at large.

One of the most striking is the case of Grace Best, aged twenty-six; her doctor was treating her for tubercular lungs—she was daily losing ground. Mr. Aird took her into his garden hut and discovered that she was suffering from gastric ulcers. This yielded to his treatment of fruit-juice and fomentations. But the poison attacked the brain and brought on meningitis: it was at least two months before she was cured. A healthier, happier girl is not to be seen.

Mr. Sydney Barraclough (National Liberal Club) ten years ago left the stage on account of acute illness; his case was diagnosed by Sir Lauder Brunton and Dr. Latham as one of advanced consumption. By a most rigorous dietary he is now a picture of glowing health. He tells me that since this "hardening process" he was able all last winter to take his daily morning bath in the Serpentine. Between 7 and 8 a.m. he would get his swim, fair or foul, regardless of fog or rain, snow or ice. "Many of my friends," he writes, "have

"warned me of my approaching demise, but some of these have "already passed—and I remain."

Miss Alice Baird, St. James's, West Malvern, having been a victim through life of terrible headaches, started, in July, 1915, (encouraged and carefully watched by Sir Alfred Fripp) to live on two meals only per day. No breakfast or afternoon tea, she eats salad at mid-day and fruit only in the evening. She is six foot four inches, and has usually been assured that, being so tall, she required extra food. She has had no headache, no colds or influenza, and has been perfectly well since she started the change.

In September, 1915, Mr. E. Haviland (45, Cannon Street, E.C.), suffered from a growth on his leg. Three surgeons held a consultation over it; after careful investigation they pronounced it highly-developed sarcoma, to save his life immediate amputation of the leg was imperative. He consulted a cancer specialist in London, who confirmed the diagnosis.* Arrangements were made for the operation, but just as he was starting for the hospital, a letter urging him to consult Dr. Bell was put in his hand. He placed himself accordingly under Dr. Bell. Without recourse to the knife, Dr. Bell saved both his limb and his life. Sixteen months have now elapsed, the patient has several times had his blood microscopically analysed. No trace of the disease has been found, and he is in excellent health.

Still more remarkable is the case of —, who had undergone five severe operations for malignant disease. As the great surgeon walked out after the fifth operation a fruitarian friend walked in, and suggested a change of diet. Her mother and her sister and her brother had died of cancer, and her own case was virtually hopeless. She tells me she has now lived on this diet for seven years, enjoying absolute freedom from all disease—the one exception being an acute attack of appendicitis a year or so after her last operation for malignant trouble. She went into a Nursing Home, and the surgeon who operated confessed that not only was there no trace of cancer, but that her condition was exceptionally healthy and her organs exceptionally well nourished. Otherwise, he said, she could not have survived the operation, the appendicitis being deep-seated and of long standing. For this reason he wished in no way to disturb her fruitarian diet. The names and addresses of the patient and her doctor would be supplied to anyone seriously caring to inquire into this remarkable case.

Another friend of mine suffered from acute internal trouble, pain, hemorrhage, &c. She consulted the most eminent surgeons, and

* Dr. Moore Ede, of Worcester, and Mr. Gordon Taylor were two of the four surgeons. They kindly allow me to give their names.

was advised by them to have the hysterectomy operation. At that moment she happened to come across Mr. Aird, and entered the Nursing Home* (1, Fairfax Road, South Hampstead) very soon after I left it. She absolutely and entirely recovered her health, living exclusively on food innocent of kitchen treatment. All distressing symptoms have passed away, she is perfectly well. She is blessed with a preference for salads and fruits, and finds it no hardship to eat them only.

I could multiply these cases, but fear to tire my readers. One more I will mention as specially interesting in war time. Robert Lloyd, R.N., of Gillingham, Kent, who has been known to me throughout his life, was treated for advanced consumption four years ago in a Nordrach Nursing Home. So little was he cured that three times he has been refused for the public services. Last March I wrote and told him of the fruitarian diet. He wrote to me six months later: "It has been a revelation to me." His health is completely restored, and there is now no sign of disease in his lungs.

Dr. Bell, Dr. Oldfield, Dr. Knaggs, and Dr. Hooker are flourishing examples of their meatless diet. The latter, Dr. Stenson Hooker (118, Harley Street), after fifteen years of excellent health, at the age of sixty-two, applied for war work. He was officially medically examined and given a first-class bill of health, the doctor remarking to him, "I have never been able to give it before to anyone over forty."

Mr. Bernard Shaw is yet another witness. When invited by Lady Randolph Churchill to dinner, he wrote to decline because "I cannot eat dead animals."

Mr. Eustace Miles started his vegetarian diet at the age of eighteen, having been assured by the doctors that he was suffering from Bright's Disease, and had but a few months to live. Physically and mentally he had distinguished himself at Marlborough. Head of the cricket and football elevens, he won a scholarship at King's College, Cambridge. Naturally he was in no sense tired of life. So strong did he grow on his new diet that he took a First Class in the Classical Tripos at Cambridge, won the amateur championship in tennis and racquets in England and in America, and between 1898 and 1905 he was amateur champion for the whole world. Peter Scott, the seven-year-old son of the great explorer, has eaten nothing but milk, fruit, and nuts since he was born, and is a splendid specimen of this treatment.

A curious bit of evidence reached me lately, confirming Mr. Aird's belief that no "itis" or inflammation can continue if it is not fed. Sir William Gull, forty years ago, attended a lady who

* Mrs. Rees would answer all enquiries on receipt of a stamped envelope. She received me there as a patient in January, 1915.

occasionally suffered from acute pain on the right side. He called it her "false tumour." He put her to bed and starved her for three or four days; the pain subsided, and she was well. It was appendicitis before this disease was invented. She is a living testimony to this treatment.

The objections and comments are manifold. "But what is the 'scientific definition of 'living' as applied, for instance, to 'uncooked food?' This conundrum was started by Mr. Balfour and the Bishop of Winchester. I could not help wondering what light a scientific definition would throw on life or death? In the presence of the dead have we ever felt the need for a scientific definition of that supreme mystery? And the mystery of life, who shall define it? It is enough for me that I see the difference between the herb or tree that lives and grows and propagates the abundant food that Nature provides, and the food whose living principle is killed by fire. Cut or pick a lettuce leaf off the plant on which it grew and it will continue to live—true, you have limited its life by separating it from that on which it grew. But it still holds the principle of life—it will live in water, and many leaves and twigs or sprays will live and grow if replaced in mother earth. But if we boil or roast that leaf or spray, or fruit or flower, we kill its life, and no power on earth will make it live again.

Then there is the Laplander argument. But was mankind really intended to live on frozen lands, in the Arctic circle, or on the summit of Mont Blanc? If so, he must either carry food with him or live as the Arctic animals do. One greatly beloved Regius professor wrote:—"If only Adam and Eve had had eggs "and bacon for breakfast they would never have eaten the "forbidden fruit." There are other objectors who seem to think that because exceptional people, such as my own parents, lived and thrived on the mixed diet, that diet must be the ideal for all mankind. It is true that Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone lived far beyond the Psalmist's span of life, but what use is it to cite quite exceptional people? How can we get over the health and life statistics?

The title of my paper has been criticised; it is said that "Why "Need We Be Poisoned?" prejudices the case. The use of condemnatory epithets before the case has been stated is certainly a serious mistake. "But Why Need We Be Poisoned?" is merely a statement of fact. Would anyone deny (specially if he had investigated what we eat with the compound microscope) the presence of poisons in meat and tea and coffee. The real crux lies in the question, Are these poisons wholesome? We are still very ignorant about the use and misuse of poisons; there is no doubt that some poisons must have their uses, *e.g.*, strychnine,

morphia, aspirin. It may yet be discovered that even food poisons are sometimes beneficial. But the fact remains that seventy-five per cent. of us are ill, and that the average age of death is too low.

The fallacy about the conformation of our teeth is often reiterated by those who have never even taken the trouble to go to a museum and examine for themselves into this question. They will find that carnivorous teeth are quite separate and sharply pointed; the teeth not intended for flesh eating, as those of the gorilla, are identical with ours. Over and over again it is stated that meat is absolutely necessary to ensure bodily strength—in vain we refer them to the elephant, the gorilla, the horse—in vain we show them the remarkable statistics which completely upset their contention. As I write, a vision rises before me of six splendid brothers, all vegetarians, each one finely developed, champion boxers and prize fighters, now serving His Majesty in the Army. Then they fall back upon usage, forgetting that far more than half the inhabitants of the world are, at the present day, not eaters of meat. Although the carnivorous portion of mankind have eaten meat for a very few thousand years, we must not forget that for an infinitely longer period the inhabitants of our earth were herbivorous and frugivorous. Intolerance is too often a cloak for ignorance.

But we cannot expect to convert all or even a considerable portion of mankind. Prejudice is too deeply rooted, habit is too strong. Those who enjoy good health, or even fair health, are inclined, and no wonder, to leave well alone; the investigation of dietetics does not appeal to them, they do not wish to believe. But for those whose life is impaired by disease, for those who have consulted many a doctor, who have in vain attempted many a cure, it is surely reasonable, it is surely worth while, to give Nature a trial. Mr. Aird's system seems certainly the likeliest to ensure the fullest immunity from disease. But we must frankly own that as long as we do not live hermit's lives, it is inconvenient, it is difficult, it is "*énormément* dull": it is a counsel of perfection. Admire it, aspire to it as we may, for most of us it is like the condition of sinlessness, unreachable by the ordinary frail mortal. But as a curative measure it is well worth the temporary self-denial, and in war-time there is even a stronger reason for living simply and economically. Once the wearing pain has subsided and blessed sleep has returned, there is no need for us to be tied down exclusively to fruits and herbs in their natural state. We have brought about so healthy and pure a condition of things inside of us that we need no longer limit ourselves to the diet necessary as a cure. I must confess that while limited to this diet I used to cheer myself by

fancying the enjoyment later on of ordinary vegetarian dishes. Cooked food cannot be said to be devoid of all nourishment, or how should any of us in England, save the vegetarians and fruitarians, be alive? The nourishment it contains is perhaps about one-third of what it would be were it consumed in its natural state.

I have been specially asked to mention my own case. Some weeks of the exclusive uncooked diet, started about one year ago for arthritis, gradually brought about a marked diminution of pain, but for a time the depression and debility, the loss of weight, the effect on the pulse were such, that if I had had recourse to "the family doctor," he would no doubt have thought I was not long for this world and would have ordered me beef-tea and other stimulants. Disliking salads and ordinary fruits, I could not eat sufficient food. As Mr. Aird could not have legally signed my death certificate, to save him the risk of being taken up for manslaughter, I placed myself under Dr. Hooker. Dr. Hooker gave me courage to persevere, allowed me an occasional egg or some salad dressing, such as cream and lemon, grated cheese, bread sauce or onion sauce, thus enabling me to eat enough of the salad, and the difficult period was successfully negotiated. The sympathetic pains (which had been most trying for some years) in the limbs unaffected by arthritis, entirely passed away, and, most important of all, sleep returned. So long as the chief poisons are eliminated—stimulants, drugs, and flesh-food, that lay up such an infinity of mischief—we may indulge in the ordinary vegetarian dishes, and even occasionally eat egg, or bird, or fish, if only we are careful to accompany them with plenty of fresh salads and fruits. These should predominate at every meal, they should at once be exclusively resorted to as soon as any little trace of illness, pain, cold, or indigestion appears. Any structural change, such as contraction, is not likely to be cured if the patient has reached, say, fifty; but the cessation of pain alters the whole colour of life.

The vital question remains. How much or how little should we testify? Many people, when they talk about food, become egotistical. The food faddist is frequently as great a nuisance as even the golfer or the bridge player, especially if he is unblest with a sense of humour. Anyone who has received untold benefit is possessed by a natural longing to impart it to others—the simple, inexpensive remedy that has worked the miracle. All around us we see life marred and maimed, and terrible unhappiness, mostly due to ignorance. No newspaper can be opened without the eye lighting on the tragedy of needless young deaths, valuable lives lost *nel mezzo del cammin*.* Example is better than precept, and nothing

* *Inferno*. Canto 1.

thrusting down their throats, in season and out of season, the secret that is ours. But most people will own that it is a subject of vital importance. We cannot all be experts; we can all be enquirers. We can read the works of experts, we can profit by their long and careful study of this crucial question.

And one thing is surely obvious—the subject should receive far more authoritative and careful thought and investigation than has hitherto been accorded to it. A Public Department should be started for the impartial study of dietetics. As long as it is in the hands of private enquirers, however numerous, however honest, it will command little weight or influence; they will be dismissed (sometimes with reason) as mere cranks and quacks. Different diets of proved wholesomeness should be tried on different groups of people, in prisons and workhouses, in hospitals and institutions where health, both physical and moral, is the main object. This would be furnished, on a larger scale and for a longer period than has yet been possible, data on which to experiment, to teach, and even to legislate.

MARY DREW.

OUR HOPES FOR INDIA.

FEW outbursts of enthusiasm during the present war have attracted more attention than that which was caused by the adherence to our cause of the independent or semi-independent princes of India; though even that was hardly more hearty than the later eulogies on the performance of our own Indian troops. But those who hoped that this sympathy would lead to a more respectful consideration of the Indian claim to self-government have been disappointed. The old official view has shown itself in much of the newspaper treatment of the movement for democratic reform in India and in many semi-official utterances and acts. But ungrateful and illogical as this attitude may seem, the more pacific champions of reform may find two grounds of consolation, even in these very rebuffs. First, these refusals imply that military prowess and zeal are not accepted as an argument for self-government. Secondly, they prove that a military co-operation is no security for the kind of friendship which may lead to mutual help and the redress of injustices. No doubt in war, as in other occupations, comradeship in action may produce personal friendship; and the picturesque and rather sensational circumstances of such friendship may delude superficial observers into the belief that such friendship can only spring up in war; but no lasting union of classes and races can follow from war-begotten friendliness.

It is, then, rather to the sympathy and mutual respect founded on peaceful pursuits that we must look for that co-operation between East and West, which is needed to prepare the way for Indian self-government. For I hold that no more mischievous falsehood was ever uttered than Mr. Kipling's statements that West and East can never meet. From the time when St. Paul landed in Philippi to the time when Max Müller introduced the treasures of the Vedas to European readers, East and West have met most helpfully; and in no country have there been more illustrations

helpfully; and in no country have there been more illustrations of that sympathetic contact than in India. Let me then mention some of the English (or more often Scotch) Indians who have taken (and some of whom still live to take) part in this useful work; then I will mention some of those Indians who are quite capable of meeting such allies more than half way.

And it should be noted specially that the former class are often to be found in those very official circles from which so many hindrances have come to Indian progress. Most of the readers of *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* are familiar with the names, and with something of the work of Sir William Wedderburn and Sir H. Cotton, and some few may be aware that my old friend, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, was a civil servant in India, and that he helped to found the Indian Association by which English men and women were brought into contact with the Indians living in England. But the Scotch-Indian to whom I wish specially to refer is one whose work seems likely in a most hopeful manner to supply the basis of a movement for self-government.

Allan Octavian Hume may be said in a very interesting way to link the history of India with that of Great Britain. His father was the celebrated Joseph Hume, the champion of Economy, Parliamentary reform, and the repeal of the Combination Laws. It is a curious proof of the small interest which India excites in Great Britain, that though everyone who studies the Parliamentary history of the early nineteenth century is familiar with the name of Joseph Hume, very few remember that his career began in India in connection with the East India Company, and that he distinguished himself in 1853, by a speech which dealt with the reform of Indian Government. Thus Allan Hume was early committed to an interest in the welfare of India; and in 1849 he entered the Bengal Civil Service at the age of twenty. After he had passed through various stages of the Service, he was suddenly confronted, in 1857, with the terrible problems arising out of the Indian Mutiny. Like many civilians of that time, he was forced to take military action; and he distinguished himself by his gallantry in an important battle.

These events interrupted the educational work which he had undertaken at Etawah and Agra, and, when the suppression of the mutiny seemed to give a chance of renewing this work, Hume thought that official opinion had decided to condemn any attempts to cultivate the native mind, and he asserted very strongly the obvious principle that it is only in the enlightenment of the people that a really civilised Government can find stability. He felt the need for some stable organisation for the expression of the

intelligent opinions of the peoples of India, as the only means of convincing the public of the desirability of reform.

The arrival of Lord Ripon in India gave new hopes to the reformers; and, in 1883, Hume addressed to the graduates of the Calcutta University the first proposal for an Indian National Union. The first words of this address seem to mark a new epoch in Indian Progress :

“ Constituting as you do, a large body of the most highly educated Indians, you should, in the natural order of things, constitute also the most important source of all mental, social, and political progress in India. Whether in the individual or in the nation, all vital progress must spring from within ; and it is to you, her most cultivated and enlightened minds, her most favoured sons, that your country must look for the initiative.

“ In vain may aliens like myself love India and her children as well as the most loving of these ; in vain may they, for her and their good, give time and trouble, money and thought ; in vain may they struggle and sacrifice. They may assist with advice and suggestions, they may place their experience, abilities, and knowledge at the disposal of the workers ; but they lack the essentials of nationality ; and the real work must ever be done by the people of the country themselves.”

Local committees were formed in various important Indian towns, and Hume went to England to interest the friends of India in the movement, and the first Conference was held at Poona in December, 1885. Its first demand was for an increase in the power of Local Legislative Councils, and the admission to them of a large body of elected members. Such were the beginnings of the National Indian Congress, which has since then done so much work in calling attention to the national needs of India.

But, before considering what are the needs which the Congress and its founders wish to bring before the public, we ought to consider the characters and work of some of those “ cultured and “ enlightened ” men to whom Allan Hume appealed for assistance in his efforts for Indian reform. By the testimony of those Englishmen who have studied Indian affairs most sympathetically, one of the chief of these leaders was Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He was nineteen years old when the first Congress was meeting at Poona. His parents were poor, but belonged to the Brahmin caste. They educated him in the local colleges at Kolhapur ; and he afterwards studied both at Bombay and Poona. He attracted so much attention that he was chosen to lecture on English literature and mathematics at the Ferguson College, then newly founded. Afterwards he filled for twenty years the chair of history and

political economy at the same college, and he helped to place the finances of the college on a sounder basis. Another notable Indian leader, Mahadev Govind Ranade, was then taking the lead in the district where Gokhale lived; and he called Gokhale to the study of the political problems which were specially before the country. In 1887, Gokhale became editor of an important journal in Poona; and in 1895 he became Secretary of the eleventh national Indian Congress. He then went to England, to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure, and he was warmly praised for the light which he threw on the question.

In 1900 he was elected to the Bombay Council, and he used his position to expose the defects of a Government Bill on the land revenue. He did not, indeed, defeat the Bill; but his exposure of its possible results put the official world on their guard, and so hindered the evils which might have followed had the Act been strictly carried out. In 1902 he succeeded Mr. (afterwards Sir Pherozeshah) Mehta on the Supreme Legislative Council of India, and from that time till his death his speeches and actions fixed the attention of all who were interested in Indian affairs. His speeches deal with finance, education, the employment of Indians in the public service; the interference with the rights of householders in the quartering of soldiers, the movement for the development of national industries, and the reduction of the salt duty. While he has been somewhat scornfully attacked by the more revolutionary reformers, he always gained the respect of those in England and India who were most steadily working for India's good; and the subscriptions raised since his death to do honour to his memory are to be used in forwarding his educational work.

As a contrast to this practical Indian statesman, it may be well that we should recall a very different representative of Indian character, but one who may still be able to help in building up Indian self-government. I refer to Mohandas Karamchad Gandhi. Gandhi is a very strict Hindu belonging to the Vaishya (or commercial caste); and he looks back with regret on the quiet condition of some of the Indian sacred towns before the introduction of English railways. He comes from the little principality of Rajkot; and his father had distinguished himself by that zeal and courage with which he defended the dignity of his native prince against the British agent. Mohandas Gandhi went in 1888 to London, where he persisted, in spite of his laxer friends, in maintaining the Hindu traditions about food and drink. When he returned to India he gave himself to the study and practice of the law. In the course of his professional work he emigrated to South Africa and practised in the courts of Pretoria.

In 1893 a Bill was introduced into the Natal Assembly for the disfranchisement of the Indian settlers in Natal. As this was to be followed by other disabling Bills, Gandhi saw that it was necessary to found a society for defending the interests of Indians. By organising a relief corps of Indians to help the wounded during the Boer War, he attracted sympathy to his cause. But after the war a Bill was introduced to compel the registration of Indians; and though this was only a temporary arrangement, they soon found that it prevented their freedom of movement and hampered their action in various ways. With the help of Mr. Polak and Mr. Ritch, Gandhi succeeded, after several years, in securing the removal of some of the grievances of the Indians and of winning the sympathy of Lord Hardinge for his cause.

I have picked out these two Indian leaders, partly because I know more about them than about the other Indian reformers; partly because they represent two different types: Gokhale, the practical and constructive reformer; Gandhi, the rather mystical and enthusiastic patriot; but both of these men have gained credit for their country by their character and career. But it was certainly not for want of other distinguished names that I have given such prominence to these two. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, who worked so usefully in Bombay; Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who once stood for an English borough, and who is generally known as the Grand Old Man of India; Mr. Romesh Dutt and Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, who have so much impressed both English and Indian students of Indian affairs, may also represent the cultured and enlightened leaders with whom Allan Hume desired to act. Nor, though they may be less known, should the promoters of the "All India Moslem League" be forgotten, nor the Mahometan editor of the *Comrade*, who suffered so gallantly in the cause of free speech. Indeed, the most hopeful sign of the Indian national movement is the growing mutual tolerance between Hindus and Mahometanis.

If we turn to the report of the Indian Congress held at Madras in December, 1914, we shall find that many vital questions are still being pressed on the attention of the Home Government. The promises made for the development of local government, though they were partially explained away by Lord Crewe, are yet appealed to by those who hope most for India, and Sir S. P. Sinha, in 1915, reiterated in Bombay the appeal for further concessions of self-government.

If it be granted that political liberty is much more fully developed in the West than in the East, is it not a severe reflection on our rule if all these years of government by a

free people, and of study of those works which justify and explain our freedom have not helped to fit the Indians for freedom? I think that the instances which I have given of the Indian leaders who have gained the respect and confidence of those best acquainted with India, and the temperate and judicial tone of the speakers at the National Indian Congress, are sufficient proofs of the growth of Indian political capacity, while the danger of supplying the enemies of English freedom with arguments for despotic government, drawn from our own actions, must surely be evident to all who can weigh thoughtfully what is passing in England to-day.

C. E. MAURICE.

NATIONALITY AND NATURALISATION.

WAR is a cruel but an effective teacher. It compels us to give our vigilant attention to certain subjects which in quieter and happier times we are apt to overlook, or to consider unimportant. One of these subjects is the possibility of a divergence between the real nationality of an individual and the nationality attributed to such individual by law. The law, as it stands in most countries, enables many persons to avail themselves of the rights of citizenship in a country without being attached to it by any tie, either of race, or of tradition, or of language, or of education, or of local association. Anyone realising this fact, as we all do now, must at once feel the necessity of removing such a possibility, or at least restricting it within the narrowest possible limits. The popular agitation which has recently sprung up in this country in favour of an amendment of the laws of naturalisation arises from the recognition of this truth, but it is easy to show that a reform dealing exclusively with the law as to naturalisation would be a very inadequate remedy.

The law as to naturalisation which is now in force in the British Empire, as will be shown in the course of this article, has several vital defects, but they form only a small part of the defects of the British law of nationality. These defects are mainly due to two separate causes. The chief cause is to be found in the adherence to the feudal notion of the *jus soli*, under whose influence a person born in any part of the King's dominions becomes a British subject without regard to his parentage, to the domicile of his parents, or to the surroundings in which his life is to be spent. The second cause is the entire disregard of foreign law in the legislation by which the common law has been supplemented, which disregard has prevented us from availing ourselves of useful expedients adopted in other countries, and has also given occasion to conflicts of law which might, and ought to, have been avoided. The principal defects of the law may be summed up as follows:—

(1) It admits, and positively encourages, the mischief of double allegiance.

(2) It does nothing to remove the possibility of an entire absence of allegiance.

(3) It contains no general means of expatriation in the case of persons who ought to be, or wish to be, expatriated.

(4) It allows naturalisation in the case of persons who do not seriously intend to identify themselves with the national feelings and objects.

The instances of double allegiance arising under the rules of law which attributes British nationality to every person born within the King's Dominions, are much more numerous than those arising in the case of naturalisation. Large numbers of persons under foreign allegiance reside more or less permanently in British countries; if any children are born to such persons, while such residence continues, such children on their birth, in nearly all cases, become subjects of the State to which their parents belong pursuant to the law of that State, while at the same time becoming British subjects under the English common law rule. The disadvantage of this duplication of nationality is obvious. The fact that the father has retained his former nationality is good *primâ facie* evidence of his intentional adherence to that nationality, and it is hardly to be expected that his children will be brought under influences which will loosen the ties attaching them to their parents' country, or which will strengthen the ties attaching them to the country of their birth. If they intend to remain in the country of their birth, or to become domiciled in any country other than the one of which the parents are subjects, they will refrain from making the declaration of alienage authorised by British law, and will make use of either nationality which the law confers upon them as may be most advantageous to them. It is hardly necessary to point out that a rule of law which opens the door to abuses of this sort ought not to be maintained.* The numerous instances of claims for exemption from military service of persons born in this country of enemy parents, who under ordinary circumstances would have claimed all the privileges of British nationality, show conclusively that these privileges ought not to depend on the accident of the place of birth. It would therefore be desirable to alter the law by enacting that in any case in which the father of a legitimate, or the mother of an illegitimate child, is not of British nationality such child shall not on its birth acquire the status of a British subject. It could, of course, be provided that any such child should be entitled to special privileges as to naturalisation.†

* The cases of children born to aliens during an occasional stay or a short residence in a British country or during a voyage on a British ship, are not of the same importance, as in most of them the British nationality is probably ignored, but such cases may also lead to serious abuses.

† A child born in France and domiciled in France on attaining majority becomes a French subject automatically, but is entitled to disclaim the French nationality before attaining the age of 22 (Code Civil art. 8 [4] as amended by the Statute of 1889). In several other countries children born in the country have special privileges as to naturalisation.

The instances of double allegiance arising under the British law of naturalisation are not as numerous as those arising under the rule as to the effect of birth on British soil. The laws of most countries cause the original nationality to be forfeited by naturalisation in another country,* but this rule is not universal, and there is, moreover, considerable diversity in the law of different countries in respect of the question whether the naturalisation of the father of a family in a foreign country deprives his wife and infant children of their former nationality.†

Having regard to these facts it will be seen that the present British law as to naturalisation does not offer sufficient guarantee for the avoidance of double allegiance. This can be done in a very simple manner by enacting that naturalisation shall not be granted to any person unless such person can prove either that he or she has been finally discharged from his or her former allegiance, or that the completion of the intended naturalisation will have the effect of a discharge from such allegiance.‡

The rules which make it possible for a person to be without any nationality are as inconvenient, and as opposed to every sound principle, as those favouring double allegiance. There is a widespread belief in this country, even among the most learned lawyers, that every person must have, or at least be deemed to have, some nationality.§ It is generally thought that in the same way as "every child that is born alive, is either a little Liberal, or else a "little Conservative," so every child must on his or her birth become the subject or citizen of some country. If the feudal rule, embodied in English Common Law, according to which birth in a country confers the citizenship of that country were universal, there would be some foundation for that belief, but, as a matter of fact, this rule in our days is not in operation outside of the British

* This is the case in France (Civil Code art. 17), Portugal (Civil Code art. 22 [1]), Austria (Civil Code art. 32, as explained by letters patent of March 24th, 1832), Denmark, Statute of 1898; Italy, Statute of 1912; Sweden, Statute of 1894; Belgium, Statute of 1909, &c., &c. The German law of 1913 adopts the same principle, but as it enables every State Government to grant dispensation, the creation of double allegiance in the case of naturalisation of a German is still possible.

† The wife and infant children of a Frenchman naturalised in a foreign country remain French. In the United States, the citizenship of an American woman is not lost by marriage to the citizen of a foreign State, but deemed to be in abeyance during the subsistence of the marriage (see Moore, *Digest of International Law*, III., p. 454).

‡ Such a rule, very lucidly expressed, exists in the Japanese Statute of 1899. In the United States an applicant for naturalisation must renounce his former allegiance at least two years before the naturalisation can be completed, but this is clearly insufficient, as the renunciation does not prove that the applicant has in fact been released from his former allegiance or that he will become released by the naturalisation.

§ In a recent case before the House of Lords (Expte. Weber—1916—1 A.C. 421, 424, 426) the Lord Chancellor says: "I desire to say nothing on the question, whether this country will recognise a man as having no nationality," and Earl Loreburn says: "Until a man acquires a nationality other than that of his birth it may be that he has not divested himself of the nationality of his birth."

Empire, the United States,* and a few South American Republics. In all other countries birth within the country does not in itself confer the citizenship of that country. That being so, the provisions of British law give ample opportunity for the birth of persons deprived of any national status. This is shown by the following illustrations: Under the "British Nationality and Status "of Aliens Act, 1914"—which came into force on January 1st, 1915—the child of any father being himself born within the King's dominions and being a British subject at the time of the child's birth, is deemed a natural-born British subject, though such birth be outside of the King's dominions; but in the following cases the child of a British subject, born outside of the King's dominions, does *not* acquire the status of a British subject: (1) where the child's father was born in a foreign country; (2) where the child's father, though born within the King's dominions, dies before the child's birth; (3) where the child is illegitimate. If in any such case the child is born in any European country outside of the British Isles, that child has no nationality.

Another instance of absence of nationality occurs in the case of countries which allow their citizens to become denationalised voluntarily without being or becoming citizens of another country, or who cause their citizens to forfeit their nationality by long absence. It is sometimes suggested that such persons must for the purposes of British law be deemed to be citizens of the country to which they originally belonged, but there is no solid foundation for such a suggestion. In the case of persons denationalised in Germany it has been stated that they retain some elements of German nationality, as they are able to recover that nationality on easier conditions than persons who have not previously been German subjects. This contention is vitiated by the fact that the provisions in question—which exist not only in German law, but in many other systems of law—also apply to persons who *have* in the meantime acquired another nationality, sometimes even to the descendants, however remote, of any such persons.†

The evils arising from the possibility of an entire absence of nationality should be counteracted by two methods: (a) by legislation preventing the loss of nationality in cases where no other nationality is acquired; (b) by administrative measures intended to induce the persons concerned to place themselves under some allegiance. The first object as regards persons of British descent

* See, for instance, German Statute of 1913, s. 13; French Civil Code art. 18; Spanish Civil Code art. 21, ss.; Italian Statute of 1912.

† Its universal application to the U.S. is doubted in some quarters. The question was raised in a recent case in the United States Supreme Court; the majority of the judges held that the English common law rule on the subject had to be applied, but two of the judges (Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Harlan) dissented (169 U.S. 649).

could be attained by enacting that the legitimate child of a British father, and the illegitimate child of a British mother, shall be a British subject wherever born. The present law which makes the locality of the father's birth exclusively decisive establishes a purely arbitrary test. There are many instances in which the members of many British families, for business reasons, have to reside during part of their lives in a foreign country, and in which children are born abroad during several generations, but receive their education in the mother country, and even while abroad are surrounded by an entirely British atmosphere. There seems no reason for depriving any such children of their national birthright. An abuse of the rule making parentage the exclusive test without reference to the place of birth can easily be prevented by a provision which causes the forfeiture of British nationality in the case of any person remaining domiciled abroad during a specified period without complying with certain prescribed formalities showing his or her intention to adhere to the British nationality.

Persons of foreign origin residing in this country who have lost their nationality without having acquired, or intending to acquire, another nationality should be taught that such an evasion of national duties has certain disadvantages. The war has shown us that the registration of aliens can be carried out in this country without much difficulty. Such a system of registration (which exists in all Continental countries) would enable the authorities to make residence in the United Kingdom dependent on the observance of certain prescribed conditions. In the case of aliens who are citizens of a foreign State, these conditions will, in the majority of cases, be regulated by treaties of commerce or other international arrangements, and will generally be of a very easy kind, but in the case of persons without nationality they could be made much more stringent. In France certain specified rights are enjoyed by persons obtaining permission to fix their domicile in France (Code Civil art. 13).^{*} In a similar way persons without nationality who declare their intention to apply for naturalisation after the lapse of the statutory period of time might be given special rights during the period of transition.

The third defect mentioned above is the maintenance of the rules of British law under which expatriation and denationalisation are impossible, except under certain special conditions. In many other countries there are possibilities of depriving a person of his nationality in the event of his acting in a prohibited manner,[†] and in several systems of law absence for an indefinite time, or extending

^{*} Formerly this was an indispensable preliminary to naturalisation; since this has ceased to be the case, the applications have greatly diminished.

[†] See German Statute of 1913 ss. 27-29; French Code Civil art. 17 (3) (4); United States Revised Statutes s. 1996.

beyond a specified period, deprives the person concerned of his nationality, unless he or she prevents this consequence by complying with certain prescribed formalities.*

In most countries a person wishing to be discharged from allegiance can, subject to compliance with his military or other outstanding duties, obtain a certificate of denationalisation. In the United States some doubt existed prior to 1868 as to the possibility of voluntary expatriation, but in that year an Act of Congress declared "the right of expatriation to be an inherent right of the "people," and "any declaration, instruction, &c. . . . which "denies, restricts, or questions the right, to be inconsistent with the "fundamental principles of this government." The granting of similar powers of expulsion and of a similar right of voluntary expatriation would be a necessary part of any scheme for the reform of the British law of nationality.

The main deficiencies of the British law of naturalisation are the following: (a) as mentioned above, naturalisation is granted notwithstanding the fact that the person concerned has retained, and will continue to retain, his former nationality; (b) naturalisation carries at once the full privileges of citizenship; (c) naturalisation cannot be revoked except on the ground of having been obtained by false representation or fraud. It is easy to show that all these defects are avoidable. Naturalisation should not be granted to any person who has not abandoned his former nationality, or is able to prove that it will be forfeited through the effect of his intended naturalisation. A specified period should intervene between the date of naturalisation and the enjoyment of full political rights,† and power should be given to revoke naturalisation on certain specified grounds (*e.g.*, establishment of a permanent domicile in a foreign country, acceptance of public office in a foreign country, &c.)‡

* Moore, *Dig. of Intern. Law* ss. 474. s.9.

† A naturalised French citizen is not allowed to be a member of either branch of the legislature before the expiration of ten years after the date of naturalisation (*Statute of 1899 art. 3*). In the United States the period which must intervene between the date of naturalisation and the right to be a member of the legislature is seven years as regards the House of Representatives, and nine years as regards the Senate. (*U.S. Constitution Art. I. ss. 2 [2]; 3 [3]*). Similar rules prevail in Hungary (*Statute of 1879*) and Portugal (*Statute of 1910*). In Italy full political rights have since 1912 been granted to naturalised subjects.

‡ The right to revoke naturalisation on specified grounds exists in France (*Code Civil art. 17 [3] [4]*), in Germany (*Statute of 1913*), and in several other countries. By a French *Statute* passed in 1915 wide powers as regards the revocation of the naturalisation of persons of enemy origin were granted to the administration authorities. In many countries prolonged absence without compliance with the prescribed formalities determines the right of citizenship both as regards natural-born and naturalised citizens. (See for instance Dutch *Statute of 1892* as amended 1910, Danish *Statute of 1898*, Swedish *Statute of 1894*, Austrian *Civil Code art. 32* as explained by *Edict of 1832*); as to the United States see Moore *Digest of Intern. Law* ss. 474, 475. A similar provision was contained in art. 17 (3) of the French *Civil Code* but was repealed in 1889.

Some persons advocate the complete abolition of naturalisation, but the universal experience of mankind has shown the necessity of this institution, and there is now no civilised country which does not admit strangers to its citizenship if they will comply with certain prescribed conditions. These conditions should be so framed as to ensure on the part of the new citizen a real determination to give his undivided affection and allegiance to the country of his adoption. This is sometimes thought to be impossible, but the evidence as to the existence of such undivided affection and allegiance in the case of a large number of persons of alien origin must be conclusive to anyone who is not blinded by race prejudice. It would, however, be idle to deny that naturalisation has frequently been granted to persons unwilling to give their undivided affection and allegiance. The admission of such persons cannot be entirely prevented, but a sound and prudent law on the subject would cut their numbers down so extensively that they would become a negligible factor.

It is impossible within the space of a short article to deal with all the intricacies of the law as to nationality, and I have deliberately refrained from touching on several minor points which are not entirely unimportant, but do not affect the main issues. Any legislation on the subject would, of course, have to deal with these points, but its principal aim must be to cure or mitigate the evils arising from the source I have pointed out—namely, the possibility of double allegiance, or of an absence of all allegiance, the non-existence of any means of compulsory or voluntary expatriation, and the opportunities for insincere applications for naturalisation. A sound legislation on the subject will protect the country against many dangers and abuses, while at the same time ensuring that those who are British subjects by law shall also be British subjects in mind and feeling, and be treated as such for all purposes.

ERNEST SCHUSTER.

THE LAWYER IN POLITICS.

IT was during the time of the Liberal Government, before the war, that the cry against the lawyer-politician arose most loudly. Certainly that Ministry was remarkable for the number of lawyers who entered the Cabinet, or received some office in the Ministry which gave plausibility to the accusation that the lawyers were intruding themselves, superfluously and dangerously, into spheres unsuitable for men of their character; and that their influence was infecting the purity of political life. Then the war came, and there followed after a time the Coalition which blended, it was understood, the virtues and defects, the strength and weakness, of the two parties, Liberal and Unionist. The Unionist Party and its Press, it will hardly be disputed, were chiefly identified with the mingled anger and contempt expressed for lawyers before the war; yet when they joined their strength in coalition with the Liberals as Ministers, they brought with them the lawyers of their party in full abundance. There lay no ban on their lawyers. Their two most distinguished lawyers entered the Government—Sir Edward Carson in the Cabinet, by virtue of his office as Attorney-General, and Sir F. E. Smith. It was singular that Sir Edward Carson, the political leader of the Ulster men, and a tower of strength to the Unionists in two countries, England and Ireland, should have been a leading member of that profession of whom it had been said that they were never independent, but always subservient and time-serving, and so subdued to the professional dye they worked in, that of all shiftY politicians lawyers were the shiftiest. The charge against lawyers has generally been put in the formula that they speak from a brief; they speak as they are instructed by their party. But did any kind of party man ever act more originally and independently than Sir Edward; and who has spoken less from any brief and more persistently from the instructions he has given to himself? And Sir Edward had scarcely got into the Cabinet before he resigned. According to the formula he ought to have been subservient to the Coalition. Yet it was he who gave the first shock to the Coalition Ministry by resigning, because, to put it shortly, they would not carry out the policy of their Attorney-General, who ought on theory to have

been utterly submissive to the Coalition with the alleged customary servility of lawyer-politicians in normal times.

Then, in due course, it has been discovered that the Cabinet was too large, and lawyers and laymen together had to clear out and make way for the small Cabinet who in future were to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm. Of that small number, a solicitor, Mr. Lloyd George, became the head, and again Sir Edward Carson was the hope of the stern and unbending patriots who had destroyed the Coalition. Even the ideal business man who, according to some, was to drive out the "mere lawyer" from the high places of politics, has found no seat in this Cabinet beside the Labour Member and the lawyer. He was relegated to the mere Ministry where Secretaries of State and such inconsiderable people predominate. If the business man is in the Cabinet he is absorbed in the lawyer person of Mr. Lloyd George, who is, what we have been told lawyers never are, an undoubted "business man."

This rapid survey of the part played by the lawyer-politician in recent politics really begins from Sir John Simon's resignation of his office and seat in the Cabinet. It formed an interesting episode in the controversy which had been then recently started as to the influence of lawyers in political life. The circumstances of that controversy showed that certain politicians and newspapers started that cry with a political purpose; and there were good reasons for believing that most of their arguments were cogitated *ex tempore* for the captious purposes of the moment. Too much importance, therefore, is not to be attached to their charges and accusations; but it may be admitted that the political importance of lawyers has increased in recent years, and that it appears to be increasing. Whether it ought to be diminished is a matter which may be argued for or against; but at any rate not without taking into account the case of some of the men who have been conspicuous examples of lawyer politicians.

Sir John Simon is one of the most striking of these examples. Instead of taking the short cut to the Woolsack, he turned aside from it to enter on a purely political career. A lawyer rarely gets a second chance of accepting or refusing to be Lord Chancellor when he has once refused. Sir John took the risk; and having committed himself to politics, within a few weeks laid down his new office on a question of conscience. This should at least do something to modify a too sweeping assertion that the lawyer is, above all the sinners in politics, an opportunist and a place-hunter. Before Sir John Simon resigned his office of Home Secretary, Sir Edward Carson, his successor as Attorney General in the Coalition Government, also resigned his seat in the Cabinet on conscientious grounds; and these two instances have, moreover, recalled the

former signal examples of Lord Selborne and Lord James of Hereford. It may be, therefore, that the carping spirit against lawyers in politics is not so much in evidence just now as it was in the days preceding the Coalition Government. In the aristocratic days of politics, lawyers hardly played an important rôle in political life, except as Lord Chancellors, or as law officers of the Crown. Our present period, in which their influence for good or ill began to be more widely felt in politics, may be dated from Sir William Harcourt's Solicitor-Generalship in 1873, in the Government of Mr. Gladstone, when he succeeded Lord James of Hereford, then Sir Henry James, who became Attorney General. Sir William was not the first lawyer to abandon a profitable practice in order to settle down definitively to a political career; but he was the most distinguished example (after Perceval in 1807) until Mr. Asquith forsook his prospects of advancement in the law, and abandoned the Courts altogether for the House of Commons. Mr. Spencer Horatio Walpole had twenty years earlier laid aside his silk gown, and also given up a large practice in the Chancery Courts, in order to become Home Secretary. Even before him, however, two others had abandoned law for politics, and so successfully that they both became Prime Ministers; William Pitt, for the first time, in 1783; Spencer Perceval, above mentioned, for the first time, in 1807. The career of Perceval in the eighteenth century seems almost an anachronism, and to belong rather to the age of Sir William Harcourt, Lord Llandaff, Mr. Asquith, Lord Haldane, Mr. McKenna, and Sir John Simon. The chief difference seems to be that we now give our lawyers their start as Home Secretaries, as witness every one of the nineteenth-century politicians just named; whereas Mr. Perceval laid down his Attorney-Generalship, and a big income, to become Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pitt's was not a typical lawyer-politician's career in the same way. To be Prime Minister at twenty-four precludes the making of a prior legal reputation; but it is recorded that on the eve of his actually becoming Prime Minister he was meditating going his third circuit. Who can doubt that, if the Fox and North Coalition had, as he was assured, "extinguished him for life," he would ultimately have found his way into politics through the portals of the law? Between the Tory Perceval and the Conservative Spencer Walpole, there was an interval of nearly fifty years, during which no eminent examples occur of the metamorphosis of the lawyer into the accepted politician who has lived down the suspicions attaching to him in consequence of his previous profession. The only lawyers to be found in any of the Cabinets were the Lord Chancellors; and it was to their being lawyers primarily, and not politicians or statesmen, that their presence there was due. The names of

Eldon, Lyndhurst, Brougham, Westbury, Cairns, Hatherley, Selborne, and Halsbury, are to be found in the series; but after Perceval and until Cairns not one, although *prima facie* some of them were obviously by nature at least as adapted for politics as for law, had the chances in politics that happen every day to the lawyers of our generation. Cairns alone of these lawyers became an acknowledged party leader, in the usual sense, in either House of Parliament. Even now, when a solicitor has succeeded a barrister as Prime Minister, and it is common for lawyers to hold high political offices, the preference of some Conservatives in 1881, at the time of Lord Beaconsfield's death, for Lord Cairns, as leader of their party instead of Lord Salisbury, strikes us as singular and incongruous. And yet, though Cairns apparently failed only by a little in reaching the Premiership, it was not by reason of any distrust of that moral kind, which is supposed to have grown up in later years, in regard to lawyers in politics. One definite reason for his failure was the breakdown of his health. Another was the feeling that his frigid temperament and manners, his aloofness from wide-worldly interests, his narrow, dogmatic, religious, and theological views, made him unsuitable as a political party leader notwithstanding his brains. No one charged him with "speaking from "a brief" and accepting his instructions from a government, with ready-made opinions, in the same spirit that he would have accepted a case in Court; not pledging his own belief, but fulfilling his bargain by plausibly advocating whatever ingenious arguments might occur to him.

No one ever said that Cairns was less honest and sincere, and less devoted to principle, than the ordinary lay member of Parliament who is looking out for a career in politics. Cairns was the last person who could truly be charged with opportunism in politics for the sake of advancement in his profession. Perceval, at a period when politicians, if ever, were opportunist, and when coalitions were startling for their cynicism, was noted for his strong and invincible prejudices, as Romilly said, and his consistent and persistent maintenance of them in all the political combinations into which he entered. In the case of both Perceval and Cairns, it is easy to see that as lawyer types, and as individuals, neither of them was the ideal of a British Prime Minister; yet each of them was the antithesis of that flexible, time-serving, money hunting, and place hunting lawyer, whose influence, it is alleged, has now become so mischievous in politics.

In the rank and file of the lawyers who now crowd into Parliament many examples of this type can now no doubt be found, but it is of some interest to note that there is no support for the

allegation in the persons of these two lawyers who attained, or seemed to have a claim to, the highest position in politics.

It is rather curious that down to 1886, when Henry Matthews (Lord Llandaff) became Home Secretary, most of the appointments to political offices conferred on lawyers had been made by Tory or Conservative Governments. Since then the balance has been more than reversed in favour of Liberal or Radical lawyers. The example of taking lawyers into the Government was more naturally set by Tory or Conservative than by Liberal or Radical Governments. There is a long tradition that lawyers are on the side of the propertied classes. Certainly, if Pitt and Perceval, Spencer Walpole, Gathorne-Hardy, Cairns, and Henry Matthews, the most prominent examples of Conservative lawyer-politicians, were time servers and place-hunters, they did not win their positions by demagogic arts, and supporting the popular party. If the supposed insidious influence of lawyers began with the Liberal series, then we have Sir William Harcourt as Home Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Asquith also as Home Secretary, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Prime Minister, Lord Haldane as War Minister, Mr. McKenna as Home Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir John Simon as Home Secretary. Each of these was a practising barrister; most of them were earning large professional incomes; Mr. McKenna was doing well; so well that a popular book of reference has, mistakenly, made him a K.C. Those who distrust the influence of lawyers over government would no doubt answer that the point is not which political party first gave them encouragement by taking them away from the specific legal offices to which they had been for ages strictly confined, and introducing them to the most intimate participation in Cabinet Government. The fact, they may say, that lawyers now flourish, whichever party is in power, proves their flexibility, and their readiness to accept the profitable briefs of either, with complete professional indifference to the merits of the quarrels between them. They would admit that extraneous and multifarious motives influence other politicians in choosing their party, but in the case of lawyers they would contend that the universal guiding motive in the choice of party is the chance of professional advancement. There are stories current of lawyers now eminent in politics who, in early days, settled the preliminary point of their prearranged rivalry in law and politics, by tossing up to decide to which political party they should respectively offer their services. Whether the story is actually true or not, it is believed by many to be typically true; and it cannot be denied that an undesirable proportion of lawyers who have no serious or high purposes in politics, seek election to

Parliament for no purpose but to attract attention and so obtain clients; or to have an advantage over rivals not in Parliament in the hunt for legal appointments that are the reward of party politics. They treat the constituencies as Common Juries, whose verdicts are to be won, not for the sake of a good cause, but for the glorification and profit of the advocate. This is an unhealthy influence acting upon the legal profession in its dealings with politics more obviously than upon any other profession. Some businesses may be over-represented in Parliament, but their interests are corporate, and not so directly individual as the ambitions of the lawyers.

Yet it must be admitted that at times it becomes apparent that, in measures affecting either branch of the profession, an opposition may come from both or either, which is solid and corporate. Thus the Solicitors in regard to conveyancing reforms, and the Bar in regard to reforms in legal procedure, have, at times, taken up much the same attitude as, say, the railway magnates, or the shipping or mining interests, in respect of legislation affecting the latter.

When Lord James of Hereford gave a signal example of consistency and disinterestedness by refusing the Great Seal in 1886, on account of his disagreement with Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy, he dwelt on the charges against lawyers in a speech to his constituents at Bury. He belonged, he said, to a profession often attacked, often slandered; "It has many great prizes which must be gathered by some members of it, and so it comes to pass that the accusation is often made that members of the Bar enter upon and fashion their political career in order to obtain some of the prizes. . . . For five years I have enjoyed the high privilege of occupying the office which rendered me the leader of the Bar, and I felt that it was a duty, almost a special call upon me, that I should so act that no man should be enabled to point to my conduct as proof that the Bar of England was composed of men who were unfit to take their part in political life, and I hope I have done so."

If Lord James of Hereford had been less conscientious than Lord Selborne, who on a previous, historic occasion refused to be Lord Chancellor in the Irish Church Disestablishment Cabinet of Mr. Gladstone, he would certainly have made the defence of his profession more difficult in the future. He did not deny that there are members of the Bar who enter on political careers in order to obtain the prizes of the law. His own aim was so to act that his individual conduct should make the accusation of self-seeking, whether in law or politics, less sweeping and much more difficult to prove. This was a very considerable service to his profession, which has

probably suffered more than it has deserved from the well-known character of some of its most famous ornaments. The flexible and servile Tudor and Stuart lawyers prejudiced succeeding generations of lawyers in the popular opinion. Bacon is more easily remembered than More, and Jeffreys and Scroggs than Hale; and if one examined the careers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Lord Chancellors, beginning with Loughborough and Eldon, one would doubtless find much explaining why the tradition of lawyers as time-serving politicians continued through the Georgian and even into the Victorian era. Lord Eldon is reported to have said: "D——n me, if I had to begin life again "I would begin as an agitator." Bagehot's comment on this is: "The shrewd old man saw that the best life was that of a miscellaneous objector to the old world, though he loved that world, "believed in it, could imagine no other."

It would be difficult to deny that in this spirit many of the intellectual gladiators of the Bar have struggled for the lucrative and splendid prizes offered to the successful of their profession.

We cannot be surprised, therefore, if the time-honoured prejudices should become lively again when the lawyers are being, as it were, almost bribed to regard a career at the Bar as a preliminary to the higher honours of politics, and not merely to the customary professional offices of the Lord Chancellor, the judgeships, the Crown law officerships, and other such remunerative and dignified positions.

In earlier days the political connexion of most lawyers was entered into as the result of reputation won by ability at the Bar, and supported by the income from a great practice. Without having first obtained this wealth and position the subsequent more brilliant promotions would not have been open to them.

It was to the Lord Chancellorship, or to the Law Offices of the Crown, that such political influence as lawyers possessed in the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries was mainly due. Usually the political career of lawyers began late, and comparatively few were elected to Parliament without already having made a name as lawyers. There was a mitigation, to a certain extent, before the Reform Act of 1832, in the existence of the pocket boroughs; but after that Act the age at which the great legal offices were attained was more advanced than it has tended to become of late years. There has been additional encouragement given for young lawyers to run their legal and political careers contemporaneously, on the brilliant careers of Mr. Asquith, Lord Haldane, Sir John Simon, Sir F. E. Smith, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Birrell, and of others who might be mentioned.

How different things are now may be seen from the story about

Law (Lord Ellenborough), who, in 1801, having been made Attorney-General, appeared before George III. for Knighthood. He was then fifty-one, and had been of the famous Counsel in the Warren Hastings impeachment. His Majesty asked him if he had been in Parliament before, and was answered: No. "That is right," was the reply; "my Attorney-General ought not to have been in Parliament, for then, you know, he is not obliged to eat his words." The admittance of Lord Reading into the Cabinet while he held the office of Attorney-General was the most striking innovation on the long custom of confining lawyers to legal offices. The new precedent was followed with the Attorney-General, Sir John Simon, who succeeded him, and with Sir Edward Carson and Sir F. E. Smith when they became Attorneys-General in the recent Coalition Government.

In the professional journals which point with pride to the political offices held by lawyers in this country, America, and France, objections have been made to the Attorneys-General being in Cabinets on other grounds than that of undue influence. For instance, it is urged that the true function of the Attorney-General is to be the legal adviser of the Government; that he has functions that are judicial in regard to prosecutions; and that his position as a Cabinet Minister, who takes part in executive decisions, may impair his fairness in his judicial capacity. Without going further into this, it is relevant to remark that these objections involve also the point we have been considering: the growth of the influence of lawyers as such in public life.

Moreover, the position of the Lord Chief Justice is another instance bearing on this question. Lord Reading ceased to be in the Cabinet when he became Lord Chief Justice; and there are, apparently, but two instances of the Lord Chief Justice being in the Cabinet. These were Lord Mansfield, in 1756, and Lord Ellenborough, in 1806; and the unwisdom of such a combination of political and judicial offices was then, and has since been, recognised. But though Lord Reading has not a seat in the Cabinet his relation to both the War Cabinets has been much closer than any Lord Chief Justice has held to any Cabinet for many years, and greater than any Lord Chief Justice within living memory; and so, temporally, at any rate, the political prestige and influence of lawyers is thereby increased. In the Coalition Cabinet, as a whole, there were six members, including the Lord Chancellor, who have risen into prominence through the conjoining practice of the law and politics. The legal element in that Ministry was quite as strong as in any Ministry before the war; and it was, indeed, strengthened by the addition to it of Lord Robert Cecil, who also practised simultaneously in law and politics.

A THEATRE REFORM ASSOCIATION.

"Perhaps when their bravely borne sacrifices in the war have purged the nation, the nation will proceed to the purging of the theatre. Perhaps—perhaps—perhaps."—*H. M. Walbrook, in THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, July, 1916.*

THE present condition of the English stage, if unsatisfactory, is not unpopular with the masses because they have no opportunity of knowing how much interesting and amusing drama exists which never reaches the footlights.* That there is some discontent, however, is shown by remarks heard from those who sit out a dull play "because it is something "to do." And Mr. Walbrook, whose duties as a critic often take him to the theatre, hints at a possible collapse of this indifference at the close of the war. Hitherto Englishmen have cared very little about an ideal theatre, having only concerned themselves seriously with politics. Moreover, the reform of the stage has no interest for educated people who have practically forgotten its very existence through having for so long ceased to be playgoers. The attitude of managers also is an irresponsible one, for they contend that the public decides which plays it likes; but it is not so easy to explain where playgoers have acquired their standard of taste except by recognising that while demand creates supply, supply also creates demand. What is needed is opportunity to provide wholesome plays, and this can only be brought about by the help of intelligent and candid criticism.† Unfortunately, managers

* Mr. Granville Barker, speaking in America in the early part of the year, said, "The theatre in both America and England is in a pretty rotten condition. What is wrong is not in what you get . . . it is in what you miss, and you miss practically all the best that we have. Let us go to the Library and take out the catalogue of published plays, and there we see not only a great English-speaking literature, but from 1890 it has been one of the first literatures. But as far as we are concerned it might never have been written at all."

† In an article which appeared last February, in *The Nation*, this point is brought forward with admirable clearness: "The first essential, then, of any redemptive movement is a criterion of artistic values, which by the precept and example of actual production will, at the least, give the public the opportunity of rejecting or accepting them. At present it has none, for the simple reason that the profitable interests that delude the public take very good care to bribe or beat out of the market any such efforts towards a criterion. The only choice before the public is in degrees of badness. So what can we expect but a general vitiation of taste?"

discourage such criticism because they insist that the public shall be allowed to form its own opinion.*

Again, in leaving the theatre to take care of itself, the community is not only neglecting what it ought to do but it is encouraging individuals to be doing a good deal of work of a kind which would be better left undone. Setting aside Cinemas and Variety Theatres as forms of entertainment which cover too large a field to be dealt with in this paper, one need but point to the ruin of a whole art—the delicate art of the theatre—which has been brought about not so much through want of taste among playgoers as by the inferior aim shown by those who are in control of the theatres.† Yet managers advertise their productions as if they were intended to be harmless, educational, and even of artistic merit. And playgoers are in this way often led to believe in the high quality of the entertainment set before them. Therefore, it is their misfortune and not their fault that they get what is inferior instead of something better. By all means let the public have gay and even trivial plays if it likes, so long as they are not senseless and empty impostures, and the only remedy against imposition in art is the constant production before the public of compositions of a true and high standard. Nations appear and disappear one after another, but civilised countries seldom pass away without creating some form of art which is of permanent value to mankind. For instance, there are few pieces of furniture in a modern drawing room which do not possess embellishments taken from the art of the past. The greatest praise we can bestow on a sculptor is given when we compare his works to those of ancient Greece. Even more does drama show us how humanity proceeds step by step to fulfil its mission; and dramas of a high order should never be put on the shelf. Plays such as Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Sheridan's *Critic* never fail to awaken in the mind of the spectator ideas which will benefit himself and future generations.

After all, for whom do the public theatres exist? Are they for those who wish to frequent them, or for those whose commercial advantage it is to run them? A similar question, perhaps, can be

* Sir George Alexander said to a Press interviewer last October, "I am sure they (the Press) have the interests of managers and actors at heart, so let them look over their criticisms after they have written them and ask themselves this question: 'Have I said anything that will prevent the public from going to the play to judge for themselves?'"

† Schiller wrote, "The assertion so commonly made that the public degrades art is not well founded. It is the artist who brings the public to the level of his own conceptions; and in every age in which art has gone to decay it has fallen through its professors. The people need feeling alone, and feeling they possess. They take their station before the curtain with an unvoiced longing, with a multifarious capacity. They bring with them an aptitude for what is highest; they derive the greatest pleasure from what is judicious and true; and if with these powers of appreciation they begin to be satisfied with inferior productions, still if they have once tasted what is excellent they will, in the end, insist on having it supplied to them."

asked of the shopman, but with this difference, that while the shopman has something definite to sell, the manager has not. The public who purchase from the counter receive what is tangible in return for their money, also the value of the article can afterwards be tested. But in advertising the production of a play, a manager may call it laughable, inspiring, thrilling, or anything he likes, and who is to contradict him when the vendor discounts the right of the expert to pass judgment on these improvised commendations? It has been said that if a man would influence his fellow men to his own end and profit he must discover their weaknesses and disadvantages, and it is sometimes the object of a manager to pander to the corrupt tendencies of human nature. But no attempt is made to cope with the present evils of the theatre because no one has yet traced to its source what has brought about those evils. It is a mistake to suppose that it is necessary to accept the doings of managers as if they were inevitable arrangements, and for the public to make the best of them they can. The present methods have been artificially created; they have been put together not by natural processes but by the deliberate will of men who think mainly about making money out of the theatre. Any clever lawyer could probably suggest ways in which the whole business could be challenged as prejudicial to the public interest. For it is difficult to believe that some of the practices in vogue could be regarded as fair and legitimate means of carrying on a public industry, to say nothing about a valued art.* The people of this country do not know how subtly they are being dealt with in regard to their theatres, and it is only through open speech as to the facts that they can learn about them. It is because of the difficulty of finding anyone so circumstanced that he has the opportunity to study theatrical affairs and yet is able to live disconnected from them that the truth does not reach the public. It is not that any single manager is responsible for the theatrical system, or that a malevolent combination exists intentionally to deprave public taste. It is because by certain processes not generally known, and not natural in themselves, there has come about a sinister concentration in the control of theatrical affairs, and it is no more than the truth to say that the trouble has arisen through managers not being called upon to submit their finances to public scrutiny. All interested in theatre reform should urge its importance. Who is it finds the capital to finance a play? And on what conditions is it found? Often these conditions are incompatible with the public interest. For this reason they need regulation; in other words, there must be publicity.

* Mr. George Ashton, in an interview with *The Referee* last April, says: "I have been assured that in one week before the war at five West-End theatres there were ten thousand free admissions!"

The relations between a manager and his public are at present in a most unsatisfactory state, and mainly because the latter does not share any pecuniary responsibility in the choice and production of a play. Everyone knows that the test of the possession of power is the control of the purse-strings, and the public at present does not realise that not a farthing of the money the manager needs in order to rent his theatre, produce his play, and run it for at least five weeks, is supplied by those for whose benefit the play is given. So that it follows of necessity that the manager's choice of a play depends more on the demands of those who provide the working capital for it than on the wishes of the public which is expected to refund that capital. And it must be remembered that the object of producing a play does not always spring from the desire to give the public what it wants. A manager's choice may lie between, say, three plays. He knows which is the one best written and constructed, and which one he considers best suited for his public. But how about the finances? Suppose that the third play, the one of least merit, has been written by a young author who was fortunate in his first venture and wishes, at the critical time of his career, to keep his name in the play-bill; he offers to supply the necessary capital and gives the manager, in addition, a producer's fee of a thousand pounds; as a consequence the young author's play is chosen. Here it is obvious that public taste has not influenced the manager's decision, nor have the playgoer's interests been considered at all. Yet this is but one of the drawbacks. The new play is not well received on the first night, and only moderately praised by the press. More capital is provided that the play may be extensively advertised as a brilliant success; for two weeks the house is filled with "deadheads," and the town led to believe that the piece is worth seeing! And yet the absence of good plays is put down by managers to a want of good taste on the part of the public, and is used as a plea to justify them in providing their audiences with bad plays.* We are told that out of some hundreds of new plays which yearly pass through a manager's hands not one is found to be of any use for the stage, or, in other words, there is no capital forthcoming with which to produce them. In many cases, also, the high rents charged for our theatres hinder the production of good plays.† And high rents are obtained, not because of too few theatres, but owing to the large profits which can be made out of a musical-comedy or farce when it has received the London hall-

* It was in deference to the opinion of a theatrical coterie, on the first night, that "a happy ending" was decided upon for Sir Arthur Pinero's comedy *The Big Drum*. The public had had no opportunity given it of coming to a decision when the play had only been acted twice.

† Mr. H. Chance Newton wrote in *The Referee* of last December: "Can you wonder that so many managers, coming third, fourth, or fifth in the list of renters, lose even on plays that appear to be successes?" The yearly rent, before the war, of one popular theatre in London was twelve thousand pounds, of which the original owner only received seven thousand five hundred pounds.

mark.* New plays are even run in the Strand at a loss, and labelled successes, solely to secure American and Colonial royalties. This is why the doors of our theatres are shut against Shakespeare, Sheridan, and all classics, as well as against plays written by modern men of talent. For the capitalist will not speculate except on the chance of obtaining very large profits, and these can only be obtained out of plays which are suitable to be acted before any audiences, no matter how illiterate, throughout English-speaking countries.

It is these disadvantages, of an economic nature, which hamper the drama in this country, and merely to declaim against them without suggesting a remedy is worse than useless, because it creates a not unreasonable suspicion that discontent is being harboured with a view to threaten private or vested interests. But the evils mentioned might easily be removed by just and salutary measures. Meanwhile, we have a state of things which makes all reform difficult, not so much from any practical obstacles as from certain plausible antagonisms. It has been said that actors have no history apart from their own profession; yet the energies of our actor-managers to-day are more keenly alive outside the theatre than inside it. Few of them, it is hoped, would care to sit out the plays which are produced for the pleasure of their audiences. Managers, however, are kind and generous men, fond of sport, popular in society, and often welcomed at Court. Yet it is these gentlemen whose work in the theatre is now being challenged, and they are formidable antagonists. Professor Gilbert Murray said in public only a few months ago, "A long battle lies before those friends of "the theatre who wish to see English drama continue its progress "and grow to be a more intelligent and nobler thing. Official "encouragement is still reserved for the worst and emptiest kind "of plays."† Thus it seems that no active help is likely to be obtained from the guardians of public morals in Stable Yard. We then turn to the Church and find that a clergy who are in closest touch with the stage confess quite frankly that this intercourse with actors is for the purpose of inculcating "Catholic principles of "action and devotion." But how do the clergy reconcile the low moral tone of the plays in which actors appear with the precepts of Christianity? This is never explained. Yet the fact remains that a glance at our stage to-day must satisfy any unprejudiced mind that things are sufficiently bad to justify a Government enquiry as to present methods of theatrical management with a view to protecting the interests of the public.

WILLIAM POEL.

* Mr. R. C. Carton wrote recently in *The Stage*: "There is no gambling hell—not even Monte Carlo or the Stock Exchange—which holds out such glittering possibilities to the gambler as a London theatre."

† An address to the Liverpool Playgoers' Society, January, 1916.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. THE HAUNTED FARM. By J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY ...	113
2. REVIEWS ...	119
THE REUNION OF THE CHURCHES; TREATIES OF PEACE; CLASSICAL EDUCATION; THE VIRGINIANS AND EDUCATION; HISTORIC EDINBURGH.	
3. SHORTER REVIEWS:—"The World as Imagination," etc. ...	129
4. NOTICES OF BOOKS ...	132

THE HAUNTED FARM.

NEW Year's Eve is a famous night for a gathering of folk at the farm. The purely family festival of Christmas when strangers charily cross a threshold is succeeded by the tribal festival of the New Year, when doors are open and hopes are shared. It is a story teller's evening, an evening of reminiscences, of legends, of expectations. When the snow lies without and the frost is hard, and the quarter moon goes early to bed (so as to grow more rapidly), and the stars and planets are spurting their light through the crystalline sky, then is the time for stories by the great hearth, where the summer and autumn turfs are giving back to man the sunshine which they had gathered in the long days. Folk legends are often told; it is indeed the way that such legends are kept alive and grow; witch stories creep round the hearth, where, indeed, old women have learnt to be witches listening to the talk of the folk, have learnt that man is a superstitious creature and subject to the rule of the unseen; and ghost stories, which partake of the qualities of folk stories and witch stories, keep the whole party shuddering, and wondering how they are to get home to the dark, scattered, silent farms on this hard, moonless, starry night.

The first necessity for an effective ghost story is that it should be told by someone who partook of its terrors; the second necessity is that the *locus* should be familiar to all; the third necessity is that it should be a true thing. All other ghost stories are mere town inventions, foolishnesses that have no smell of the road, no rustle of the wood, no whisper in the corridor or on the stairs where the moonlight mingles with moving mysteries. There may be haunted houses in great towns, no doubt there are, but it must be a poor spirited ghost that haunts such places when it might roam the magic moorland, wander by racing streams, glide through wondrous coppices, and dwell in ancient chambers, the lattices whereof open on sacred moon-lit vistas, undefiled by man.

The true ghost must be at one with nature, must haunt places that have gone back to the wild, must be part of a tragedy that belongs to the noblest part of man. If the ghost do not signify infinite yearning for the things that had made earthly life so lovely then the creature is no ghost; is rather an evil spirit cast out from heaven and hell, and forced for a certain time to walk the earth.

That was William Warlock's view; in a fashion it was the view that Fred Harrage held. It is, indeed, the view of the countryside. They believe that there are these two sorts of ghosts; the spirit that wanders here in punishment, and the spirit that comes here because of love. Who does not know them both? Yet they know not each other. Fred Harrage had been in his quiet, drawling way discoursing on this classification of spirits, when an old woman, the grandmother of Mr. Multon, the huge farmer, broke in. "It do be strange to think o' Isaac Green's farm." All ears were pricked at this piping phrase of almost the oldest inhabitant of the moor. She was very old; her voice was like a far-reaching whisper; she sat deep in the great fireplace; very happy and content, smiling from time to time as thoughts passed in her mind, but hearing very little of the quiet chatter of the hearth. "It do be strange," said Mr. Warlock. "How far back do your memory go, Mrs. Page?" "I do mind, Mr. Warlock, the days before the hungry 'forties. My granmer wur living then. She wur much older than I do be. She did pat my little golden head and did say: 'Do you not go near Isaac Green's farm, my dear. It do be lonesome for little maid, so granfer did say to me 'when I wur little maid.' That wur in 1745, the young prince's year." The old lady dwelt on the date as if it were a thing of miracle, as indeed it was.

"Ah! now I do 'member," said Mr. Warlock, "the whole story." "Do you tell it, my dear," said the old lady, settling herself to listen as though no one else were there. "I do have better way than that," said Mr. Warlock, who had grown cautious about story telling since the shadow of the Old Man had been thrown by the moon down the long stone passage of the farm house; so at least Fred Harrage said. "I do think that we should get at the truth o' the Isaac Green story, and we have the night before us." As he said this a rustle of comfortableness went round the great kitchen; the fire was noble, a great kettle sang in brobdingnagian fashion, swaying on its chain to the music, plentiful cates (dainties are all kates, thought one as he looked at a pensive sailor's bride whose mind lay Orkney way) were to hand, and farmhouse ale with tea in store; tobacco smoke joined wreaths with the turf smoke that came forth in heavily-scented folds as the wind sighed, and rose and fell round the farm to warm itself

(it seemed to say) after the rigour of the inclement moor. "I do think that we should tell in turn, beginning with the youngest, what we do know o' the farm. Some can say little, some can say much; then at end I will, if need be, say my say and put together what all say; and then Humpty will sing his carol while I do play from old fiddle. What think?" Applause ran round the almost crowded kitchen, and then all began thinking of what they knew of the haunted farm.

"Dick Weaver, do you speak." Then a boy in khaki spoke out shyly enough, but with earnest downright face. "It do be two years ago I did take short cut through farmstead. 'Twur winter afternoon, clear cold, wi' big moon in sky. The farm wur like Zunday afternoon farm, zo silent. As I did slip through orchard I did see woman in yard washing a soldier's coat. 'Twur red coat. She did look at I. She had angel face like and silk dress." The lad stopped. Then he added, "I did run like a mad boy. 'Twur too much. I have seen such a face sin' then in France." Mr. Warlock said, "Farm wur empty then; tenants left at Michaelmas, sold up. Jane Brisk."

Jane gave her evidence. "It be one year ago last Lady Day, fortnight over. 'Twur fine spring morning. I wur taking message to Peatworthy Farm, six o'clock. I wur singing old song 'bout Monmouth Mrs. Hope taught me" (the old lady nodded and hummed

" 'Twur a king's son, a king's son,
A gallant fair to view.")

"and then I zeed from the tiny path by the pear orchard, blossom out that morning, I zee it now" (her face was like apple blossom as she spoke) "I zeed in the yard five or six men on horses speaking to lady at door, soldier men, but not like our men," and she turned to the self-conscious Dick. "I did run like mad girl and did come home other way." Mr. Warlock said, "Farm wur empty then. Tenant's wife left at Lady Day, tenant dead. Young man, too. Alfred Worthy."

Alfred, a sailorman home on leave, wiped his mouth with his hand as a preliminary to speech. His speech was to the point. He said: "I have sailed on haunted ship where a black cook who drowned hisself in the Bay used to poke his horrid black head with white hair into the bunks. I would rather live on that ship than cross old Green's yard again." "Why?" said Fred Harrage with unusual vivacity. "Why?" said the sailor, "stands to reason. I zee the man die before my very eyes," "What man?" said Mr. Warlock. "Why stands to reason, the man whose coat she was trying to wash the blood out of. I zee her

"shoot him." "Where?" said Fred. "In the byre, o' course. "Wasn't I sleepin' there?" "Yes, yes, o' course you were," said Fred quietly. "When was that?" said Mr. Warlock. "It do be ten year agone," said the sailorman, "last Michaelmas." "Tenant left at Michaelmas," said Mr. Warlock, "byreman hanged hisself."

The reference to the haunted ship and the unfortunate tenants of the desolate farm had caused the whole party involuntarily to draw nearer to each other, and a new supply of fuel revealed faces full of wonder and questionings. Yet the party was enjoying itself, revelling in the horrors. The haunted ship was a dish for a king, and as Mr. Warlock ceased, Kate asked the name of the cook. "Methuselah," said the sailor man; "and they do say as how he visits all his old ships and touches old friends o' the shoulder." "Was he ever on the *Leviathan*?" "'Twur his last ship," said the sailorman, "'fore he tuk to drink."

Mr. Warlock looked up sharply. "Arthur Wayfare," said he. Arthur was a farmhand with the brownest of faces and a brown graveyard of bad teeth, redeemed by an acute sense of humour. "I do like Isaac Green's farm," said he. "The talk o' the folk is agen' the place, and the poor tenants do indeed zeem upzides wi' the ghosts, but I do like it." "Why don't you take the farm, Arthur?" said Fred. "I do be a poor hind," said Arthur, with mock humility. "But all the same, the ghosts do like I. I be no manner afeerd o' they. 'Twur in the dead middle o' the night, many years agone New Year's Eve: night just like this. Poor ewes lambing in the bitter cold. I heard one baaing down Isaac Green's farm; heard it right on moor. Zed I to zelf: 'Shall I go to hur; be I afeard? Yes, I be feard,' zed I to I: 'But I be goin'.' An' I did go. You know, neighbours, the way: You cross stony slip o' moor just south zide o' Old Man's Hill down to stream (hard as stone that night, wi' water running like ghost voices under ice) then up little stony slope to the dark gate into the wood. 'Twur black dark, but I know way blindfold. But girt owls in bushes did groan and breathe most awful, 'most in my ear. I did hear fox bark somewur, and on the moor just by edge o' wood a girt stag wur pulling at a bough for dead oak leaves. 'Twur hard weather. I did hear my heart go anyhow when I did put leg down hole right on some squealing prickly beastie." "Badger," said Fred. "All while I did hear the baa o' the ewe, and sudden I was out of wood and in Isaac Green's yard under the stars. There wur no ewe there. Instead I did hear trample of horses coming down wood other zide, one horse near, many horses far off. Into the yard came horse ridden by old farmer, who carried girt

"lanthorn. 'Twur awful looking owd man, wi' face so wicked and ugly that Satan be 'shamed o' him. I do believe the horse wur Satan, it wur zo black in the lanthorn light, and did look so shamed. Man had long riding coat, all white, and beaver hat. He had red scar on forehead, I did see, as he flung down off horse with oath." "'Twur owd Isaac Green," said Mr. Warlock, "tenant o' the farm; Crown lands." "He did not zee I, and I did zay to I: 'Arthur, keep cloze'; and as I zaid it I did hear shot in byre just as owd man whistled, same as curlew whistles" (Fred whistled, Arthur nodded, and the same whistle came in from the night: "Curlew," said Fred, "Isaac Green," muttered the sailor man), "and rushed to the byre. In a moment a troop o' red-coats clattered into yard, and owd man held up his hand: 'My money first,' said he, with a croak like an owl. 'Here are your thirty pieces,' said the captain, throwing him a purse. 'Where's our man?'" "He do be dead," said the sailor man. "I did zee it all. He did beg the lady and pray the lady, and she did shut her eyes and pull the heavy trigger. Here do be the old flint pistol," and the sailor man threw it clattering on the hearth. The whole company moved uneasily and curiously, but Mr. Warlock, the leader of the chorus, held up his hand and the folk were still. "Do you finish, Arthur?" "'Twur awful, like bad dream after too much black pudding. The soldiermen did dash into byre past the lady and bring out dead man. The lady they did not bring." "In manger dead," said the sailorman, as he lit his pipe. "When captain did see man wur dead, he did shoot Isaac Green right through his ugly head. Then all was gone—lamps, horses, men, dead men, all. I did clamber over walls to moor and run." "When did you zee this, Arthur? Twenty year ago last Christmas?" "Farm empty then, tenant left at Christmas: cattle all dead o' murrain. Fred," said Mr. Warlock.

Fred Harrage said: "I do know all those tales be true. I do know the French lady well, the French wife o' one o' Monmouth's captains. She do sit by the farm door and spin i' the sun oft on a June morning. I do know Isaac Green. He is ever carrying little bags o' money to his hoard in the wood. You may meet him any night. He whistles like a curlew." And at that moment a curlew on the moor whistled like a wanderer seeking home. Then Mr. Warlock spoke: "I do answer for no one o' these stories, but they do all fit together. 'Tis known that Isaac Green did betray one o' Monmouth's men. His wife had come to England and was at the farm waiting for him; but he came to she only as a runaway, and she killed he to save he from worse things. But I did never

"zee she, she nor he nor Isaac whose picture do hang at Hall.
 "But certain it is no man can farm that farm. It do be sort o' field
 "to bury strangers in. But come to door and hear New Year come
 "in: pray God a good New Year for this our land." And the old
 man strode to the door and flung it open in time to hear a little
 momentary clash of bells wing through the moorland night under
 the eternal stars.

"He do be horrid owd man do Isaac Green," said Jane Brisk
 to the sailorman as they stood at the door. "I do wish I could find
 "his board," said the sailorman, "and then we'd take the farm,
 "Jane." "Go along, Mr. Worthy," said Jane. "Methuselah
 "might come too," said Mr. Worthy, "he's tired o' the sea."
 "'Twould be a cheerful farm, Alfred," said Kate. "But is it true
 "that Methuselah do haunt the fleet?" "True," said the sailor-
 man, "it do stand to reason." "Yes, I suppose it do," said Kate
 with a sigh, "but I do wonder why such things do be, 'specially
 "on the *Leviathan*." "He do always bring good luck," said
 Alfred, as they turned from the door, "just unlike Isaac."

Childish byeplay enough, and yet earnest enough. Faith is a
 wonderful thing, and the folk festival of the New Year had
 awakened a curious touch of it. As the party passed in from the
 cold, starry night to the warm kitchen, Mr. Warlock was perhaps
 the only soul there that did not believe that Isaac walked the woods,
 and even he was not certain. The curlew's whistle had shaken
 him; the flint-lock pistol had staggered him. Yet he did not
 believe. His larger grasp dismissed, and yet did not wholly
 dismiss the story; he knew it well; the pathos, the tragedy, the
 work of Iscariot—all touched him to the soul. In that sense, at
 any rate, it was all true, eternal as all tragedy is. The folk were
 laughing round the fire as he took up his fiddle. It was his
 contribution to the folk-tale. He wove the tragedy into the strokes
 of his bow. Once again the tale of Isaac Green was told, told in
 wonderful music. The hope, the yearning, the fear, the love, the
 self-sacrifice—it was all there; they heard Isaac whistling in the
 wood once more; they heard the feet of armed men, the dark moan
 of death, the traitor's cry, the swooning of despair; and then they
 heard a sound of nobler things; the quiet music of hope flowed
 from the old man's bow; a sense of child-like grace illuminated the
 room as the turf fire flared up, and the tones glided into carol music
 to welcome the King of Kings:—

"Cold the night, but warm the fire;
 He is Lord of every path:
 Bring the Babe from out the byre,
 Fold Him here, beside your hearth."

J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY.

REVIEWS.

THE REUNION OF THE CHURCHES.*

Canon Grane, in the preface to this important work, says:

“ My appeal is to all communions of the Faith of Christ, whether Catholic or Protestant. It is made under the strongest sense of the cardinal importance of the whole subject of reunion; for some striking reduction of the barriers between separated Churches (founded on a revaluation of relative values) appears to be the one specific for the weak and weakening hold of every form of systematic Christianity upon the world. The venture is encouraged by signs that point to a certain *change of mind* in many quarters, disposing men to prefer reality and truth before custom and tradition, and to claim a new procedure for the things that matter most, after a manner habitual with the Founder of our Faith.”

The ideal picture of unity that we see in the earliest days, “ A Society distinguished by undivided loyalty to Christ,” vanished in the great age of, and despite, the Fathers. “ Before the third century is nearly over, the way is clear for the abrogation of the prophetic by the priestly element in the Church. Then this latter has only to be interpreted wholly in the sacerdotal sense, as if the Epistle to the Hebrews had never been written, and the transformation is complete.” Greek philosophy brought its burden as well as its blessing into Christianity—*timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. So Christendom was broken. The seamless garment was rent long before the Great Schism of the West, and the miracle of reunion seems still far away. “ The *Coup* of 1870, which staggered Newman and so excited Gladstone, injured the prospects of Unity all over the Christian world.” Ecclesiastical Militant Imperialism received its *imprimatur* in 1870. The Vatican, by reversing the policy of 1870, by “ a step so magnanimous and candid would signalise the release of spiritual forces competent to transform the whole Catholic Church.” But Canon Grane has, clearly, little hope of this, though it must be admitted that the end of the Great War will open up to Catholic Europe the parting of the ways. Democracy will cease to be Catholic if Catholicism is coincident with defeated and discredited Imperialism. But Canon Grane feels that it would be untrue to pour blame on Rome alone.

“ Latin and Greek, Anglican and Protestant, all are evidently guilty in this thing—though not in the same degree. All, to some extent, have sought the advancement of the part, without due care for the well-being of the whole. Every organisation has merited

* *Church Divisions and Christianity*, by William Leighton Grane, Prebendary of Chichester. (Macmillan. 6s. net.)

the scorn of the world by appearing competitive instead of co-operative. The ugly and amazing spectacle of Churches and sects mutually hating and opposing each other would horrify us but for the familiarity which has stupefied our minds and paralysed our wills. . . . The outstanding lesson of this undeniable world failure of Ecclesiastical Christianity is plain to read. . . . Every failure of Christianity is rooted in this inability to live on the spiritual plane of its Founder. . . . Unless every sign of the times proves false, the world is approaching a stage in the way of God for men that is remarkable for nothing so much as an extraordinarily general recognition that the basis of all reality is spiritual. . . . Some of us, perhaps, think we see the way—the way of Christ—by which, in gradual stages of unhurried growth, unity of spirit might be won and unity of faith prepared for. At all events, we see how a beginning might be made by all alike—Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant—resolutely setting higher value on the doctrines now held in common than upon those that separate. . . . The way of unity is always the way of comprehension, *not* of exclusion.”

In these sentences we see both the sorrow and the hope of our time in the question of religion.

Canon Grane turns to the “Waymarks of a possible Path of “Recovery.” He names three:

1. Willingness on the part of all organised Christendom to acknowledge good.
2. A new understanding of the regard for the most Fundamental Verities.
3. A much more absolute obedience to the supremacy of Christ.

We agree fully with the view that the Church has too often created its own heretics. They were driven out when Christian kindness would have solved their difficulties and given new force to their loyalty. Instead, age after age, Christian has harried Christian. The emigrants to America in the seventeenth century, harried out of the Church of England, began in New England even more dreadful persecution on their own account. The Established Church in the eighteenth century created English dissent on a great scale. The Methodist might well have remained within the Mother home; but the Mother would not have it so. In the case of the Church of Rome the sacred garment has been ruthlessly rent times without number, and in that Church to-day there are the unmistakable signs of dissolution. All these divisions were and are unnecessary. The wars of religion were and are wars of foolishness if men are at heart Christians. But it is really the loss of vocation that has always occasioned the loss of unity. A transfigured Christ “will transform the world,” for the Church will have “recovered her unity in fulfilling her vocation.”

Rome during this war has clearly put aside her vocation. Her

failure to condemn the crimes, the unspeakable crimes, of Imperial Germany is proof enough of this. "Here is no reminder of the "glorious, silent Christ abashing the accusers of frailty, but simply "the expediency of a moribund Imperialism washing its hands "before the multitude. . . . No Pontiff since the sixteenth "century has had, and missed, so splendid an opportunity to "proclaim *urbi et orbi*, that mercy and judgment—the weightier "matters of the law—stood first with him as they stood first in the "mind of Christ." Rome knows nothing of conscious "vital "development," though the growth of Modernism shows that development is unconsciously at work.

But despite this, Rome is as hopeless as Imperial Germany. Both were, and are, bent on a war of conquest. It was useless to attempt to compromise with either. Another line is necessary. Let there be great Protestant democratic combinations that will eventually control the Christian world in the same way that a Great *Entente* of the democratic nations will eventually secure the control of the Family of Nations. If Protestantism is really Christian, it will undertake this task. "Everywhere in Protestant Christendom "there appear plain signs of an actively unifying spirit diligently "at work, and here and there achieving notable results which "challenge our own zeal." Let us assume "the whole of "Nonconformity to have compassed its own unification," is further union with the reformed Episcopalian Churches possible? Canon Grane deals with the alleged obstacles, and finds them amenable to solution. Certainly the Nonconformist can join in communion with the Anglican at one Table. That is really clear enough. But what about the question of Orders? Canon Grane asks "whether "this ancient and excellent Episcopal form of Church polity so "constitutes the vital essence of every true part of the Church of "Christ that no Church without Bishops can be accounted a "Church at all." The difficulty is the extreme Anglo-Catholic party—the Church which is as intolerant and unhistorical as that Rome which refuses to the Anglo-Catholic what the Anglo-Catholic refuses to the Nonconformist. "The need of the time is "an authoritative and judicial statement founded on the verifiable "results of that sound learning which has always been the glory "of the English Church." A decision of a Council of the Protestant Western Church on this point would beyond all doubt abolish the main obstacle to reunion. No doubt it would involve the secession of the advanced Anglo-Catholics, led by Dr. Gore; but perhaps in secession they would do more useful work than in their present task of petrifying the life-blood of organised Christianity. Reunion of the Protestant Churches is not only a necessity of these times when religion itself is playing too small a

part in the affairs of men. It is necessary, because in its absence it is plain that the spirit of Christianity is absent from the councils of men, and that the great struggle against materialism must fail unless that spirit leads the host. We believe that Canon Grane's book will be, as it should be, widely read by the laity, who at this moment on all sides are looking for Light, for Guidance, for Unity.

* * *

TREATIES OF PEACE.*

The peace-kite sent up by the German Government, a kite that to those experienced in litigation and the compromising of great suits is the surest of signs that Germany is in desperate internal straits, has raised the whole question of peace negotiations and of the reality and unreality of the famous treaties of peace of the past. Therefore Dr. Coleman Phillipson's book is very timely, and we commend it both to the student of history and to those who are watching with great anxiety the dealings with current events. Dr. Phillipson's book meets a need and a gap in the lists of works on International Law. He first considers the termination of war by conquest and subjugation, and then passes to the more practical subject of the termination of war by treaties of peace, and discusses the methods by which the combatants cease to be at arm's length by means of armistices and neutral intervention. He examines the question of the preliminaries of peace. In the case of the Russo-Japanese war, "discussions between the plenipotentiaries of the two Powers were conducted at Portsmouth (New Hampshire), whilst the war was in progress, and ended "with the definitive treaty of peace, September 5th, 1903." These preliminaries are frequently preceded by "preliminary "articles" which are "demanded by the victorious party "or the party more successful in arms as a fundamental "basis for negotiation, when the other party sues for "peace." In the case of the present war the issues are so tremendous that it is certain that Belgium and her Allies will not even proceed to an armistice till such preliminary articles are signed.

Dr. Phillipson next takes us to the constitution and procedure of the Peace Conference. In the present case, Russia, France, and Great Britain, by a formal document dated September 5th, 1914, mutually engaged "not to conclude peace separately during the "present war. The three Governments agree that when terms of "peace come to be discussed no one of the Allies will demand "terms of peace without the previous agreement of each of the "other Allies." Japan immediately, and Italy later, entered into

* *Termination of War and Treaties of Peace.* By Coleman Phillipson, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. (Fisher Unwin. 2rs. net.)

this agreement. Similar arrangements have been not very uncommon in modern times. The combinations against Napoleon were of this type. Dr. Phillipson usefully discusses the Peace negotiations of previous wars, from the Thirty Years' War, which ended in 1648 in the Peace of Westphalia, to the second Balkan War of 1913. In the present case peace negotiations will require all the strength of will and strength of mind of Belgium and her Allies, since the enemies have been shown by their conduct of the war to be capable of any and every subterfuge and form of dishonesty and bad faith. Certainly no Government will be hurried into peace negotiations which, unskilfully and rashly undertaken, might lead, as the Peace of Amiens led, to a second state of war worse than the first.

Dr. Phillipson passes from negotiations to treaties, the competence to conclude treaties, the form, the language, the structure, the date, the method of ratification, and finally the means of ensuring performance. It is this last question that is all-important in dealing with a power like Germany. "Amongst those means may be mentioned the taking of a solemn oath, the delivery of hostages, the handing over of a pledge, the guarantee of a third State, and—most important of all—the continued military occupation of territory belonging to the party who is required to fulfil certain demands within a stipulated time." The taking of an oath would not to-day impress the Allies, however readily it was taken, and it is difficult to see what adequate guarantees for the disarmament of Germany in fulfilment of Mr. Asquith's thrice-repeated pledge can be devised. In 1871, the Prussians remained in France until the last franc of the war indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs was paid, despite the fact that the German Emperor had agreed at the preliminaries of Versailles to take a financial instead of a territorial guarantee. The Prussians broke the agreement. For the year 1871 the cost of the army of occupation was over 248,000,000 francs. The Prussians were merciless, and the fact is not likely to be forgotten in arranging means for ensuring the performance of the next treaty. It is difficult to suppose that modern Germany could secure the guarantee of a third State. The only State that could offer a possibly adequate guarantee is the United States of America, and it is practically certain that she would not undertake so terrible a burden. In the case of the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese forces held Wei-hai-Wei, pending the payment of the war indemnity. The payment of the Greek War indemnity that followed the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 was arranged by Great Britain, and had in a sense her guarantee. But it is conceived that in the future preliminaries of peace, the treaty of peace, and

the securities for the maintenance of peace will largely vary from the common form. The goal before the Allies is so to provide for the future that any preparation for war on a large scale will involve joint and immediate intervention by the powers which dictate the terms of the peace that will sooner or later terminate the war of 1914.

But though new methods will have to be introduced to secure a goal that has never before been within the purview of a great group of allied belligerents, yet the negotiations and the framing of the treaty will have to be undertaken in the light of the precedents. It is for this reason that Dr. Phillipson's book, which is lucid and sufficiently popular in form, deserves very close study by non-lawyers and by all who are really concerned to see a new start made in international affairs. Here the main clauses and effects of treaties of peace (according to the precedents) are discussed; the effect of cession (we have to consider the future of Alsace-Lorraine) is discussed at length, and finally we have the text of no less than twenty-six important treaties from the treaty of Paris of November 20th, 1815, to the treaty of Athens of November 14th, 1913. These actual texts should be closely studied at the present time, and especially by journalists. It is only by such study that an enlightened view as to the whole great question of peace negotiations, treaty making, and treaty enforcement can be placed by the Press before the people of this country.

* * *

CLASSICAL EDUCATION.*

Mr. Livingstone, in this careful balanced book on the value of a classical training, declares that :

“ Nothing in this book is inconsistent with a belief that everyone ought to know some science, that we need more science in national life, that a narrow classical specialism (like all narrow specialism) is bad, that a classical education does not fully meet the needs, or suit the capacities, of every boy, and that the teaching of classics needs continual improvement—in which point it resembles the teaching of all subjects.”

But, after all, the proper study of mankind is man, and “ the great “ gap in science is that it tells us hardly anything about man ” in actual life. This, no doubt, is true, and the humanities can fill the gap, but surely all that this logically means is that the humanities must take a proper place in the whole scale of education, a scale in which there should be no gaps; that a true education is a scientific

* *A Defence of Classical Education*, by R. W. Livingstone, Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. (Macmillan, 4s. 6d. net.)

education in the sense that it brings the child into a state of mind to face, and, if necessary, conquer a world that is familiar to him, not only in stock and stone, leaf and beast, but in the manifestations of humanity on it.

But we sympathise with Mr. Livingstone's view that the word "science" is being used to mesmerise the public, who are taught "to regard it as a skeleton key to unlock all doors, a universal medicine to cure all diseases. Unfortunately, physical science is not this. It is no use thinking that she can, even partly, take the place of the humanities, or that we can get from her what we get from them."

"Our danger in education to-day comes, not from men of science as a whole, but from her less liberal devotees, and from that part of the public, which (in a thoroughly unscientific spirit) talks about education without studying it. While supporting any attempt to improve the teaching of science where it is deficient, and to bring more science where it is needed in national life, we shall remember that an education based on physical science would not only leave the mind inflexible, unsympathetic, unimaginative, undeveloped, but would ignore what is more important than the Cosmos itself. Our motto was written 2,500 years ago on the walls of the Temple Apollo at Delphi Γνῶθι σεαυτόν 'Know thyself.'"

There is deep truth in all this, but we wonder that Mr. Livingstone does not take the whole plunge, give science its broadest instead of its narrowest meaning, and declare that the humanities are among the chief, if they are not the chief, branch of science. In any event he goes on to state the case for the classics. We dare not turn our backs on "the origins of modern Europe"; we dare not neglect the almost supreme literary merits of the greatest Greek and Latin masters; we cannot understand and carry on our own Renaissance without knowing the Greek that made the revival possible (but gave it, if we may venture to insert a warning note into the argument, its materialistic form and outlook). The scientific, the philosophical achievements of Greece have a significance for our life that is immense. "Greece," we are here told, "is the ferment of the intelligence, quickening, permeating all *media* with life. The Greek genius is the triumph of creative intelligence." This is going too far. Had it been true she would have anticipated all the vast developments of modern science. She never had a thinker with the cosmic grasp of Newton. Aristotle himself fell short. Moreover, Greek thinking as a whole is shot through with materialism. The infinite hopelessness of her tragedies compared with those of Shakespeare shows that Greece, despite her glory, her sense of sound, her intellect, her absolute sense of form, was earth-bound. But for this very reason it is vitally

important that men should know Greece at first hand, not only to reap her thought, but avoid her errors. Latin is essential to us as the language of a people who may be said to have invented government on ordered lines, and who laid down the deep principles of human law. Moreover, the *temper* and the spirituality of the Roman people is a model for all time. "In Latin we live with a heroic race." We are a political people who have shown from age to age a certain capacity for heroism. Rome is the model for such a people, and its literature, the very voice of the people, we cannot dispense with.

Mr. Livingstone discusses at length the advantages of the classics. It would be hard indeed to replace them. There is a profound value in the study of grammar and in prose composition, a training of the mind of high scientific value. But reform in classical as in all education is necessary. Mr. Livingstone would keep no boy at the classics "if by the age of sixteen he has shown no taste or capacity for them," but up to that age the study has definite advantages, so "the first stage of classical education may be left alone," but Greek should be begun later than is now the case. Mr. Livingstone is satisfied with the usual classical and general scheme of education in the Sixth Form of a big public school. But it is admitted that the boys have "an insufficient idea" of the *message* of the books they freely read. Yet who has else at seventeen? But unhappily Oxford (and probably Cambridge) does little in its scholarship examinations to cure this defective state of mind. The University scheme is linguistic, not literary (and so, we may spitefully say, should suit the scientists). This is atoned for in Honour Moderations, and "Greats," but the actual teaching is not good, while "the study of grammar and textual criticism is thoroughly unsatisfactory." Moreover, there is "no connected view of the Greek and Latin literatures." How should there be, we answer, at the age of twenty? But this book, its ideals, its criticisms, its hopes and fears, are all of the highest interest, and we hope that it will be widely read at the present time.

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THE VIRGINIANS AND EDUCATION.*

At the present time the history of education is all-important: unless those responsible for educational reform are intimately familiar with the history of education in this country, reform

* *A History of Education in Virginia.* By Cornelius J. Heatwole, B.S., A.M., Professor of Education in the State Normal School, Harrisonburg, Virginia. (The Macmillan Company. 5s. 6d. net.)

will end in disaster; since the lack of continuity will kill that spirit which has, even in the darkest times, made national growth through the medium of the schools and the universities possible. It is for this reason that we draw attention to Professor Heatwole's detailed and valuable volume on the history of education in Virginia. American education has developed largely along German lines, but this has not been true of Virginia. It imported in the early sixteenth century the main principles of education from England in England's greatest educational age, and evolved a system that had much in common with, and in some ways transcended, the English model. Forced apprenticeship was, no doubt, the basis of much of the education, but the apprenticeship of Virginia in the eighteenth century stands out in vivid contrast to the similar system that disgraced England in that century and later. "It was a scheme by which the highest authorities, civil and religious, in the colony attempted to provide training for children along industrial, religious, and educational lines." What was done along these lines for the poorer children has much to teach us to-day; but the Virginian effort did not stop there. From the first there was a serious effort to deal with higher education, and the story of William and Mary College is one for any colony to be proud of, for the foundation was in a true sense laid in the blood of the martyrs, who were massacred by the Indians in attempting, in the mid-sixteenth century, to found a similar institution. No doubt many of the really amazing educational activities of Virginia failed in the half century before the North and South War, but the true educational spirit survived, and Professor Monroe, in his introduction, tells us that Virginia and the South have given a lead towards the highest goal in national and educational affairs. He writes:—

"Toward this goal the new education is striving. Virginia has definitely committed herself to this new crusade. To the training of the teachers upon whom the greater burden falls every support should be given. Instruction which makes clear to them the setting as well as the object of their work, which shows what has been overcome as well as what remains to be done, is of value. To this end, this volume of Mr. Heatwole, accurate in fact, judicial in temper, loyal in its ideals, cannot fail to be of definite value to every teacher of 'the old Dominion,'"

These words apply also to English teachers and administrators. It is necessary for them to study in all their work, "the setting as well as the object." The study of the history of Education in all its forms, governmental, administrative and pedagogic, is essential for a true outlook; and the history of Education in Virginia will be found for this purpose peculiarly fruitful.

HISTORIC EDINBURGH.*

Sir Herbert Maxwell's pen has lost none of its cunning, and his moving picture of Edinburgh through the centuries will draw many a reader to the scenes of woe and wonder that make Edinburgh, in a sense, one of the most tragic and the most historic cities in the world. This book is designed "as a retrospective sketch of the "forces that have moulded the destinies of our city, even as "physical agencies have carved the enchanting landscape whereof "it forms a part." The story is aided, if aid were needed, by many exquisite illustrations as well as a portrait of Queen Mary that does credit neither to her reputed beauty nor her reputed charm. Indeed, in it she looks the mother of James VI. and II. The history of Edinburgh is a dreadful record in many ways, cursed as the city was with the feuds, quarrels, rebellions, and persecutions of as bad a nobility and clergy as ever smote any country. It is difficult, indeed impossible, for a stolid Englishman to understand the mad, bad blood that flowed so freely in the internecine quarrels that make Edinburgh and Scotland as fascinating to read about as it must have been intolerable to live in. Scott has somehow managed to cover much of it with a wonderful glamour of romance, and no doubt there was something of romance in those dreadful days when the plague vied with the sword for the bodies of men. But in perspective it is difficult to understand how it was romantic at all. The situation of Edinburgh is, indeed, inexpressibly beautiful, but the social conditions were always, till the mid-eighteenth century, intolerable, except for the few, and the dreadful horrors of the fifteenth and sixteenth century were succeeded by a sordidness of life for most folk that is inconceivable even in retrospect. Sir Herbert Maxwell, perhaps unconsciously, but with the true historian's note, has lifted the mists of romance, the glamour of tragic pathos from human Edinburgh, and has left the mind wondering how Scotland ever tolerated such nobles, such ministers of religion, such kings and queens. The most romantic figures in the story are that Bayard, Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange and, of all men, the Young Pretender. The latter had his faults, but somehow or other most of the other Stuarts leave one with a sense of loathing at their cruelty and faithlessness, while Charles Edward, who "loved the men better than "the women," was sought after by both. He had, too, a true sense of humour only shared, in his family, by Charles II., and, in a pawky fashion, by James I. "To a

* *Edinburgh: A Historical Study*, by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D. (Williams & Norgate, ros. 6d. net.)

"deputation of ministers who waited on him to asked permission "to pray for King George, he replied that no notice would be taken "of anything they chose to say in their pulpits." That jest almost justifies the existence of the Stuarts.

But besides the Edinburgh of bloody nobles, brutal ministers, cruel kings, hateful covenanters, treacherous Highlanders, was the true hospitable Edinburgh, whose Council was ever ready to entertain anyone and spend freely from "the Common Good." We get a very pleasant notion of the City Fathers. We get, too, from this charming book a true notion of the noblest side of Edinburgh; its great educational activities from early times; its wonderful work in the art of healing; its encouragement of art, law, and letters. This is the true Edinburgh; the Edinburgh that will survive and adorn the unequalled city-site when the sordid story of her Kings and nobles, her spies, priests and ministers, is reckoned at its true price. The romance of history is sorry stuff nearly always. There are few real tragedies (the clash of good with good) in the records of Edinburgh Town.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Man stands at least as much in need of a Philosophy of Hope as of a Religion of Hope (if the two can be separated) and it is with the view of presenting at any rate the way to the threshold of such a philosophy that Mr. Edward Douglas Fawcett has published his almost monumental work entitled "The World as Imagination" (Macmillan, 15s. net), in pursuance of an article of his that appeared in *Mind* (vol. xx., N series, pp. 208 et seq.) based on a paper read before the Philosophical Society at Oxford in 1910. Here he goes further than merely predicating a universal psychical life, transcending and immanent in nature and conscious individuals. This is vague. Mr. Fawcett wants to give us something more hopeful and declares that this Life or Ground of Things is really Imagination. Mr. Fawcett tells us as to the history of the hypothesis of the Cosmic Imagination or Imaginal Idea that "Fichte might have conceived it but for the unfortunate legacy of intellectualism bequeathed by Kant. Frohschammer fails to make 'Phantasie' the 'ground of phenomenon, reducing it to a mere principle of movement and construction amid an assemblage of other ultimates. Bergson, hypnotised by a dualism of 'Life' and 'Matter,' curiously reminiscent of Von Hartmann's Idea and Will, has missed his opportunity. The only uncompromising Champion of Imagination, of whom I am aware, is the poet Blake. But poets are not expected to think their way through jungles of difficulties such as beset the philosopher. We cannot look to Blake to bestow more than his blessing on our adventure." The treatise has all the ease and charm of style of which this passage gives us a slight taste. The book is hopefully aggressive; it slaughters the mechanical, and does not spare the purely intellectual outlook on the

Universe. If we are all the children of a dream, the dream in ending will leave us still in being. That seems to be Mr. Fawcett's ultimate hope. "Since the creative appulse was not blind, but the birth of a romance of the all-conscious cosmic imagination, then surely there will be no final issue that need be feared. Nature did not fall away from the primeval harmony, the 'corruption of eternity' did not begin, to no ultimate spiritual profit. The very extent of the painfulness of life is an earnest of the triumph that is to come." We believe that this book will mark a new departure in the relations of religion and philosophy.

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Mr. Alexander Grant, K.C. (with the assistance of Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency) has edited the third edition of the late Professor Muirhead's "Historical Introduction to the Private Law of Rome" (A. & C. Black, 21s. net). The original edition appeared in 1886, and certainly marked a stage in the age-long story of the study of Roman law in England and Scotland. Professor Muirhead really gave to the student an entirely new outlook on Roman law. Henceforth it was a living theme, and the living ancestor of the law of our day. The author made us see not only Roman law in the making, but at work in successive ages, and showed it to us as a power largely controlling the whole birth-time of modern law, and contributing elements that to-day are visible on every side. Since 1886 there has been in almost every country of Europe vast activity in the study of the history of Roman law. The great work of Savigny and Mommsen has been supplemented by Gradenwitz, Huschke, Ihering, and Ersele. In Holland Conrat and Kooiman have carried on the work; in France the enormous labours of Gerard have run parallel with those of Cuq, and later Collinet; in England, Strachan Davidson, Greenidge, Mr. de Zulueta, and Professor Goudy have greatly added to our volume of knowledge; in Italy, Carle and Bionamici, in Roumania Pazmany, have done much good work, while two Poles, Kowalewsky and Lyskowski, in Germany and France respectively, have made important contributions to our knowledge. Probably the soundest work has been done by M. Girard and his band of workers, and especially in the great field of papyri. Though the text of the Twelve Tables has not yet been found, there is no reason to despair. Professor Goudy, in 1898, prepared an excellent second edition of Professor Muirhead's work. In the eighteen years that have elapsed since that edition appeared, masses of new historical material have been gathered together, and the substance of these discoveries is included in the footnotes to the present edition. The time is coming when the work will have to be re-written, but the notes that have been added to these editions should make the task not unduly severe.

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All fields, in these days, are open to all men, and "The Book of Job" (Cecil Palmer and Hayward, 10s. 6d. net) is open to Mr. G. K. Chesterton, who has written an introduction to this sumptuous edition, which has been gorgeously illustrated with most imperial and funereal purple, by Miss C. Mary Tongue. It is needless to say that Mr. Chesterton is cheerful even in these depressing circumstances. He declines to enter into the higher criticism of the subject, nor to discuss the date. "'The Book of Job' may have grown gradually, just as Westminster Abbey grew gradually." The question of sole authorship troubles him not. "What is called Homeric unity

"may be a fact or not. The 'Iliad' may have been written by one man. It may have been written by a hundred men. But let us remember that there was more unity in those times in a hundred men than there is unity now in one man. Then a city was like one man. Now one man is like a city in civil war." So Job has unity. Indeed, Mr. Chesterton insists on the trite fact that "The books of the Old Testament have a quite perceptible unity." Mr. Chesterton regards God as "properly the only character in the Old Testament. . . . Unless the gigantic cosmic brain has conceived a thing, that thing is insecure and void; man has not enough tenacity to ensure its continuance." "The Book of Job" asks the purpose of this great Being; why are we broken for His purpose? That is the riddle of Job. God enters upon the questioners, and routs them, by the Socratic method, by asking other questions, and lo! Job is comforted. The questions set by the Godhead contain the suggestion that the secret, after all, "is a bright and not a sad one." Mr. Chesterton, in his treatment of this great epic, certainly throws new light on it; he makes his readers think about unthinkable things, try to solve insoluble problems, and in doing so to see the Thinker, the Setter of the Problems. We hope the edition will be widely read in these times, when we all need help in our perplexity and sorrow.

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"England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth," by Arnold Meyer (Kegan Paul, 1916) is one of the most important contributions to English and to ecclesiastical history made in recent years. The well-known work of the Rostock Professor has been translated by Father McKee, of the Oratory, and appears with a Catholic *imprimatur*. It is a high testimony to the achievement of a Protestant historian; but every reader will agree that it is thoroughly deserved. The author has made prolonged studies in the archives of Rome and London, and has received ungrudging assistance from Catholic scholars in several countries. But the book is not more noteworthy for its wealth of new material than for the serene impartiality with which it discusses the most controversial issues. Nor is it the impartiality which springs from indifference; for the author is a man of generous feeling, and his pace quickens when he tells of heroism and sacrifice, of torture and death. The volume opens with a sketch of the cautious and tolerant beginnings of the reign, during which most Catholics, by a series of greater or lesser compromises, slid imperceptibly into Protestantism. The scene changes with the excommunication of the Queen in 1570, and the tragedy reaches its greatest intensity with the Jesuit mission of 1580. Professor Meyer discusses at length the legal, political, and moral questions involved in the terrible series of executions, and concludes that with few exceptions the missionaries had purely religious aims. On the other hand, while rebuking the cruel intolerance of Burleigh and Walsingham, he shows how natural it was to be afraid of plots and murders in an age when religious passion was at its height, and when Pope Gregory XIII., as this book proves for the first time, definitely expressed approval of the intention to murder the Queen. Once again the blood of martyrs proved the seed of the Church, and the decline of Catholicism in England was arrested. It is a tragic story, told with consummate skill and deep feeling. Both Catholic and Protestant readers will look forward to the volumes which will continue the narrative till the fall of the Stuarts.

* * *

Mr. Robert Graves' volume of verse, "Over the Brazier" (The Poetry Bookshop, 1s. net), contains some real promise and some real

achievement, and more than this no young poet can ask. "Willaree" is a delightful little bit of Irish folk-lore with promise of a new ballad measure, while "In the Wilderness" is something quite new and complete, the picture of the strange creatures of the wilderness flocking to our Lord :—

"Baselisk,—cockatrice,
Flocked to His homilies,
With mail of dread device,
With monstrous barbéd strings,
With eager dragon-eyes;
Great rats on leather wings,
And poor blind broken things,
Foul in their miseries."

"The Dead Fox Hunter," who died at the head of his men in the charge, is a poem that conveys a moral, though, on the whole, we do not care for the flippancy that hides profound truth. Truth can go ungarnished. Still, the poem is something new, so we quote the end :—

"Justice must provide
For one who rode straight and at hunting died.

"So if Heaven had no Hunt before he came,
Why, it must find one now :
If any shirk or doubt they know the game,
There's one to teach them now :
And the whole host of Seraphim complete
Must jog in scarlet to his opening Meet."

It is ill work counselling a poet, but, frankly, while we quite appreciate all that Mr. Robert Graves meant by these words, we doubt if they do the high seriousness of great poetry justice. They would have angered Stevenson, who said it all when he wrote, "The hunter is 'home from the hill.'" But, after all, even poets learn by experience.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Those who have read Stead's full-length biography of Madame Olga Novikoff will find little that is new in her "Russian Memories" (Herbert Jenkins); but those who have not will do well to turn to these bright and chatty pages, which give a very pleasant impression of one of the most remarkable women of her time. The friend of Gladstone, Kinglake, Froude, and many other notable Englishmen, the outspoken enemy of Beaconsfield and his Russophobic policy, the interpreter of Russia to England and of England to Russia, author and pamphleteer, Madame Novikoff, the M.P. for Russia, played a notable part in the social and political life of the country a generation ago. It is natural that the woman who once strove so hard and so successfully to keep the two countries from flying at each other's throats should now rejoice to see them allies and comrades in arms. But it is rather the old Russia than the new that she represents. Her memories reach back to Nicholas I., and she is entirely content with the traditional system of autocracy. The friend of so many English Liberals would readily admit that democracy may be good for the West; but she will not hear of it in her own country. She speaks with just indignation of the crimes of the Nihilists; but no

one would gather from these pages that the reform movement of 1905 was much more than an outbreak of anarchy. This ultra-Conservative standpoint, however, rather adds to the interest of the book, and procures it an introductory blessing from Mr. Stephen Graham. Madame Novikoff's efforts for temperance deserve the gratitude of every friend and well-wisher of the Russian people.

* * *

In "The Ages of Man" (John Murray), Mr. Charles Sayle has carried out an interesting idea with taste and learning. Each year is illustrated by a quotation. He tells us in the preface that what he prints is only a small part of the material collected during several years; but it is enough to show his extraordinary range of reading. As we turn the pages we pass from Greek to Latin, from English to French or Italian. We are regaled with masterpieces of literature, curiosities of legend, historical anecdotes, and even with quotations from the newspapers of to-day and yesterday. Ancient and modern, black and white, grave and gay, the celebrated and the obscure, all receive the same welcome at his hands, for they all illustrate the characteristics, the joys and the sorrows of the ages of man. The book closes, as close it must, with Death, whose praises or terrors are sung for us, by Homer and Moschus, Bunyan and Whitman, Baudelaire and Haeckel. The last page is filled with the names of friends of the author who have perished in the war—a terrible yet glorious list. "Sine macula sunt ante thronum Dei." Thus the book, which bears in many parts the stamp of Mr. Sayle's gentle humour, ends on a solemn note, befitting the tragic heroism of the times. "So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

* * *

In "A Spiritual Pilgrimage" (Williams & Norgate), the Rev. R. J. Campbell has described the course of his religious life from the iron Puritanism of his childhood in Ulster to his ordination as an Anglican priest. It is a veritable Odyssey, and some readers may close the book with a feeling that his wanderings are not yet at an end. The author combines a deeply religious and mystical nature with a clear and powerful mind, richly stored with learning, old and new. No one could accuse Mr. Campbell of accepting his opinions and beliefs from environment or authority, from friends or Churches. He has gone his own way, seeking and finding, adopting or rejecting, eager for every beam of light that streams into him from theology and philosophy, from Rome and Paris, from Jena and Harvard. It is the sense of movement, of adventure, of open-mindedness, of alertness, which lends an interest to the book rare in spiritual autobiographies. His ship is not riding at anchor, but voyages boldly over the seas. And yet he claims with justice that the changes have seemed greater than they were, that the differences between the Churches are smaller than they appear to their most zealous champions. It is true, of course, that the high Anglicanism of his undergraduate days was far removed from the latitudinarianism of *The New Theology*; but the latter, he declares, was only a passing phase. His Oxford friends foretold his return to the Church, and Nonconformists are the first to admit that the brilliant preacher of Brighton and the City Temple sat lightly to Nonconformity. He tells us that he has always leaned to mystical and sacramental views, has always felt the appeal of great historic Churches, has always attributed a higher place to the priest than Nonconformity approves. Wherever he goes he will remain one of the most striking

figures in the religious life of our time, respected alike by his old friends and his new associates for his eloquence, sincerity and zeal.

* * *

In "The War and Wales" (Chapman & Hall, 10s. 6d. net), the Rev. J. Vyrnwy Morgan treats of the ethics and the blessings of war, of the psychology of the soldier ("To say that the modern British soldier *cannot* possibly be a religious man, and *is* not a religious man, is an innuendo as untrue as it is unworthy"), and the problems of peace. In his reflections on the war Dr. Morgan dwells on the certainty that the evolution of men and nations will at last give the world a stage when war will be impossible: "The divine promise of the ultimate dominancy of peace is definite; spontaneous and transcendent peace will be finally habitual; every insight, every intuition, and every state of mind, will reflect it, and every nation will dwell in the wondrous light and glory of the final deliverance from henceforth, even for ever." In the second part Dr. Morgan tells of the Belgians in Wales, of the effect of the war on the psychology, the religious consciousness, the spiritual life, and the religious thought of the Welsh: "This war, which is considered to be the fruit of Germanic autocratic ideals and lust for power, together with the crimes which have been committed in its name, has simply strengthened the natural prejudices of the Welsh against anything that savours of autocracy, whether in the realm of religion or of the State." Dr. Morgan tells us that what is needed in Wales at this hour is not another cataclysm in the form of stereotyped revivalism, with its contortions and paroxysms to disturb further the national equilibrium, but to foster the faith which can turn these terrible experiences to the end of moral duty." This stimulating and earnest volume ends with chapters on "The War and the South Wales Mining Industry," on Mr. Lloyd George (which will be read with peculiar interest at the present time), and on Mr. William Morris Hughes, the Premier of Australia.

* * *

The Rev. Oliver Chase Quick, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in "Essays in Orthodoxy" (Macmillan, 6s. net), declares that, "for some reason or other, people do not find in the Church the old message of gospel hope which she exists to proclaim. The message for the souls of men is there, it is the life and meaning of all her creeds and sacraments and services. But, somehow, the living message has been hidden and stifled under the machinery which it should control . . . the voice of the gospel has been choked with the arid dust of convention." Mr. Quick tries to give us a "better appreciation of the old essentials of our faith." He denounces the proposition that religious experience is the Christian's primary concern. This has meant the neglect of the realities. We need leisure to think. Few of us have time to look about us, to use Matthew Arnold's phrase. We have every one of us to think about the Christian verities; we must not cast away doctrines without the profoundest examination of their claim; we must find out the essential meaning of the creeds. So Mr. Quick takes us back to the orthodox verities, to the problems of a living creative Father, of a Saviour who reveals and atones, of Judgment, of Resurrection, of the threefold Godhead, of the power of the Holy Spirit. This book is full of profit. We need as never before to seek reality in faith.

* * *

We must notice the publication of the second edition of "The Bible Story" (Hodder & Stoughton, 7s. 6d. net), by Mr. William Canton,

that veteran writer and thinker. The volume is exquisitely illustrated in colours, and has very clearly printed maps of "Canaan divided among "the Tribes" and "Palestine in the time of Our Lord." The successive chapters are prose poems from the pen of a true poet, immersed in biblical thought, and inspired by the greatest of all prose. The picture of our first parents in Paradise is pure poetry: "In the undying youth "and beauty which the touch of God's hands had left upon them, and "in the delight of His hands, they dwelt in Paradise; the beasts and "birds and all the creatures of their lordship were glad of them; and the "trees of the garden and the cedars on the high hills laughed out for "joy." The story of our risen Lord is told with equal beauty. The whole volume, ending with the death of St. John, is written in a fashion that will attract and rivet the child mind. A copy should be in every nursery and school-room.

* * *

In "The Wave: An Egyptian Aftermath" (Macmillan, 5s. net), Mr. Algernon Blackwood tells us the story of a young child with a power of premonition, with a consciousness of invisible forces that at first in the child's mind take the form of a species of "wave," of something in wave-like motion. The child in the opening chapter has become conscious of a scented Egyptian papyrus in a drawer at his home; the papyrus contained the story of the love affair of a Syrian slave and his mistress, an Egyptian princess. They are discovered. The slave is tortured to death, and the bodies of the two are cast into the sea, and were swept away by the same wave. The bodies were recovered and embalmed, and eventually the husband was buried in the same tomb, and this papyrus laid with them. The story had somehow passed, with the scent of the incense that was with the papyrus roll, into the mind of the boy. The boy became a man, and the rest of the story is obvious to any student of Mr. Blackwood's mystic work. Egypt is part of Africa, and out of Africa mysteries come. The man who was the boy who saw the wave re-enacts with his cousin and another the dreadful story during a winter in Egypt. The story is good enough, but lacks the charm of Mr. Blackwood's homelier mysticism, his fairies, his men and women of the woods, his green and pleasant England.

* * *

In "The Last Likeness, and Other Addresses to Children" (Morgan & Scott, 2s. 6d. net), the Rev. D. Macrae Stewart, Chaplain to the Australian Imperial Force, gives us a series of addresses for children that should be read in many homes at this time. The first address gives the history of Sir Joshua Reynolds' cluster of child-heads so familiar to all. It represents five portraits of a little girl whom death had taken from a heart-broken and already widowed mother. The painter had known the child; had taken at different times little sketches of her; and these he combined into the one perfect picture. In the same way, and on a vaster scale, the Angel-painter has records of all our "phases"; some unbearable phases, but only one picture will remain if we model ourselves on him. Sir Joshua gave five beautiful phases, and brought some comfort to the mother's heart. God will have only one picture, but that will be alive for ever more if we will have it so. These addresses are intended to lead children into the way of Christ, the way of "exact and prompt "obedience." We are sure that they will be read and heard with unflinching interest.

Students of foreign politics, and particularly of the problems of Eastern Europe, will do well to study *The New Europe* (Constable, sixpence weekly), of which the first number appeared on October 19th. The collaborators include such well-known names as Dr. Seton-Watson, Professor Masaryk, Sir Arthur Evans, Dr. Ronald Burrows, Mr. Wickham Steed, André Chéradame, Professor Ernest Denis. From such men we expect and obtain first-hand information about the Hapsburg Empire, the Balkans and the Slavonic world. They are of opinion that the exclusive concentration of thought on the struggle with Germany is a mistake, and they believe that the overthrow of Austro-Hungarian rule is of no less importance than the defeat of German ambitions. Whatever the reader's view of this and other problems of the war, he will find much to instruct and interest him in the pages of the new weekly.

* * *

Mr. G. W. T. Omond, in "The Law of the Sea: a Short History of 'Some Questions Relating to Neutral Merchant Shipping, 1756-1916'" (A. & C. Black, 2s. 6d. net), has produced a careful and useful little book that deserves to be widely read. He begins with the famous "Rule of the War of 1756" (by which neutral ships with cargoes laden with enemy colonial goods became subject to condemnation), and passes to the great armed neutrality, the wars of the Revolution, the Declaration of Paris of 1856, the Hague Conference, and so to the present war. To-day we are fast reaching the position where blockade can legally be extended to neutral ports that in fact feed the enemy. The doctrine of continuous voyage to-day should extend to blockade. We think Mr. Omond will agree that this is the logical result of this war.

* * *

In "Round Fairyland with Alice and the White Rabbit" (Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 6s.), Miss Brenda Garvin takes us through the folk-lore relating to fairies of the various English counties. Alice knows a folk-lore professor, and in his study, among his books, dreams her dream and meets in the spirit all the sprites of all the shires. The idea is a good one, but it is injured in the working out by the foolish jokes on current topics and places and silly puns of the White Rabbit. It was a pity to mar a really excellent book in this way. These jokes are one and all poor, vapid, and unnecessary. But the book is well worth having, as it really tells the tale of the elves, gnomes, hobgoblins, goblins, water-fairies, and witches of our land.

* * *

The story of Lord Edward Fitzgerald could hardly be better told than in Miss Katharine Tynan's "Lord Edward: a Study in Romance" (Smith Elder, 7s. 6d. net). We see here an Irish-Norman with all the genius, loveliness, and difficult characteristics of the race; we see him in his eighteenth-century prime, the proud child of a proud race, serving king and country, and taking part in the gracious social life of that age; we see him again in transition under the influence of the French Revolutionists putting off the eighteenth and putting on the saddest aspect of the nineteenth century; we see him again in rebellion, in flight, in arrest; we see him dead, still loved by his infatuated family and worshipped by the people, as all these letters show. Yet the romance is really sordid enough. Lord Edward was not loyal to his king, to his family, his nation, or himself. A romantic figure he was, but he was, if sane, a traitor all the same.

A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION FOR ENGLAND AND WALES.

AT a time when much is expected from a new President of the Board of Education, and when the thoughts of many are being directed more than they ever were before to our future educational necessities, it is perhaps not inopportune to take a brief survey of recent efforts which have been made, and the progress which has already been attained by the Board of Education and Local Education Authorities. Such a survey may enable us better to realise what steps should now be taken to create a really satisfactory National System of Education.

I.

The three years prior to the war were occupied by the Board of Education in preparing proposals which would provide such a system. Efforts were made to collect and collate materials gathered from every available source, and to ascertain the views of representative education authorities and reliable experts. The whole of the information thus obtained, added to the knowledge already in the possession of the Board, was carefully analysed and considered, and a Government Bill was prepared, which it was intended to press through Parliament during the autumn of 1914. The outbreak of war, however, prevented the Government from then proceeding with the measure. It is now hoped that these proposals, reviewed by the new Government, in the light of recent events and the experience of the war, may be pressed forward, and there seems to be no reason why anything less progressive need now be attempted than it was intended to bring forward in 1914.

The enquiries then made disclosed the fact that only about one in ten of the population on leaving the elementary school proceeded to take advantage of any further opportunity to continue their education. In a few months many children seemed to forget much that they had learnt, and many more failed to make a further use of the foundation which had been laid. The time wasted and the loss of money involved in a system of this kind is incalculable. The evening schools, moreover, were badly attended, and only 5 per

cent. of children between fourteen and eighteen ever entered them. Of those that did only 14 per cent. remained for a whole year, and whilst the student hours capable of being completed in a year's course were 287 million, the actual attendance amounted to under 19 million hours. It therefore became obvious that some kind of *compulsory attendance* must be resorted to, if a *general system of continuity in education* was to be realised. Continental systems were examined, and I well remember a most instructive official visit that I paid to Germany and France not long before the war in the hope that I could pick up wrinkles from their systems to adopt at home. The visit was instructive in more ways than one, for it was not difficult, even in a short stay, to realise that with regard to elementary schools Germany had rather to learn from us. Our up-to-date Council Schools were better equipped, both in the quality and method of teaching, our trained certificated teachers were superior, the elasticity permitted in the curriculum, and the variety of special subjects taught—such as engineering and gardening to boys, and cooking and housewifery to girls—compared favourably with any other country in the world. It was in our arrangements for continued education for the older children that we were defective.

II.

The four great problems connected with :—

- (1) The continuity of education,
- (2) The improvement of the teachers' positions,
- (3) The physical condition of the children,
- (4) The organisation of scholarships,

were, of course, not new, and it could be taken as a fact that much satisfactory progress had been recently accomplished. The further we went, however, the more fully we were compelled to realise that Mr. Balfour's Act of 1902 succeeded in co-ordinating education, and gave powers to local authorities to deal with education in nearly all its branches. The abolition of School Boards, especially in urban areas, deprived the country of the services of many ardent and experienced educational workers, and their duties were for a time carried on by officials and local representatives who had not specialised in educational administrative work. In recent years a much more satisfactory standard of efficiency has been attained, and the Education Committees have done their best to respond to local needs. Vast sums have been spent out of the rates, as well as from taxes, but the proportion has been steadily growing worse from the ratepayers' point of view. Out of the last increase of

£4,800,000, the ratepayer has found £3,600,000 per year to the State's £1,200,000, and it has become more and more evident that local effort in many areas, so far as rate expenditure is concerned, has reached its limit, and that the *local authorities must be provided with additional money from the National Exchequer* if they are required to carry out additional duties.

By 1914 it became also clear that future development lay in the direction of *block grants*, and that substantial payments made under one or two guiding principles should take the place of the eight different grants (annual, fee, special, special subjects, special schools, small population, and higher elementary) now paid to local education authorities. In other words, instead of payments being based upon attendance at, and the report on, each individual school, a payment should be made in accordance with the progressive character of the work done throughout the whole area of an authority. Incidentally, enormous saving would be effected in clerical work, and much valuable time of trained teachers would be turned to better account than in tediously filling in forms and providing statistical matter upon which grants would be subsequently paid to the authority. The principles on which the new system was to be based were two:—

First, that where the produce of rates was high, the grant should be small; and where the produce of rates was low, the grant should be correspondingly high.

Second, that where the local education authority's expenditure per child was low, the grant should be diminished; and where it was high, the grant should be correspondingly augmented.

In other words, the poorer the district and the greater the expenditure, the larger the State grant. It is only on some such principles that regular encouragement and assistance can be given to those authorities who are handicapped by poverty in their efforts to maintain a high standard, and a fair adjustment could be made in the amount of State help given to wealthy residential areas with a small school population, and to areas burdened at once with a large school population and a low rateable value.

III.

Under the present law, the State only recognises its right to intervene where the supply of educational institutions and facilities relates to the elementary sphere, and any *legislation should place on the local authority or the Board the responsibility for the equipment and maintenance of institutions of all grades*, and provision should be made to secure that the facilities should be properly related to one another, and that an up-to-date vocational training shall be given after the elementary age.

A real defect in our present system of secondary education is due to the non-association of employers with the school curriculum. Our future commercial position will depend more and more on an education being given to our boys which will prove useful in the workshop, or in business. Comparatively few of those who now enter our factories or trading establishments know in the one case how to use their hands, or in the other how to speak any foreign language fluently, much less write a good letter, say, to a Government official in Spanish, French, German, or Russian. In view of the competition which we shall have to face directly peace is declared, it behoves us at once to set our house in order.

The control of education in all its branches need not, and should not, destroy a reasonable liberty for experiment and adaptation to varying local circumstances. *Powers should be obtained to enable all schools, of whatever stamp, even those run for profit, to be registered and inspected.* The inspection by the Board of Education of Harrow, Clifton, Repton, Sherborne, Wellington have given the utmost satisfaction, and there seems no reason whatever why the system should not be extended to all public and private secondary schools. Compulsory attendance at secondary or continuation schools of children from thirteen to eighteen years of age might be of no value, unless such schools were capable of being inspected and certified as efficient. Out of 600,000 children who leave elementary schools each year, 35,000 become "halftimers," 13,000 leave under the age of thirteen, 176,000 leave at thirteen, generally on their birthday or thereabouts, 336,000 more before fourteen, and only 40,000 remain after they attain the age of fourteen. How much can be learnt by children who remain on can be best understood by a visit to a London County Council Central School.

When further compulsion becomes law, it should be provided that at least six hours school should be given to every child each week, and that on no day in the week should the child be engaged at work, or at work and school together, more than eight hours in the twenty-four.

In 1914, it was realised that it was impossible to grapple with education problems unless the controversies of the past, which played so important a part from 1900 to 1911, were to be, by general agreement, dropped. Mr. Balfour was anxious in 1902 that local education authorities should be given supreme power over *secular* instruction, and that "denominational managers, so far as secular education was concerned, would not be able to violate the wishes of local education authorities," but, in actual fact, he only gave them so much authority as was consistent with the complete security of voluntary schools.

Since his measure became law there has been a gradual tendency towards the closing of denominational schools, and whereas in 1902 the numbers in average attendance were approximately equal at provided and unprovided schools, by 1912 the proportion was three in average attendance at Council schools to every two in attendance at denominational schools. The difficulty, however, lies not so much in the number of scholars as in the number of schools. The denominational schools, the majority of which are small, in many cases very small and uneconomical to administer, still outnumber the Council schools. However, while local authorities may chafe because they have not greater control over denominational schools, and while they may feel that the education given in their schools commands the general approval of parents, yet the existence of unprovided schools is a fact to be reckoned with, and their existence in thousands makes drastic simplification impossible.

The denominational school as such must continue to be recognised as an element in our system of education, but the head teacher should be appointed by the local authority in much the same way as obtains in Scotland in regard to Catholic schools. For on the appointment by the local authority of the best qualified man or woman to teach secular subjects in every school largely depends the progress of education. It would go a long way to meet the teachers' grievance in regard to tests. They are all now paid exclusively for their work in the schools out of public funds, and without freedom of selection, promotion in the profession is restricted, and the inducement to enter the teaching profession is, to that extent, lessened. Even before the war the annual wastage from death and retirement among the teachers in the public elementary schools was 7,000, and in one year, recently, less than 4,300 new ones came forward to take their place. Something, therefore, must be done immediately to attract those fitted to teach into the teaching profession, and it is undeniable that the abolition of religious tests for headmasters will do something. At the same time the pupil-teacher system, under proper safeguards, can be revived, especially in rural areas. The institution of monitors and prefects will help to bring out in children those qualities to teach and lead which are essential to success in the profession. Nothing is more tragic than a system which encourages men and women to spend years in qualifying as teachers, and then to find, after all their self-sacrifice and training, that they have mistaken their calling, that they have no influence or authority over a class, and are unable even to maintain discipline. The problem is not confined to the elementary school or the secondary school. The State requires teachers for crèches, nursery

schools, infant departments at the bottom, and for the manual, technical, and scientific departments in a great variety of higher schools and colleges at the top. Better housing accommodation, *higher salaries, assured pensions, better chances of promotion, and greater certainty for careers* will assuredly be the greatest incentives. Love of teaching for its own sake and from patriotic motives has induced, and may induce, many more to come forward under the present conditions, but many of those who would make the best teachers are not attracted into the profession. All the more credit to those who undertake the duties at the modest rate of pay which too often is offered. How is it possible to expect able and efficient teachers to undertake the duties of an exacting profession for the £130 or £150 a year, which is about the sum offered even in many of our secondary schools?

The present system reacts on all classes of the population. Existing scales of salary are not calculated either to attract the best candidates into the profession or to induce them to undergo with enthusiasm the long training on which success as a teacher depends. The result is too often seen in the failure of our people to qualify as really dexterous craftsmen in our technical schools. Their real capacities are not exercised, and even those who ultimately reach the universities are sometimes found to have been but poorly provided with the mental nourishment on which intellectual growth depends. The discontented teacher, the imperfectly-trained teacher, is not well fitted to develop those faculties in the young, whose exercise alone can furnish what Lord Bryce has called "an unceasing spring of enjoyment throughout our lives."

IV.

We must, however, do something more for the child as well as for the schoolmaster, and there is an immense field for further development in the physical condition of our children. Much work has been done, but more is still to do; regular physical drill and medical examination two or three times during school life are not enough.

The exploitation of child labour during elementary school age—by selling newspapers, distributing milk, &c.—must be stopped. Too early independence with high wages weakens parental influence, and this undoubtedly has been the cause, during the war, of a steady increase in the growth of juvenile crime. But it is in the earlier and tender years of a child that much more can be done to produce a healthy race of men and women of character and intelligence.

Schools for mothers, crèches, nursery schools should be systematically provided throughout the country under every

education authority. The Local Government Board have recently shown commendable interest in the health of children, but in attempting to enter upon ground already covered by the Board of Education they are only promoting friction and unnecessary duplication of function. All questions of sanitation, drains, sewage disposal, water supply, ventilation, steps which may be taken to prevent and destroy epidemic disease, every educationalist will support the claim of the Local Government Board to the full, but the health and rearing of a child cannot be divorced from its education.

The study of what is good for the child should remain under the same Government authority, and whatever can be wisely done by the Government to help the parent and the child should be done by the Education Committees, their medical officers and school nurses, and care committees. There were already, in 1914, in existence over 1,100 school medical officers engaged in this service, eighty-four being women, 300 specialists for the treatment of eyes, ears, and teeth: 125 authorities employed school nurses, forty-eight undertook X-Ray treatment to cure ringworm, 115 possessed their own school clinics, and 300 hospitals were used for the treatment of infantile complaints. The Education Authority is responsible for children attending elementary schools from three to fifteen, for the feeding of the child under the Provision of Meals Acts, and it is obvious that each child's record should remain during the whole period of growth under the direction of the Board of Education, and that the local authority should receive grants through the department concerned with the human being rather than through a department whose province is, or ought to be, its material environment. A child is like a plant; it has to be watched continuously, fed, nourished, directed, and controlled, if it is to produce fine foliage, beautiful blossom, or bear fruit; and it is not wise to confound the functions of the gardener and the scavenger. The medical branch of the Board of Education, under Sir George Newman and Dr. Janet Campbell, has for years specialised in the question of children's health and dietary, and the result has been a steady increase in nursery schools, infant crèches, schools for mothers, the creation of clinics, the supply of apparatus, the provision of tubercular and open-air schools, attention to dental treatment, special schools for the epileptic, blind, deaf, dumb, those mentally and physically defective, and grants have been given to all these objects through the Board of Education. But still half-a-million of children are in need of open-air treatment, and every year 10,000 deaths occur in England and Wales among the children under five, most of them preventible; and certainly no less are annually maimed for life through carelessness or neglect. The

treatment now encouraged by the Board of Education is saving thousands every year, and if persisted in and systematically established throughout the country will save thousands more.

There are other reforms required, if teachers and children are to be given a fair chance. *The classes are absurdly too large*, and those of forty, fifty, and sixty pupils should be reduced to twenty, thirty, and forty. This, of course, will mean the erection of many additional schools. *There must be much greater liberality in the provision of exhibitions and scholarships*, to induce parents to make the sacrifice in deferring the day when their children commence to earn wages or salaries; but if the best are to be selected to enter our universities, the ladder so much talked about must become a broad flight of steps up which the pick of the nation, from every class in the community, can easily ascend to and through our modern provincial and our ancient universities.

V.

These are the main points to which, as it seems to me, the attention of educationists and of the increasing section of the public which is interested in education should be directed.

One word in conclusion. A due balance between the purely intellectual and the purely practical must be found and maintained. The last year has seen a development of this principle, which is full of promise for the future. The Treasury have shown unwonted liberality in assisting the programme of Scientific and Industrial Research set on foot by the late Government and controlled by a special Committee of the Privy Council. The Advisory Council which directs the scheme includes some of the ablest practical scientists in the country, and it is to be hoped that by precept and example they will induce the manufacturers to realise the truth that research has become indispensable to the prosperity of our great national industries. A high standard of scientific knowledge in the factory and ample opportunities for practical study in the universities are equally indispensable. When our manufacturers and employers grasp this fact—and the experience of the war bears daily evidence that it is a fact—we shall be on the high road to success. We claim to be a practical race: perhaps when education is perceived to be a good investment we shall be less parsimonious in our expenditure. Three years ago we estimated that £6,000,000 of new State money would be required each year to give our reforms a start. The figure is more like £10,000,000 now—the cost of two days of war—but not a penny of it need be wasted, and every penny will be required if we are to build up the National System of Education on which our future depends.

JOSEPH A. PEASE.

THE THEORY OF TRADE WAR.

IT has been remarked that there are many men who are ready to die for their country; but who upon no persuasion can be induced to think for it. And though the exponents of the doctrine of "a trade war after the war" will indignantly claim that that is just what they are doing, it is to be feared that they have not in general carried the process further than the simple expression of their patriotic feelings, an exercise which hardly meets the demand. A prolonged search among those organs of propaganda which are identified with the doctrine reveals absolutely no connected conception of what is expected to happen from its application; and when business men are individually appealed to to meet the most obvious criticisms of their simple formulations of it, they exhibit a significant, and, indeed, an encouraging prudence about fuller commitments. I have not had the fortune to meet one who had got beyond feeling that we ought to "fight the Germans somehow." And if we ask how "trade," which is a transaction, can "fight," we are again left in the dark.

Obviously the idea of "war" in any form implies (1) the desire to injure the antagonist, and (2) the desire to benefit oneself, either positively or passively. As regards all physical warfare, it also implies the desire to force the enemy to surrender, thereby ending the war on terms advantageous to us and not to him. There are, on the other hand, "wars" of thought or propaganda which last indefinitely; but even in these cases the hope is commonly cherished that the antagonist will one day be discredited or put to silence. A "war upon sin," of course, has a long future before it; and a general "war upon error" is in the same case. But is the proposed "trade war" to come under that class? Is it or is it not a war on a definite adversary, for a tangible and attainable object? Is it conceived as a perpetual state of conflict, in which damage of some kind is always to be inflicted upon the enemy, with constant concomitant gain to ourselves; or is it planned as a course of action that, as in physical war, is to lead to a definite triumph, involving the dictation of a set of terms by us to the defeated enemy, who will accept them to our advantage?

To ask these questions is to find, as aforesaid, that nobody

is prepared to answer them. No one will say that he believes in a perpetual trade war or tariff war in which we can always be gaining and the enemy always losing. On the other hand, it used to be a familiar proposition in tariffist propaganda that a "war of tariffs" was the way to compel rival countries to abolish their tariffs against us. There was, indeed, a quite special lack of conviction about the reasoning when the proposition was coldly challenged. As no tariff-levying State in all history had ever been known to abolish its tariffs as a result of tariffs against it, the probability alleged was seen to be too exiguous for debate. It has happened, indeed, that particular duties have been reduced by retaliation, or the threat of it. But *that*, surely, cannot be the aim of the proposed trade war. Success in that case would mean the restoration of amity and the increase of trade with the former enemy. In a word, the establishment of a British tariff to force the reduction of the German tariff cannot conceivably be the objective of the new "trade war" campaign, in which trade with Germany is avowedly the last thing to be furthered. Neither can the phrase "trade war" describe a policy of excluding Germans from carrying on trade in person within Ally territory. That is a matter of social policy, and is not trade war at all.

Is the trade war, then, to consist simply in *not* trading with Germany, and in trading with other people instead? If so, one would ask, why is that not simply avowed? And why call a boycott a trade war? The fact is that, while many simple-minded devotees of the formula have little else in their minds, a definite statement to that effect by the campaigners as a body would mean their immediate collapse. It is obvious even to them, when their attention is called to the fact, that if Germany is to pay proper indemnities to Belgium and Serbia, she must pay them mainly in goods, whether manufactures or raw material. For the hundredth time, perhaps, it may be well to point out that even if Germany be absolutely denuded of specie, the whole will not nearly suffice to pay adequate indemnities, and a large quantity of the specie will promptly flow back, either in direct payment for German goods required by the recipients, or in payment for the goods of neutrals, who in turn will export their excess of specie to Germany for German goods, Germany being the only country which will want that specie. Either way, German trade will be stimulated.

In the case, then, of German gold being transferred to Belgians in part payment of the proper indemnity, would the British boycotters propose that we should refuse to take any of it from Belgians in payment for British goods? Probably not. *Non olet!* The celebrated precedent of the Irish gentleman who so hated the Bank of Ireland that he always burned its notes when they came

into his hands has never found much avowed commercial favour, though his temper is perhaps not uncommon. But where is the line to be drawn? Supposing Belgium receives from Germany as part of her indemnity quantities of various raw materials which are in excess of her immediate powers of using them, and she desires to exchange *them* for British goods of which she has immediate need, are her Allies to enact that these materials must lie on her hands so far as they are concerned? And if they do, and then discover that the materials have gone to neutral States in payment for *their* manufactures, will the Allies find adequate comfort in the reflection that they have injured their own trade for the sake of theoretically boycotting that of Germany, which in the terms of the case will be rather flourishing?

As the argument seems to come to a dead stand upon this line, we are bound to suppose that the campaigners have something else in view. It is just possible that some of them do not expect to see Germany compelled to pay indemnities, either in money or goods, to Belgium and Serbia. An avowal by them to that effect would entitle me, on the propagandist principles of their favourite newspapers, to retort that they do not want to see the indemnities extorted, and to call them pro-Germans in disguise. But I prefer to assume that such campaigners, if they exist, are sincere pessimists, planning for the state of things they fear. I shall accordingly deal with their plan under the head of the idea of a perpetual trade war, which seems to be the only interpretation of their doctrine that is left open.

For it seems impossible that any of the campaigners have reached the conviction that to impose indemnities on Germany is undesirable because such an imposition will necessarily mean a stimulation of German trade. That is, I admit, the logical outcome of the theory that our ideal should be, as far as possible, to keep Germans idle. Indemnities *will* stimulate German trade. They stimulated French trade after 1871. Are we then, on that account, to decide to drop "reparation" from our statement of our national objects in the war? One gentleman, evidently without indulging in any economic analysis, wrote me a letter some time ago, in which he showed he had instinctively reached that standpoint. His message was, in effect: "For God's sake, have nothing whatever to do with the Germans after beating them. Let us Allies indemnify Belgium and Serbia ourselves."

One cannot but admire such thorough-going consistency; but it would be too extravagant a tribute to it to suppose that the trade-war campaigners in general have any such notion in their heads. Throughout all their host, I have not heard one voice raised against the "ship for ship" or "ton for ton" formula of compulsory

reparation, in regard to which I have the honour of being in agreement with them, having urged it before they did. In the depleted state of our mercantile marine at the close of the war, German ships will be very desirable things, to replace the ships of Allied and neutral States sunk by the German submarines. What I cannot understand is how anyone who sees the expediency of taking German goods in that form should pretend to think that it can never be desirable to take German goods in any other form.

Here, perhaps, we may come to an issue. The trade war campaigners may conceivably put their position thus: "We are quite ready to take German goods where German goods will benefit us, as in the case of ships taken in compensation for ships sunk. But we do not want to do anything that will facilitate the production of German goods. What we want to do is to *hamper German trade in perpetuity*, in order to keep Germany as far as possible economically weak, and in that respect powerless for harm." That is an intelligible position; and, so far as I can gather, it sums up the state of mind of most of the campaigners. Is this, then, substantially the ideal of "trade war after the war"? and if so, how is the ideal to be attained?

The absolute boycott, we have seen, is unworkable, save on the plan of my correspondent who proposed that the Allies shall themselves indemnify Belgium and Serbia. This I assume to be universally unacceptable among the Allies, though it would be a very welcome solution for Germany, which would cheerfully face the risks of trade stagnation on that footing. But we are to suppose the case of indemnities being unobtainable. In that case, can the Allies so boycott German trade as to keep it depressed, *without at the same time depressing their own*? Let us suppose that all the ten Allies agree to do no trade with Germany, and even that they succeed in their aim. This involves supposing that Russia will abandon her immense pre-war trade with Germany, in the full knowledge that nowhere else can she find an equivalent market for many of her products—for instance, rye. And a Russian statesman has officially declared that Russia cannot do this. And Professor Charles Gide tells us that the French *Fédération des Commerçants* "know too much of their subject to associate themselves with the puerile boycotting campaign which is carried on by a section of the Press and a few ultra-nationalist associations." But let us make the supposition. In that case Germany will be left to trade with *her* Allies and the neutrals only—which means practically all of North and South America save Canada; China, the Dutch East Indies, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Greece, Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary, and what may be left of Turkey.

In these fairly-extensive markets, then, Germany will seek her trade by all means in her power. She will seek an outlet there for the manufactures which, in the terms of the case, the Allies have ceased to take from her. That is to say, she will do her best to *undersell* the Allies in these markets. Is the Allies' trade war then to consist in their seeking systematically to undersell *her*? How can they rationally expect to do this if they are at the same time carrying on with each other an amount of extra trade equivalent to that which they formerly did with Germany? Either they are to do that or they are not. If *not*, their total volume of trade in the terms of the case will be reduced. In other words, they will have accepted trade depression for themselves. And as French commercial and agricultural opinion is overwhelmingly against any great lowering of French tariffs against Allies, it is tolerably clear that we shall *not* do a greatly increased trade with France. On the other hand, if the Allies' *increased* trade with each other were such as to compensate for their abolished trade with Germany, they could not well have the excess of production required to undersell Germany systematically in the neutral markets. And would it be worth doing if they could?

If any one really harbours the idea that Germany could be either wholly or partially driven out of the neutral markets by systematic underselling (and there is no other conceivable way), let him just try to conceive it in detail. Before the war, Germany was one of the greatest industrial States, rich in coal, ores, many raw materials, and an immensity of industrial plant. In spite of it all, she could never overtake British competition in textiles and several other lines; but on many lines she was gaining somewhat on other competitors. What should make her incapable of resuming her competitive production? War debts will certainly hamper her, as they will hamper us. If the ideal is merely that Germans should for a long time feel financially punished, there need be no anxiety about our bringing it about. It is inevitable. But all the more will German capital and labour be driven to cheap production.

All that could be attained, then, by a policy of trade boycott, after a limited reception of German goods in payment of indemnities, or after a finish of the war without indemnities, would be a simultaneous forcing of German trade into neutral markets and a corresponding exclusion of Ally trade from those markets—even if the boycott in itself did not hamper our trade with neutrals, and no fiscal measures were taken which would positively tend to alienate neutral trade. Here it may be argued that, without any fiscal or boycott legislation, German trade with neutrals will, to some extent, be increased in any case, inasmuch as natural repugnance will, to a large extent, prevent demand for German goods

in the Allied countries for a considerable period. And that is, in all probability, true. But what follows? Simply that German trade *will*, in an increased degree, seek the neutral markets as aforesaid. A legislative boycott, then, would merely be an attempt to intensify what will, to some extent, happen in any case; and to what purpose? Who will gain?

There can ensue *only an intensification of the state of depression all round*. It is, in fact, a law of world-trade that all restriction of it reacts all round. Now there *will* be restriction in respect of natural repugnance in any case; and the belligerent nations will thus go on paying a trade penalty for the war over and above their debts, unless indeed their debts to neutrals serve to compel a full employment of their capital and labour for the defrayal of the interest on those debts. In that case, however, Germany will still stand to gain, *as against Allies who are pledged to trade preferentially with each other*. For this is a standing feature in the war-trade plan of campaign, so far as any plan has been formulated. We have to consider, then (1) how a boycott would work under conditions otherwise unchanged as regards trade with neutrals; and (2) how it would work under the condition of preferential trade among the Allies.

If the Allies were pledged solely to boycott German trade, otherwise making no difference in their relations to neutrals, what would happen, primarily, would be that they would be under a constant and laborious preoccupation to exclude German goods coming through neutral countries. This alone would mean a serious hampering of the trade done with neutrals, who to that extent would be impelled to a further development of their trade with Germany. If, further, the Allies were to make inquisition into the production of the neutrals, to ascertain whether nominally neutral products were not the output of German capital in neutral countries, they would set up a friction which would still further drive the trade of the neutrals into the arms of Germany. Thus the mere boycott would mean a stimulation of German trade elsewhere, on that score as on others.

But if, further, the Allies are committed to preferential trading among themselves as against neutrals, the situation will obviously be immensely worse. They will simply be playing into Germany's hands. She will at once give the neutrals the most-favoured-nation treatment which we refuse them, and get it from them in return, putting German trade on a better footing than ours in their markets. Thus while it will doubly concern us to get our goods into American markets, Germany will get hers in at a lower tariff. The estoppel is absolute. Some time ago, when I had publicly drawn attention to the possibility of Germany's adopting Free

Trade in the event of our abandoning it, to her great gain, a gentleman of sporting tastes put himself to the expense of a telegram, offering to bet me a thousand to one that this would not happen. Seeing a difficulty in so framing the wager that I should be paid in the likely event of Germany merely resorting to a policy of progressively reducing tariffs, but leaving some on for revenue purposes, I did not go to any reciprocal expense, though the offer was extremely tempting. And I have no hope of its being repeated when I thus publicly state that if the Allies give bad trade terms to neutrals, Germany will infallibly give better ones. My telegraphic correspondent will see the point there.

We have been told, indeed, that Germany, on her side, is planning a Customs Union with her own Allies, to the end of discouraging all other nations' trade; and it is perfectly true that schemes of the kind were discussed some time ago as between Germans and Austro-Hungarians. But the plan wholly collapsed. Even Germans and Austrians in general could see that they *must* encourage trade with neutrals; and that if they gave them bad terms the Entente Powers would take care to give better ones. In other words, Germany as a whole has seen that her war-trade campaigners are blind guides. She remains more or less hopefully waiting to see whether we elect to follow ours. If we do, she will have won the trade war from the start!

There remains only one line on which, so far as I can see, the trade-war doctrine can be seriously argued. It may be proposed that we shall simply impose a high tariff on all German goods, leaving Ally trade and neutral trade on their old footing. That would undoubtedly secure that *we* should do comparatively little trade with Germany after the indemnities were paid, and that for all German goods which we found it advantageous to use—fertilisers, for instance—our consumers would have to pay extra, thus heightening our poverty. It would also, as aforesaid, effectively hamper our trade with neutrals if it were at all rigorously applied, and so promote *their* trade with Germany. But, it may be asked, should we not do well thus to check German trade expansion so far as in us lay, *even at the cost of hardship to ourselves*? An esteemed Conservative colleague in the House of Commons has put to me that very question. If the campaigners in general will reduce their case to that form, we have our issue in a nutshell.

The answer is threefold. First, the proposal is *bad business*. That is finally admitted in the form of the question, and we have seen that the admission is forced by the argument. Secondly, it is *bad warfare*. There is only one way to make Germany powerless for harm, and that is to beat her in the field and take securities for her adequate disarmament, making any breach of the treaty a future

casus belli, with a League of Nations to act on it. The idea that safety as against Germany is to be secured by a fiscal policy planned to keep her poor is a folly of follies, far outgoing the Utopianism of any pacifist. To act on it is, in effect, to slacken in the effort that is vitally necessary; for if we could count on keeping Germany weak by future trade policy, where would be the need for military securities? Thirdly, the plan is, on its own showing, *bad policy*—not in the sense that it *need* have the effect of impelling Germany towards future war: for, as we have seen, she would gain by it and we should lose; but in the sense that *on the assumptions of the planners* it must have that effect. Avowedly, they seek to do Germany perpetual injury. Then they propose to justify Germany in perpetually harbouring the desire for revenge, and aiming at future war.

I make no appeal here to any higher ethical sentiment than enlightened self-interest. No more than the campaigners do I feel goodwill towards a collectively criminal nation. But I will confess that I could take no pleasure in the thought of a perpetual infliction of physical hardship upon the German people, even if I thought it possible. I cannot desire the physical suffering of any German woman or child, even if I knew that the husband or father raped a woman in Belgium. I desire, indeed, the spiritual affliction of the nation as a means to its political amendment; but even as to that I am not very hopeful. German self-righteousness, national vanity, the ritual of self-praise, and incapacity for self-criticism will probably keep the present generation in the main self-satisfied to the end. As to the next, common-sense tells us, if we will listen to it, that self-criticism cannot possibly be promoted by an avowed Entente policy of keeping Germans as poor as possible; even though experience should clearly demonstrate that nations *cannot* commercially injure each other without injuring themselves. That fortunate circumstance will, however, operate among ourselves in default of a nobler motive.

It remains to press the important point that the policy of a tariff for the hindrance of trade is bad business *in excelsis*. Of old we were told that every nation obtained a maximum of trade by a tariff against all others. Now we have the interesting avowal that it limits on both sides the potential trade of any two nations. It is urged for that very purpose, save in so far as any campaigners still vainly dream of checking German trade without checking their own. In point of fact, they avow the irrationality of their aims in the very act of stating them. They strongly applaud the policy of preventing Germans from obtaining the raw material they wish from any part of the British Empire. That is to say, they recognise that it would be advantageous to Germans to obtain that raw material, and that

it will be an injury to her to withhold it. Yet in the same breath they propose that we should either refuse to avail ourselves of any advantage that we could have from the use of German raw material, or curtail that advantage to the utmost by heavy import duties.

Mr. Bonar Law has lately been telling us how he used to suffer from his chairmen on Tariff Reform platforms. It seems that, in Mr. Law's opinion, the chairmen were generally wrong and the speakers not always right—a proposition upon which none of us need seek to improve. But even on Tariff Reform platforms we were frequently told—certainly we were *once* told by Mr. Law—that tariffists would never put import duties on raw material, or even half-raw trade material. And now it is to be done because German raw material, unlike German ships and German specie, *olet*. Some of the campaigners, perhaps, will be fain to let raw material in free and tax only German manufactures. In that case, perhaps they will see the propriety of dropping the pretence that what moves them is a moral reprobation. When I hear a former Free Trader saying that henceforth it will be “intolerable that “we should trade with Germany as before,” yet avowing (as I understand him) that he is willing to trade under a tariff, which is just how nineteen nations out of twenty have traded throughout human history, I am irresistibly reminded of Falstaff, who seems to have given the cue:—

“There is a thing, Harry, which thou hast often heard of, and it is known to many in our land by the name of pitch: this pitch, as ancient writers do report, doth defile—*but*,” and here Falstaff is transcended—“if the palm be well greased (with a tariff) and held in the proper attitude (backwards), the moral and æsthetic results will be unexceptionable.”

Unhappily, the economic results would not be. At a time when we shall be under an extreme compulsion to produce as cheaply as possible in order to hold our own in neutral markets, it would be a deadly folly to heighten by import duties the price of any raw or trade material whatever, be it German or not. If it is necessary to protect the dye industry, let it be by subsidies, keeping prices low, not by a tariff which would raise them. If imported dyes are essential, let them be got anyhow, without asking who made them, unless there be a choice. It is not, indeed, quite certain that the Germans will want to sell them to us; but if our customers abroad want dyes which Germany can and will most cheaply supply for the time being, let them come in till our own output is sufficient. That is the view taken of such things by the French *Fédération des Commerçants*.

In fine, trade is not war, and cannot be turned to warlike ends without ceasing to be true trade, which is a matter of reciprocal

advantage. If mere underselling were war, all trade at home would be chronic war, since cheapening is its normal tendency, up to the limits of necessary profit. Dumping, a British invention, flourished in the time of peace. Trade means not war but competition, which is a law of life as distinct from war, which is a law of destruction, a process of death, therefore inevitably limited in duration. The ideal of a perpetual process of trade aiming at the perpetual injury of an enemy is a chimera. The one thing deserving the name of a purposive trade war is a tariff-war—a procedure of retaliatory increases of tariffs—such as has several times been waged between tariffed nations, with the invariable result of enriching their rivals and impoverishing themselves, until they decided to return to the *status quo ante bellum*. Such wars are what the Romans pronounced civil wars to be—wars without triumphs: they mean not war by trade, but financial war by the curtailment of trade. Thus the so-called and the only real trade war, which is *pro tanto* trade suicide, spells ruin; and every fiscal procedure which thinks to inflict ruin without incurring it, to promote trade by injuring other people's trade, is but an attempt to outwit the law of death.

If, then, our trade-war campaigners will but avow that what they really propose is self-inflicted injury with the object of inflicting similar injury elsewhere, the debate may soon be resolved. Given that avowal, Free Traders need not fear the result.

J. M. ROBERTSON.

SWITZERLAND AND THE WAR.

WHATEVER we belligerents may think of neutrals—and there is no love lost on the part of any belligerent for any neutral in this war—it must be admitted that as lookers-on the neutrals see most of the game. For one thing, they either have no censorship, or, at any rate, no censorship of news. Again and again news has been published in Holland and America which the English Press has been forbidden to print. In the second place, they can send their diplomats and correspondents to the capitals and camps of both the contending groups. In this way they are enabled to hear both sides to a degree not possible for us. What their verdict has been we know fairly well in the case of America, because so much American press comment is telegraphed daily to the English papers by the agencies and correspondents out there. The attitude of other neutral countries is less well-known in England, though it is not less interesting, and in the future may prove to be not less important. It is proposed, in the following pages, to give some account of the attitude of Switzerland. Of all the neutral States, not excepting America, Switzerland is the most vitally interested in the war, owing to her geographical position. She is more interested even than Holland; for, whereas Germany has little to gain now from a violation of Dutch territory, it is easy to imagine circumstances under which either Germany or the Allies might reap considerable military advantages from a violation of Swiss soil. It is this consideration which has induced the most peace-loving country in Europe to retain its army on a war footing since the beginning of the war. Switzerland is, moreover, exceptionally placed for obtaining information from two of the chief belligerents. Two-thirds of the Swiss people are German-speaking with close ties, both cultural and commercial, with Germany. One-third of the Swiss people is French-speaking, and has similar ties with France. French newspapers and books are widely read in French Switzerland, and German newspapers and books are widely read in German Switzerland. No other neutral country has such natural facilities for hearing the truth from both sides, and forming an impartial opinion.

At the outset of the war the Swiss, like other neutrals, were

dazzled by the rapidity and brilliance of the German advance in France. In England we have never appreciated the impression which these initial successes of the Germans made on the rest of Europe. The German *communiqués* did not appear at this time in our Press. Neither the French defeat at Longwy in the West nor the Battle of Tannenberg in the East were reported in the English newspapers at all. Nobody quite knew why the French had retired, and few appreciated what that retirement meant. The Swiss General Staff were better informed. Like other General Staffs, they had sat at the feet of the Germans. It was true of recent years voices had been raised in certain military circles in disparagement of the German machine. There was a school in France, of which General Bonnal was the leader, who called in question the first principles of the Moltke tradition. Great play was made by these critics with the "strategic reserve." The "strategic reserve" was said to be the foundation of all the Napoleonic successes. With proper handling, it was suggested, it might turn the tables on the German "concentric attack." In England, just before the war, Colonel Repington wrote a series of articles in the *Times*, which were afterwards reprinted and sold widely, in which he argued that the German Army, though still formidable, was a much overrated machine, the higher leadership was too old, and the individual officer and man quite unfitted to deal with situations requiring ingenuity and improvisation. All this current of criticism (though it never received official backing) was not without its effect on the small nations. And now, in a few short weeks, the German machine had given a sudden and dramatic demonstration of its efficiency, and the one small nation which had definitely thrown in its lot on the Anglo-French side had been overrun and crushed beneath the feet of the invader. True, the invader had eventually been arrested and thrown back; but he remained in possession of Belgium and the industrial provinces of France. The glitter of his initial successes was barely dimmed.

The Swiss Army had been mobilised at the first sign of war in accordance with plans long since prepared in view of this eventuality. The Swiss towns and villages were filled day after day with burgher soldiers in uniform, a spectacle hitherto reserved for Sundays and the annual manœuvres. The hotels and cafés were crowded with young officers clicking their heels and (it must be confessed) somewhat playing the Prussian Lieutenant. In the street outside their grooms walked their horses up and down. Each time an officer passed they sprang to the salute. All these sights were strange and unaccustomed indeed in the eyes of the plain Swiss burgher, and very much at variance with all his traditional

principles; but for the first few months it is probable he rather liked them. As democrats love a lord, so do pacifists have a secret hankering for the pomp and circumstance of war. At any rate, whatever might be thought of general propositions like that, there could be no doubt in the mind of each individual parent that his Kurt, or Karl, or Heinrich, as the case might be, certainly made a very *schneidig* officer.

The General Staff, having successfully carried out the mobilisation, began to play a somewhat conspicuous rôle. They were in a position not dissimilar to that of our own General Staff at the outbreak of war. For the first time in all their history they were able to carry out in practice what they had long studied in theory. Reforms, which had long been delayed for want of funds, stood a good chance of being carried out. Cadres, which had long been defective, could now be filled up. Above all, they now had an army in being, and an army of very considerable strength, with which to test theories of transport and concentration, which can never be satisfactorily tested with skeleton units. And all the while there was being unrolled before their eyes, on the other side of their own border, a picture of war as it actually is, on the grandest scale hitherto known. They, naturally, threw themselves into the study of it with avidity, and no pains or expense was spared in staffing and equipping the Intelligence Department, to which this task was assigned.

The Intelligence Department was organised in two main sections, one of which dealt with the Western and the other with the Eastern front. Each section was controlled by a Colonel: there is only one General in the Swiss Army, the Commander-in-Chief. The chief of the Western section was one Colonel Egli, and the chief of the Eastern section one Colonel von Wattenwyl. A part of their duties was the preparation of a daily confidential report of the war for the use of the General Staff and of certain high Federal officials. The confidential report, like other "confidential" documents in other countries, sometimes contained really confidential matter and sometimes did not. It was based on reports received from agents at the frontiers, and on "information received." In the course of preparing it the two Swiss staff officers received every assistance from the German and Austro-Hungarian military attachés. Of these the former, Major von Bismarck, is a member of the family of the great Chancellor: the latter, Lieut.-Colonel von Einem, belongs to the Austrian branch of a well-known Prussian family: both are extremely able and, it may be added, agreeable officers. It was not long, therefore, before close personal relations were established between them and the Intelligence Department. The two Swiss colonels must often have discussed with the two attachés this or

that phase of the operations, and what more natural than that in the course of discussion both sides should pool the information at their disposal? *Donnant donnant*. You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours. It soon became the regular practice to communicate a copy of the confidential report to the two attachés. What else passed into their hands has never been satisfactorily established. A certain Dr. Langie, a Swiss citizen and the son of a Polish refugee, was employed by the Intelligence Department as a cypher expert. He was set to work on certain cypher telegrams, which were intercepted in transit from "officials abroad of foreign Powers," and in March, 1915, he discovered the cypher. Shortly afterwards he warned the military attachés of the Entente Powers by an anonymous letter that this cypher had been discovered, and apparently made other communications to friends of the Entente in French Switzerland. In this way the facts became known, and were published in the Press. They came as a cold douche to Swiss public opinion. Here were the fruits of playing with militarism! The country's neutrality compromised, her relations with the Entente Powers, from whom come half her food-stuffs, imperilled! It was too much! "We knew all along," so said the plain burgher, "what would come of the sentry-boxes, "the heel-clickings, and the mad apotheosis of the General Staff."

There is in every country a body of citizens with a tendency to moderate views, with rather longer memories than their fellows and rather fewer illusions. They do not as a rule play an active part in politics, but potentially they are the dominant element in every State. The professional politician knows their power, and is afraid of it. They are the repository of the public conscience of their country. They reflect the national strength and the national weakness as well; but for good or bad, they are the final court of appeal. In England they have sometimes been called the "silent voters." They are the force which turned out the Conservatives in 1905—to go no later in our political history! There is a similar body of "silent voters" in Swiss Federal politics; but there is this difference between the Swiss "silent voter" and the English, that whereas in England the fundamental political principle is the belief in liberty, in Switzerland it is the belief in peace. To the Swiss, war is an unmitigated evil and an unnecessary evil. They do not regard it, as most Englishmen do, as a means to an end, which as a last resort no country can afford to forego. The compensating features of war, the heroism of individuals, the unifying effect on the mass, make no appeal to them. Their past history, and indeed the mere fact of their continued existence in Europe as a State to-day, is sufficient proof that there is nothing of pusillanimity in this attitude. If their country were invaded, thousands of them

would die in defence of it, but they would not gladly die; they would just give their lives as a disagreeable necessity that their country might live. Their countrymen would never forget them, but they would not surround their deeds with a halo of romantic adventure. Perhaps in the last analysis this unexalted, matter-of-fact patriotism is the most pure of all. At any rate, it is the most effective preservative against militarism. To keep his country out of war is to the Switzer an end in itself. "Peace with Honour" is a phrase without meaning to him; for he considers there is no war without dishonour.

Such is the public conscience of the Swiss, which was brought instantly and summarily to bear on the "Affair of the Colonels." Efforts which the General Staff made to protect their men were swept aside. At the outset of the public agitation the General Staff had removed the two Colonels to other posts. They were now arrested, and tried before a civil court. The court acquitted them for technical reasons, but handed them over to the military authority "for disciplinary purposes." They were placed on the unemployed list, and have retired into civil life. Shortly afterwards a Bill was introduced and passed the Federal Council in February of this year, rigidly curtailing the powers of the military authorities.

The prestige of the General Staff suffered a rebuff from which it has never wholly recovered. From that time onwards Swiss public opinion settled down to certain safe and perspicuous lines of policy, the single end and aim of which is the maintenance of neutrality up to the end of the war.

This consummation was reflected in the public Press. At the outset of the war the French-Swiss adopted a strongly pro-Ally attitude, and from this they have never varied. The keystone of this attitude is the natural sympathy which exists between the French-Swiss cantons and France. There are no such ties binding the French-Swiss to England, and some aspects of our naval policy have not always been understood in this coastless country. Colonel Secretan, in particular, the able Editor of the *Gazette de Lausanne*, has occasionally attacked our policy in his columns. Russia has never been popular in Switzerland; and Geneva is full of Russian (as it is of Indian and Egyptian) revolutionaries. But in the main the policy of the Entente has always met with understanding and support in French Switzerland. They have shared our indignation-fits, believed our *communiqués*, made the most of our successes and the least of our failures, and proclaimed steadily, as we do ourselves, the certainty of final victory for our side.

The record of the German-Swiss Press during the war has been very different. At the outset the leading journals took a line which

could only be described as pro-German, both in their selection of news and in their editorial comment. The infinite number of small cantonal and communal journals which Switzerland supports, followed suit. It is, indeed, the custom for the small papers to reprint bodily articles and leaders from the large ones, and a striking pronouncement by the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* or the *Basler Nachrichten* will in this way have a much wider influence than the respective circulations of those papers would suggest. Simultaneously, the Germans began an elaborate and comprehensive campaign of propaganda in Switzerland. Pamphlets were distributed by the post and through the booksellers, films were shown at the cinemas, articles appeared in the newspapers, all to the glory of Germany and her invincible arms. This propaganda was a new thing, and it was not without its effect. There was a good deal of "back the winner" about the pro-German wave in German Switzerland at this time. And there was practically no counter-propaganda then on the part of the Allies. Into this atmosphere the Affair of the Colonels fell like a bombshell. The explosion of public feeling was unmistakable, and editors began to feel they had been walking on the edge of a pit. From that time on the tone of the leading German-Swiss papers has been quite different. In every editorial in a German-Swiss paper now the tone is: "Neutrality first and our sympathies, whatever they may be, "second." Some papers, notably the influential *Berner Tagblatt*, which is much read in Government circles, are less reserved than others in disclosing the direction to which their sympathies point. But the *Tagblatt* is off-set by another Bernese paper, the *Tagwacht*, a Socialist journal much read by the working class, which makes it its special business to spy out and expose any instance of pro-German proclivities on the part of minor Government officials or of the Press. Other leading papers, like the *Basler Nachrichten*, of Basle, or the *National Zeitung*, of Lucerne, are very reserved in comment; and it may be added that all German-Swiss papers, without exception, now publish the *communiqués* of all belligerents with equal prominence.

One paper, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, has made for itself a position which may be said to be quite unique in Switzerland, and even in Europe. It was before the war the leading Zurich journal, and was a good deal read in South Germany as a guide to Swiss thought and feeling. Like all German-Swiss papers, it frequently opened its columns to articles on social, technical, or diplomatic subjects by German experts and professors. Since the war it has maintained a neutrality of outlook, which is almost incredible in a quarter so vitally interested as is German Switzerland in the issues of the war. Its editorials read like the summing up of a

judge. It makes a point of publishing both sides of every question. If Monday's issue has an article from a German source, this is stated at the head of the article; and Tuesday's issue will contain an article on the same subject from a French or English source. Its treatment of the Fryatt case was typical. The paper itself published no editorial comment on Captain Fryatt's execution. But it published an article by a Swiss professor attacking the legal claims which the Germans put forward to justify their action. On the following day they published a defence of the German standpoint by another Swiss Professor of International Law. Later they published a very effective reply by the first professor, two other articles by two other neutral professors (one hesitating and one pro-Ally), an apologia from a German source, and a particularly telling reply from an English source. Then the correspondence ceased. Such cold impartiality as was displayed on this occasion is obviously not all that might be desired from the Allies' point of view; and it has brought down unlimited abuse on the head of the paper from German quarters. But the eagerness which the German propaganda agents display to put their case in its columns is the clearest tribute to the influence which the paper has secured. There is no other neutral journal in any country which wields such influence, or maintains so undeviating an impartiality. It is well worth reading in England—if English people ever did read foreign newspapers!*

The divergence of sympathy between the French and German-speaking cantons, which the war has occasioned, has undoubtedly deepened the rift between the two. That was inevitable. As to the ultimate results of this tendency after the conclusion of peace, it would be rash to prophesy. But it is to be feared that the result up to the present has been a strengthening, rather than a weakening, of the prestige of the German-speaking element. In the minds of all Swiss (whether French or German-speaking) the interests of Switzerland demand neutrality. That is a *point fixe* in any evaluation of the political situation. It seems to many Swiss to follow that the line taken by the French-Swiss Press and public is less well calculated to promote that end than the more cautious and balanced attitude of the German-Swiss Press. The German-Swiss Press can claim (and while the military situation remains as it is at present, it is difficult for the French-Swiss to refute their claim) that they have given proof of a wiser political sense than their compatriots. An Allied observer can only record such a

*The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* should not be confounded with the *Neue Zürcher Nachrichten*, a much less notable organ. The latter is one of the few avowedly pro-German papers left in Switzerland. It is supposed to be in close relations with the well-known Reichstag Deputy, Herr Erzberger, who is largely responsible for the German propaganda in Switzerland.

judgment with regret; for it cannot be in the interest of the Allies that the influence of the French-Swiss element in Federal policy should be weakened. The subject is a delicate one, and, having said so much, it may be desirable to add a caution. The German-speaking element in Switzerland is not comparable to the German element in America. Still less is it comparable to the German element in Holland or in Antwerp before the war. The few Pan-German influences and tendencies which exist in Switzerland have never assumed a political colour, and would immediately be swept out of existence if they did. A very mild indiscretion in this direction, in the lectures of a Germanophil professor at Berne a few years ago, produced a storm of indignation in the University, and, to some extent, outside of it; and the unfortunate professor was compelled hastily to eat his words. The Pan-Germans in Germany have occasionally written and spoken of "reclaiming" "the Rhaetian branches of the Germanic Stock," but their utterances have never found an echo beyond the Upper Rhine. Swiss policy is, and will always remain, as clear as noon-day. It is a policy of economic peace with all their neighbours, and the maintenance of the political *status quo*. This policy tallies with the interests of France and, so far as England is concerned, of England; and it will be the fault of our diplomacy, and not of the Swiss, if the existing harmony should ever be broken. To entertain any serious apprehensions therefore as to the political future in Switzerland would be as absurd as it would be insulting.

It remains to say a word as to the scope and desirability of Allied propaganda in Switzerland. The effects of propaganda have been greatly exaggerated by persons whose knowledge of psychology does not extend beyond an advertisement hoarding. The German propaganda, which was initiated on the most lavish and comprehensive scale at the outbreak of war, has been described. After a few months its effect began to wear off, the machinery became too obvious, and the extremely astute persons who conduct it decided to cease operations almost entirely. When a modest Swiss pastor, whose interest in politics has hitherto never strayed beyond the confines of his canton, receives half-a-dozen pamphlets in as many weeks on "The Heritage of Martin Luther," or "The World-Political Mission of German *Kultur*," he is at first amazed; then when he finds all the neighbouring pastors have had the same experience, he becomes suspicious; and if the bombardment continues, he ends by being annoyed. Propaganda on these direct and obvious lines among a highly educated people rapidly defeats its own object; and the right way to counter it is not by more propaganda of the same sort. When a neutral is suffering from a surfeit of "How strong I am, by Hans Müller," he is not

going to be impressed by "How noble I am, by John Bull." There is little doubt that the failure of the Allies at the outbreak of the war to meet the German propaganda by counter-propaganda has told in the end in their favour. England, in particular (it must regretfully be recorded), is supposed to be too stupid to conduct propaganda at all! The consequence is that, when we do put our case, we are listened to with an attention which the too persistent German advocate cannot secure. We are (or can pose as) the plain man unaccustomed to forensic arts; and our unvarnished statement goes down better with the jury than the professional rhetoric of the pleader. There have been several instances of this in the columns of the Swiss Press during the past year. A good deal more seems to be done now, partly by independent writers, English journalists in Switzerland and the like, partly by official agencies such as the Consulate-General at Zurich, in the way of communicating newspaper articles which put our view or refute the German view on controversial points. Propaganda of this sort, if it can be called by such a name, is perfectly open and above-board. There is no mystery as to its *provenance*. It is none the worse because it is not loud-voiced or obtrusive. In this field we are keeping our end up.

O. DE L.

THE HUMANISING OF INDUSTRY.

RECONSTRUCTION is the magic word to-day, but it is a word which, on the lips of most people, implies something mechanical. The whole of our modern industry has come to be expressed in terms of mechanical energy. Previous to the Industrial Revolution muscular effort was of supreme importance. To-day, a very large proportion of muscular effort is replaced by machinery, and the man or the woman, the boy or the girl, merely attends, repairs, adjusts, or sets the machine. Enormous numbers of men and women are aggregated under the one roof, and machines have been invented which almost take the place of human beings. The result is that employers dealing with large masses of men and women come at last to regard the workers in a sort of impersonal fashion as dividend producers, and the element of human value is frequently forgotten. Slowly and gradually we are beginning to recover a little of this human value. Both for the sake of the State and for the sake of the individual industry, it is essential that those who employ and those who are employed should stand side by side on the basis of common humanity. Until recently the State's concern with the worker was of a rather negative character. Our factory legislation was designed to prevent working people from being injured or subjected to unnecessary hardships. Welfare work, a comparatively modern idea, is positive in character. It definitely aims at making the best of the personality of the individual employee, and it does this, not as a sort of philanthropic fad, and not in order to induce the working man in a moment of weakness to allow his wages to be cut down, but as an intrinsic part of good business organisation. We shall never achieve social and economic salvation as a nation until somehow or other we have learnt to reconcile the interests of labour and capital. We now recognise that the wealth-producing machine is not working smoothly unless it makes for the well-being of the men and women who are engaged in industry. It is impossible in factories employing thousands of hands ever to recover, except by deputy, the ideal of a small workshop in the olden days when every worker was known individually by name to the employer of labour. Under such conditions the good employer regarded the workman more as a friend than as a servant, entering into all his life and taking an interest in his welfare. All that has disappeared, and what is now needed is some substitute more adapted to modern requirements. It is not enough to take your machine to pieces, to clean it and

substitute new fittings for those outworn or obsolete. The reconstruction work of to-day must mean much more than merely preventing workmen from slacking or malingering. It must mean much more than a mere addition to wages, though the importance of adequate remuneration for work cannot be overestimated. It means even more than some measure of control of the factory itself by the worker. This country is passing through a time of stress and strain which before the war was almost inconceivable. That strain will continue in large measure after the war if we are to hold our position in the competitive struggle. We cannot, therefore, lay too much stress upon the national asset of human labour by which we hope to secure not only a maximum output to-day, but a maximum output for all our industrial future. That maximum output will never be obtained if we fail to take into account the element of human value. There is great need for sympathy and sound common-sense in the employment of labour. If we were trying to get the most out of a machine, we should be careful to see that no grit was allowed to produce unnecessary friction and loss. We should adapt even the various kinds of oil used to the different parts of the machine, but in the case of human beings there are other and more incalculable elements that must be considered, and we are now beginning to learn that regard for the physique of the whole nation, as well as for a constant and steady maximum output, should lead us to bring to bear upon our industry everything that science and experience can devise, and all that goodwill and humanity can suggest. This is the sort of note we discern in the series of reports issued by the Committee on the Health of Munition Workers. That Committee, which includes doctors, officials and representatives of labour, was appointed to "consider and advise" on questions of industrial fatigue, hours of labour, and other "matters affecting the physical health and physical efficiency of workers in Munition Factories and Workshops." The Chairman, Sir George Newman, M.D., has already won a well-deserved reputation for the excellence of his reports as Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education. The fifteen Memoranda which have been issued by his Committee are effecting a quiet revolution, not only in Government factories and workshops, but in all "controlled establishments." Already the Ministry of Munitions has secured the appointment of some hundreds of welfare supervisors, with the result that something like 500 are at work through the country permeating industry and making labour more efficient. The reports are translated into action by a Welfare Department, presided over by Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, and it is not too much to say that if this work can be continued with the same measure of effectiveness after the war, there is no reason why we should not see the rise of a new spirit of co-operation between employers and employed. Any attempt to humanise industry is a proceeding likely to meet with

considerable opposition from the old-fashioned employers of labour who seem to think that the one essential is to get as many hours of work as possible out of the men, women, and children who are engaged in any industry. That opposition must be overcome; it is a foolish and short-sighted view which believes that a large output is a necessary concomitant of long hours, and that the social and the recreative side of an industrial life can safely be left to chance. Such people would turn the factory into a prison, and only release the worker when he drops from sheer fatigue.

A business manager who controls three large factories in Scotland stated the other day that he had been persuaded to appoint welfare officers in his establishment, and that he had never been in factories where there had been manifested the same spirit of interest in the work as was displayed in the factories now under his control, and that he attributed this largely to the welfare officers. The moral of this is that no employer should fail to have in each factory a few "human engineers," and credit must be given to the Ministry of Munitions for having perceived this fact. Now that the exigencies of war have transformed the State into an employer of labour on a scale formerly undreamt of, the Welfare Department has become essential. Almost the whole of the engineering trade has passed under the control of the Ministry of Munitions. There are about 2,250,000 workers in this one department of State, and about 4,626 controlled establishments. From the very outset the Ministry of Munitions recognised the value of science in the making of efficient workers. Looked at purely from a business point of view, it has been proved beyond a doubt that if you refuse to take into account the health and fitness of the workers, and all that contributes thereto, you are losing in output and efficiency, since the man is more complex and elusive than the machine. We do not of course admit that it is only the business point of view that needs to be considered. We have to remember that these men and women are the citizens of the State, and that upon their health and fitness depends the whole future of our race, but nevertheless it is of value to show that financial success and business efficiency are bound up with the interests and care of the man as a man. One illustration of this is to be found in the fact that a great deal of factory work to-day is of an extremely monotonous character. There may be much monotonous work outside the factory, but inside the tendency is for it to become still more monotonous owing to specialisation. It is almost too much to expect that men or women engaged in one small operation, multiplied many thousands of times, will be able to manifest the same mental attitude towards their work as the Guild workers of the Middle Ages, or even those who have to carry out a diversified series of operations in the modern factory, and yet it may be the case that the very monotony of the work is tending

to destroy efficiency. Material conditions produce certain results upon the energy and efficiency of men and women. The value of the tests made by the Health of Munition Workers Committee lies in just this, that they are trying to find out scientifically how far the desire for increased output leads to the destruction of efficiency. Not long ago, in connection with scientific management in the United States, an experiment was made in a garment factory on the question of standardising in that industry. To such an extent was scientific management carried that the firm arranged for a group of girls to sew on buttons with standardised lengths of thread, and experiments were made to discover what length of arm and what type of finger could do this most efficiently. The theory was that a girl trained to do nothing but thread needles or sew on buttons should be the girl whose physical equipment enabled her to do that best of all, and that she should work with standardised materials, a certain length of thread being used in each case. The experiment showed that there was a wide difference in individual output, for even the expert could not standardise physical and mental activity, and finally, when the system of standardisation of thread, of fingers, and of arms was discarded, it was found that the unstandardised girls enjoyed better health, were less rushed, and were doing better for themselves and their employers than their standardised sisters. It is not contended that this illustration from America, where scientific management has been carried to extraordinary lengths, would hold good in our munition factories, but there probably is a point which can be discovered where the process of standardisation, with the consequent monotony of labour involved, may mean a real loss to efficiency. The reports of the Health of Munition Workers Committee confirm the suspicions which many social reformers have had, that the highest degree of efficiency is only compatible with the highest regard for the health and well-being of the worker, that welfare work is therefore not a subsidiary thing of comparatively no importance, but an absolute necessity to be taken into consideration just as carefully as commercial policy and mechanical equipment. Even the worker does not always take this view, or fully comprehend the value of rest, recreation, and good food. The worker is often unable to realise anything outside wages. He feels the discomfort of long hours and Sunday labour and overtime and inadequate food and ill-ventilated workshops, but in many cases would be willing to suffer all these disadvantages provided that his wages were increased.

Welfare work has proved beyond doubt that the health and comfort of the worker affect his spirits and temper to such a degree that he is able almost unconsciously to increase his output. Accordingly there have been forced upon the Ministry of Munitions such problems as good housing and convenient transport, of

nutritious and well-cooked food, of adequate recreation and rest, and all these problems are being dealt with on sound common sense lines, with the result that the controlled establishments are steadily increasing their output. We are thereby securing not only the safety of our men in the trenches, but the highest interests of civilisation. Welfare work is a term, of course, which covers a very wide field. Anything which aims at the betterment of the worker comes within its definition, but perhaps the most important point is the provision of wholesome, nourishing meals, served under proper conditions, and in this connection the canteen work of the Ministry has been a great success. Already there are 514 canteens in controlled establishments and national factories employing 720,000 workers. Some private employers have for a long time past provided refreshment and dining-rooms within their factories, but, as a rule, the close connection between proper feeding and productive output has not been sufficiently recognised. If physical fitness depends in a large measure on nutrition, then the question of the constituent parts of a dietary, and the conditions under which the food is served, must by no means be neglected. Under war conditions the workers have often to travel considerable distances. It is not easy to take the right kind of food with them, and warmed-up food is often indigestible as compared with freshly cooked food. The dining-room at the canteen, furnishing hot nourishing meals at a comparatively small price is an essential part of the machinery of any workshop or factory, because it makes the worker efficient. It not only makes for physical efficiency, it has a psychological effect, for if the worker is contented and happy, better work is done and a larger output secured. In this connection, the predisposing influence of malnutrition and bad feeding upon the alcoholic habit should not be forgotten. There is abundant evidence to prove that industrial alcoholism is, at all events in part, due to the lack of good cheap food.

Next, perhaps in importance, is the question of bodily, nervous, and mental fatigue, the most direct test of which is output. The Health of Munition Workers Committee has caused some valuable experiments to be made with special regard to munition work. These experiments have corrected the fallacies of the older economists, who attach too little importance to the physical welfare of the men, women, and children employed in the factory. The result is that holidays which had been surrendered have been restored, that Sunday labour has been rigidly limited, and the immediate effect has been a reduction in the sickness returns and in the returns of lost time. There is one paragraph in the Report of the Memorandum on "Holidays" which ought constantly to be borne in mind, especially if we are to hold our own in future competition. "Our national experience in modern industry is

"longer than that of any other people. It has shown clearly enough that false ideas of economic gain, blind to physiological law, must lead, as they led through the nineteenth century, to vast national loss and suffering. It is certain that unless our industrial life is to be guided in the future by the application of physiological science to the details of its management, it cannot hope to maintain its position hereafter among some of its foreign rivals, who already in that respect have gained a present advantage." It will always be found a wasteful method of dealing with labour to ask the worker to continue at his occupation when he is incapacitated from fatigue. Neglect of physiological law means loss of money, loss of time, and decreased output. This has been discovered by direct experiment. "During the continued performance of work, the objective results of nervous fatigue precede, in their onset, the subjective symptoms of fatigue. Without obvious sign and without knowing it himself, a man's capacity for work may diminish owing to his unrecognised fatigue." It is quite impossible to say how much of what is called slacking on the part of workmen is the automatic and unconscious attempt at physiological self-protection. It is, at all events, conceivable that industry has not always suffered from the rests that have been taken, and the avoidance of actual fatigue may have increased the output. Whether this be the case or no, illustrations have been given of the beneficial effect of interrupting work in certain factories for a few minutes every hour, and so far as women are concerned, there can be no doubt whatever that there should be suitable pauses for rest during the working period, and that there should be adequate cessation of work during each week-end in addition to periodic holidays.

Nothing has yet been said about special industrial diseases which affect munition workers. All the factories under the control of the Ministry of Munitions, and, indeed, all the controlled establishments that engage in industrial processes which entail special risks of disease, have taken means of precaution either to prevent or to cure such diseases. First, there are diseases resulting from the use of lead. Against lead poisoning the Home Office has been making a strenuous fight for many years, and it only needs to be added that the manifestations of lead poisoning can be detected by any well-qualified medical man, and the regulations of the Home Office require such periodical supervision and inspection. With regard to the other diseases which are notoriously connected with the manufacture of high explosives—such, for example, as tri-nitro-toluol—careful steps have been taken to obviate the ill effects resulting from the manufacture, to prevent the production of dust, and to eliminate noxious fumes. There was a time when it would not have been regarded as important that such precautions should be taken in order to maintain the good health of the worker, but to-day

periodical medical examination in all these dangerous trades is regarded as essential, and the beneficial results are felt not only by the workers concerned, but by the management and by the State itself. It is not generally known how comparatively slight have been the ill effects experienced by both men and women in the manufacture of the raw material of high explosives, and it must be counted to the credit of the Ministry of Munitions, the Health of Munition Workers' Committee, and the Welfare Department that the risks to which munition workers are exposed have been reduced to a minimum, and that industrial diseases have been almost entirely eliminated wherever the regulations are enforced and obeyed.

Welfare work for women has been brought into great prominence by the appointment of welfare supervisors in every national munition factory where women or young persons are employed, and the result is that women have rendered great service to the community in the manufacture of munitions. It is essential in the case of women that they should be treated as individuals and not in the mass. Even machines are not dealt with in the mass, but every machine and engine has its own special characteristics, which are taken into account by the engineer. Mr. Rowntree, who has a fairly large experience both as an employer and as the Director of the Welfare Department, states that it is impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule as to the number of hours women can work with advantage, but, generally speaking, he considers a forty-eight hour week as based upon reason, and he doubts whether it pays from a business point of view to keep girls working for long periods or more than fifty-four hours a week. He advocates a short break in the middle of the morning. The canteen, in his opinion, is even more important in the case of women than men, since women are a little apt, if left to themselves, to live upon unnutritious foods.

The duties of the welfare supervisors are of a very varied character. Among other things they engage workers, control the dining-rooms and kitchens, investigate complaints, supervise the cloakrooms and lavatory accommodation, and suggest improvements in terms and conditions of employment. They visit the sick, they organise recreation and holiday excursions, and they supervise first-aid. A very large number of female munition workers do not live in close proximity to the factory. Arrangements have to be made either for conveying them to and from their homes, or else housing accommodation must be found in the factory district. Here, again, the welfare supervisor by questions is able to ascertain what are the difficulties of the situation. It is absurd to suppose that you can get the best work out of a girl who leaves home before 5 o'clock in the morning and does not get back till 10 o'clock at night. There have been such cases, and there are still many instances in which the hours

of rest and sleep are less than eight, which should be the minimum. In addition to all the duties that have already been mentioned, there are a large number of cases in which the advice or the assistance of the welfare supervisor can be of incalculable benefit to the individual worker. It is not necessary to describe in detail what is meant by this responsibility, but, in the words of a large employer of labour, these specially-trained men and women have, as their main duty, "to humanise industrial conditions of life, and to foster "and keep alive those right relationships which are the basis of "a well-ordered and harmonious community."

It is a part of the duty of the welfare supervisor to investigate all cases of discontent and unsettlement, which are often due to conditions of health or physical strain. The Committee's report states that substantial advantage would be gained if no woman's case were brought by an employer before the Munitions Tribunal, except after consultation with the welfare supervisor, and they believe that the result of such consultation would be substantially to reduce the number of cases. In the same way a supervisor for boys is able to save the management an immense amount of anxiety and concern. The main difficulties connected with the work of boys are bad time-keeping, idleness, and general lack of discipline. Independence of home control has a particularly demoralising effect upon some boys fresh from school. They are apt to be slack, thriftless, and careless. The welfare supervisor, by making friends with the boys, can find out how far it is the fault of the boys, and how far the fault of the management, for not infrequently the slackness or carelessness of the boys turns out to be "the natural reaction against the heavy pressure or the "monotony of work." In any case, something more is needed than formal factory discipline, and the welfare supervisor can give guidance and counsel, and is able to exercise a more extended control than a foreman or a manager.

Great changes are imminent in the sphere of trade and industry after this war is over. If we are to maintain our position in the competitive world and to raise the immense income which will be required even in peace time, the activities of the workshop and the factory must, if possible, be intensified. The welfare superintendents will play a very important part in the future of this country. Their task is "to restore the personal element lost in "the rush of material problems; and to socialise the economic "relation of employer and employed." It is an ideal worthy of achievement, but it can only be obtained by persistent educational work and the patient exercise of goodwill on the part of both employers and employed.

IMPRESSIONS OF A RECENT TOUR IN THE UNITED STATES.

I CANNOT claim to have anything specially new to submit about America, but my notes of a recent visit may be of interest. I arrived in New York on October 8th. My inducement to visit the States was a request from the President of Harvard University, who is also the trustee of the Lowell Institute in Boston, to deliver a course of lectures. These kept me in Boston during four weeks, but before going there I spent a week in New York, and after their delivery visited and lectured in nearly every important city in the New England States, as well as in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and elsewhere. At New York, on my arrival, I had the good fortune to meet with a number of the supporters of Mr. Wilson, and was able to see something of the working of a Presidential election. The most generally-interesting feature was a Women's Convention. Probably 400 ladies were present, women mostly of a representative character. The speaking was of a high average, and, while dealing with the virtues of Mr. Wilson, made perfectly fair attacks on Mr. Hughes, but there was not a phrase, from beginning to end, which was conspicuously unfair. From association with Wilsonites in New York I passed on to Boston, and there I soon found that the prevalent opinion was in favour of Mr. Hughes. During my month in Boston I paid a flying visit to New York, and was entertained at a dinner given in my honour by one of the leading organisers of Mr. Wilson's campaign, but attended by eighteen or twenty of the leading representatives of the New York Press of various shades of opinion. I sat at the right-hand of my host, and on my right-hand was an old friend, who was an equally distinguished member of the Republican Party. My readers will, of course, remember that Mr. Wilson is a Democrat. Sharp discussion took place across the table between the representatives of the various sections of public opinion, but it was such a discussion as might have taken place in London between the contributors to the *Times*, or the *Spectator*, or the *Nation*, or THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. For a good hour after the dinner there was brilliant talk, everybody speaking out freely, because it was distinctly understood that no report of the dinner should take place. Rarely have I enjoyed any conversation at so high a level. Then the discussion turned to European politics,

and especially to the Near East, in which I exchanged the position of the delighted listener to that of one who had to answer a great number of searching questions and to express his own opinion. The questions asked and the observations made showed that Americans have a keen interest not only in the issue of the war, but especially in its bearings upon Constantinople and the existence of Turkey. One opinion was, however, expressed which deserves note. I had already heard complaints of the incompleteness of the news telegraphed from England of what we were doing on the Continent and in Ireland. It was pointed out that the German Embassy at Washington was at the head of a large propaganda, extending throughout the Republic, which was fully supplied with the German version of events. One member remarked that the English official reports were looked upon with the same suspicion as those which came from Berlin, and that this was due to the action of the British censor. This was not pleasant hearing. It is unpleasant to learn that our Government desired to prevent the publication of news, and I strongly declared my opinion that if it had done so it was against the wish of the majority. I would venture the opinion that a Government news agency should be established in Washington or New York, which, while avoiding the propagandism of the German Embassy, should yet supply news, whether disagreeable or not, which should be regarded as trustworthy. The great mass of the Americans who take interest in European questions are heartily with us, and nothing can be gained by leaving the impression that our country wishes to suppress information.

On the day after the dinner in question, which lasted until midnight, I returned to Boston in order to deliver one of my lectures the next evening. During my month in Boston I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of many men of eminence belonging to great political parties. I was soon made a member of five clubs, that of St. Botolph being probably the oldest. It was there that I renewed the acquaintance with Dr. Elliot, the "grand old man of Boston." I had met him forty-five years ago in London when he was President of the American Social Science Association, while I was general secretary of the English Association of the same name.

I visited and lectured not merely at Yale, but at Bridgeport—where the people are piling up the dollars by making ammunition for the Allies, as well as at the Universities of Philadelphia, the City of New York, and Columbia. In none of the places was there a flagging of interest in any matter connected with the war. The great majority in every audience was heart and soul with the 'Allies, but the fact which I wish to emphasise is that I was everywhere struck with the careful attention which was being given to

historical subjects. Both at Harvard and at Yale I was told with delight of the books which have appeared, or are appearing, giving a correct version of the Revolutionary War in America. I had long heard that the old American school-books in the States were full of blatant nonsense about that war; they represented it as one between foolish old Tories, with poor old George III. as a tyrant at their head, and bands of patriots seeking nothing but the establishment of a great free republic. I was not aware, however, of how greatly this view of the case had prevailed until I heard specimens of the nonsense which the new school of American historians, simply seekers after the truth, were setting themselves to refute. Probably the work of Professor Andrews, of Yale, who has visited England in order to examine the original documents readily placed at his disposal at Oxford and in London, will largely assist in bringing historical knowledge on the subject within the grasp of students.

It used to be said complaisantly that American schemes of study ranged over too wide a field, but I do not believe that this applies to any of the universities which I have mentioned. The person who speaks of American studies as being shallow and diffuse is not up-to-date. My impression is that America is steadily forging ahead in the way of scholarship. Admiral Mahan led the world in questions relating to Sea Geography, and the various books which he wrote on sea-power, as well as his studies of Nelson, are well-known not only in the British Navy, but in the German. The American Geographic Society, with its half-a-million members, is educating the nation in the geography of the world. I was present in a London club, three or four years ago, when one of the most distinguished astronomers in the kingdom entered during a discussion as to which nation was doing most for astronomy. The new arrival was at once referred to as an authority, and answered, without hesitation: America is doing as much as the whole of Europe put together, and then proceeded to give his reasons for the thoroughness of the astronomical work done across the Atlantic. I was, during upwards of forty years, in the happy position of making the acquaintance of nearly every archæologist who worked in the Turkish Empire. I know also the archæological schools of Britain and of America which are held in Athens. As a member for many years of the Council for Palestine Exploration, I am not likely to undervalue what our great society has done, but no country in the world, during the last fifty years, has done more for archæology than America. After the time of Layard it seemed as if England had ceased to take interest in the Sumians and other peoples of the south-east of Assyria.

America took the matter up and continued it, until we joined in, a dozen years ago, under Professor Sayce, Mr. Hogarth,

Mr. John Garstang, and the German Otto Winckler, in tackling the question of the Hittite monuments at Jerablus in Southern Hittiteland, and Winckler at the northern capital. In the meantime, American archæologists had struck in at the south-east end of Mesopotamia, and my friend, Dr. John Peters, opened the famous mound of Nippur, and revealed to us a hidden city that has given the world wonderful results. It was under his successor that, having dug successfully through thirty feet of *débris*, it was found that the early name of the city was Calneh, a place mentioned in the Bible (Gen., x.-10), attributed to Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord. Calneh itself had been searched for in vain for a century, and wild guesses had been made as to its whereabouts. The University of Pennsylvania, which had furnished the capital for the expedition, has thousands of beautiful tablets full of cuneiform writing, which it will take probably at least twenty years to decipher, but no archæologist can speak of the work done by the Americans without respect.

The mention of Dr. Peters reminds me that when I reached America he was busily engaged with work connected with a convention of the Episcopal Church. This leads me on to say something of the churches in America. The churches, taken altogether, are a surprise to an Englishman on his first visit. He has, of course, learned that there is nothing in the nature of an established church in the country, but it takes some time to realise the absolute equality existing between the churches. No one assumes the superiority of a minister of religion on account of the community with which he is connected. At New Haven I met a dean of whom everyone spoke with respect, whom I found learned and intelligent, and heard described as perhaps the greatest preacher in the country. It was after that that I learnt that he was Dean of Faculty and a Congregationalist.

Character and education seem the best means of discriminating between ministers of religion. The Episcopal Church of America has, of course, the traditions of our Establishment behind it, and in the New England States it was at a disadvantage. Sometimes its earlier connection with the English Government led even to curious results. For example, the King's Chapel in Boston before the War of Independence was that attended by the Governor, and, in accordance with its trust deed, or some corresponding document, the Book of Common Prayer had to be employed. On the establishment of the Republic, of course, all reference to the King and the Royal Family had to be changed; but in course of time the congregation became Unitarian, and they altered the Prayer Book accordingly with even amusing results. The same change of doctrine was applied to hymns. In a collection for Christian worship the first is the well-known production of Bishop Heber,

"Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty." One would have thought that it would be difficult to omit all references to the Trinity, but the task was accomplished. It is curious to observe how largely Boston is still Unitarian, but with a kind of Unitarianism with which Christians do not generally quarrel. One of the most orthodox men in Boston expressed his opinion to me that a century and a half ago the extreme Calvinism of the New England States was in danger of setting aside the first article of the Nicene Creed and of making two separate Gods, and that Unitarianism was a protest against such heterodoxy. Similar protest, of course, was made in England in the eighteenth century, when many Presbyterian Churches (as, for example, that still so-called in York) became Unitarian. Meantime, the Episcopal Church in Boston and the New England States had pulled itself together, and though the English Tories of the eighteenth century would not ordain a bishop for the Church of the people who had been in rebellion, Ordination was granted by the Scottish Episcopal Church, and in this twentieth century the American Episcopal Church has become a great, a growing, and a magnificent institution. Its form of liturgy, now carefully revised, its traditional associations with the race which keeps it more or less in unbroken continuity with the Church of our ancestors for centuries before the Reformation, appeal to the historical sense of English-speaking people. I know of no more dignified service than that which I attended at the beautiful Trinity Church in Boston. Its former rector, Dr. Phillips Brooks, was as much esteemed in England as in America. In Boston, as well as elsewhere, the Episcopal Church is increasing in numbers. Its clergy are well above the average in preaching, and it is not surprising, therefore, that in New York and in most of the towns of the New England and Middle States it is going ahead.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has probably the largest number of members in America. I had a long and interesting talk with one of the most eminent Presbyterians of New England in regard to it. I put the question: Which Church do you think is making the most progress in America? His reply was: The Methodist Episcopal. He had recently made a tour through the Middle West, and was greatly surprised at its progress. "Twenty years ago," said he, "there was danger that it would perish in 'emotionalism.'" He did not under-value such a sentiment, but, said he, educated people of these growing States wanted something more solid, and that could only be supplied by education. A number of the leading Methodists took the matter in hand, and furnished money for schools, colleges, and chairs of up-to-date Theology with such liberality that the position was changed, and

there is now no Church in the United States, according to my informant, which is going more safely and steadily ahead.

The Presbyterians have long been strong in the Northern States as they are in Canada. To say that they have changed their theology would be to assert what everyone knows to be true. In theory they stand upon the ancient ways. In practice, they deal with new interpretations and recognise the principles of evolution, even in theology. Most people will recall that some of the Churches in America have the general support of extremely wealthy men, and many of such men personally engage in Sunday-school teaching.

Let me say at once that, in my opinion, America has been greatly leavened by the influence of general free thought. The heavy attacks by such men as Colonel Ingersoll and others on Christianity have not really done it any harm; by which I do not mean that the country curate could not point out that some isolated passage of Scripture had been misquoted or misinterpreted upon which his reverence could make a great cry of rejoicing, but the Americans have, with common sense, heard what was said, and accepted it when they found it true, but stuck to the great system of ethics which Christianity has given to the world. The result of such influence is seen in the many societies of brotherly or sisterly aid for the propagation of altruism and human kindness. I met a man in a part of New York with which I was quite unfamiliar, and asked my way to a certain place. His reply was, "I don't think you can find it alone; I will come with you." I protested, but he went with me, and explained to me he was under a vow to his society to do one unselfish action at least a day. This is the kind of thing one hears of, and sees even oftener than one hears of. It is Christianity in action; it is like the rule which our boy scouts are under, and which is a religion of itself, not, of course, excluding other articles of belief.

In my opinion, the most hopeful sign in America is the attention that is being accorded to the education of women. Ten years ago I found myself at Schaffhausen accompanied by a young fellow just from Oxford. The latter had made a special study of French literature during the eighteenth century. Our *vis-à-vis* were an American with his wife and three daughters, the eldest daughter was perhaps twenty-three, the youngest eighteen. They were pretty, intelligent women, and soon got into conversation with the young Oxford man. They had evidently recently gone through a course of French Literature of the same period. Young Oxford looked two or three years younger than he was, and I think the young Americans were rather determined to show him the superiority of their culture, but he held his ground, and left the impression upon me that he knew his subject better than they.

The father and mother and I were interested and amused, but were mostly silent. When dinner was finished the father said that he could give me a good cigar, and we left the party to themselves to walk on the long terraces in front of the house. "That young man " with you is a smart boy; he held his own against my daughters " splendidly." Then he told me that for fifteen years past his wife and daughters had come to Europe, while he had remained at home to make the dollars. He knew nothing of the subjects they were discussing, because he had been hurried into business at the age of thirteen or fourteen. While he greatly regretted that he had not himself had a college course, it was a delight to him and his wife to see how much his daughters had developed in knowledge, not merely of the subjects taught at the college, but in art, which enabled them intelligently to appreciate the pictures that they saw and the accounts given of distant places. At the present time it appears to me that all American women, above the weekly-wage class, have gone through, or are going through, a useful course of general education. Without mentioning some of the interesting developments, such as the institutions at Oberlin, where boys and girls are educated together, and the magnificent colleges for women in California and Chicago, I may yet name some I was able to visit.

Wellesley College, near that of Harvard, and Vassar are perhaps the most interesting. I had the pleasure of visiting Wellesley and lecturing there in November last. The college was due to the genius and public spirit of a Mr. Durant. Having absolutely no connection with Harvard, it is interesting to notice that the elder Institution soon took an interest in the development of its sister University. Many well-known Harvard men, including the dominating figure of Bishop Phillips Brooks, took great interest in it, and served it as trustees or advisory visitors. About the opening of the present century the current curriculum was adopted; it was the result of much thought and experience, and occupied three years in its formation. Wellesley has hardly yet recovered from a terrible fire in 1913, but the attendance has kept fully up, and the students of Wellesley are already known and respected throughout America and in distant parts of the world. We had three of them in Constantinople, and all of them would have done credit to any university. The college has the power of conferring degrees, and, like Harvard itself, has always maintained the reputation of the degrees at a high level. President Ellen Pendleton arouses the kind of enthusiasm among the students which makes them keen workers, and those who have left Wellesley speak of her in warm terms of appreciation. I have never seen a more intelligent or appreciative audience than that which I faced there last November.

The three great women's colleges are Wellesley, Vassar, and

Bryn Mawr. The surroundings of Wellesley are beautiful, and the historical associations connected with the immediate neighbourhood are not without value. One may motor easily to Salem and visit the House of the Seven Gables, which now, I believe, is the property of a Ladies' Club, but is religiously kept as the old-fashioned New England farm described by Hawthorne. I lunched with a Salem man, who gloried in the fact that in 1695 an ancestor was hanged for witchcraft. We looked in at the Court House and saw the original depositions and a box of pins which are said to have been recovered from the bodies of the victims who were bewitched. These old Puritans, who had left England to avoid prelacy, had probably the fine old puritanical spirit which put down bear-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. They believed absolutely in the Bible. When they found "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," they hanged a whole company of persons who were believed to be engaged in witchcraft. My excellent host lived in a lovely, modern colonial house on the seashore, amidst surroundings which it would be difficult to surpass in Devon or Cornwall.

Some of the settlers thought that England had not treated them well; they remained attached to her, but were determined not to tolerate schismatics like Quakers. I, metaphorically, lifted my hat to the statue of Roger Williams at Providence, who, so far as I know, first raised the standard of religious liberty, and for the first time dared to say: "If you know a man to be an unbeliever "or a misbeliever you must let him alone in his perversity or "error," for error is but truth in the making.

Vassar is a long way from Wellesley, and is near Poughkeepsie, in the State of New York. It is in a lovely stretch of country, and the college has large grounds, which are for the use of the students. I believe that Vassar and Wellesley have about the same number of students, in each case not less than one thousand, with more applications for entrance than they can accept. I spent an evening there, and saw much to admire. The college buildings appeared to me in every way adequate. The noble tower of the library would do credit to Oxford. The dinner with the students and professors was enlivened by the free chatter of several hundreds of girls. When shortly afterwards they adjourned for a short religious service I accompanied the principal. The pleasant babel of so many voices in the *campus*, as the quadrangle is there called, was delightful. But as we passed the threshold of the Church every voice was immediately hushed, and a more orderly congregation could not be found. The singing of some well-known hymns accompanied by a good organ, the reading of a psalm, the general recitation of the Lord's Prayer, and a few words from the person in charge of the service concluded

a religious exercise of perhaps twenty minutes. Then I saw the effects of discipline; the choir, all in silence, filed off the platform to the right and left, and were followed in rapid succession down both aisles by a quick, though never disorderly, stream of students, so that the whole place was emptied within four minutes. It was a fine drill, gone through daily, and to the stranger had nothing of drill about it. But in a country where wood is so largely used in building construction, such a habit is of value. The internal arrangements of the college are interesting; the most advanced class, consisting of girls who in England would be "out" (as indeed many of these young ladies are), have their own drawing-room, and to this not even the principal of the college is permitted to enter, except on invitation. One was issued, however, on the evening in question, to her and to me, and it was interesting to see the clubroom of the girls. They are allowed great liberty in the way of furnishing, and on enquiry as to the value of a beautiful oil-painting, I was informed that it and other ornaments of the room were lent by the members during their term. I had the opportunity of conversing with some of the leading professors, whom it would be invidious to mention, and was not surprised to learn of the high reputation possessed by the graduates and students of Vassar, nor at the fact that many of them were the daughters of some of the most eminent men of the Republic. It is a grand institution.

The third of the best known colleges for women in America is Bryn Mawr, which is in Pennsylvania, near the University for men, Haverford. It was later in foundation than the other two colleges mentioned, having come into existence in 1885. The Principal of Haverford, Dr. Isaac Sharpless, is on the governing faculty of Bryn Mawr, and both colleges are under the Society of Friends. It educates about 400 girls, and its entrance examination is always stiff, so as to keep the members select, as the space is limited.

Heaven forbid that I should fail to appreciate the splendid work which is being done by our own secondary and other colleges and schools for the higher education, but I venture to express a doubt whether, on the whole, the general standard of girls' education in England is up to the level of that of the Northern States of America. We want some of our millionaires to be as ready in pouring out their wealth for such purposes as so many of the wealthy Americans have shown themselves to be.

Of course, it would be absurd for me to speak dogmatically about the education and moral progress of the United States, but, judging from what I saw, I should say that there is no country in the world in which there is a more sane public tone, one that I attribute largely to the high character of higher education and to the influence of the various Christian churches. It is easy to sneer at

the multiplicity of religious sects and at the vagaries of some of them. It has often been said that no form of dissent exists which is not the result of the exaggeration of some truth which the orthodox churches have neglected, and the group of churches, such as the Christadelphians, the Universalists, and the great number of singular brotherhoods which one finds everywhere in the north-eastern corner of the Union, are the results of attempts to bring the developments of humanity well within the sphere of the Christian Church. The Christian Church is fast ceasing to be the mere instrument of saving a man's soul from eternal punishment; it is developing a worship of humanity and of service for it which may well replace half the rubbish that has been taught in the narrowness of the ordinary orthodox churches. The outlook appears to me distinctly hopeful. There is nothing of the German *kultur*, no school of thought which proposes to go behind Christianity or even Paganism, and to get back to the ethics of the Stone Age. The vagaries, and even fantastic developments, are all honest attempts to carry out the divine command of love to one's neighbour. This has led especially to a generous toleration, of which one sees at times curious illustrations. Motoring in New York with a wealthy Jew, whose charity is well-known amongst his friends, we passed a Universalist Church. Said my companion, "That's a Church I often attend. The pastor is doing good work, "and is a great friend of mine."

There are many questions on which I should like to add something. The difficulties before America, arising from the influx of immigrants of many races, are enormous. In New York I found the thirty or forty waiters in the hotel in which I first stayed were all Greeks, most of them only knowing about half-a-dozen words of English. When they found that my daughter, who was with me, and I understood their speech, lively and interesting men became exchanged for distinctly stupid waiters. I found that they had left their country to escape military conscription, and that in one quarter of New York the population was largely Greek. They had almost obtained a monopoly of certain small businesses. Motoring one afternoon through Chinatown, while my friends left the car to buy some of the rubbish and crockery which they could have bought in London for half the price, I was soon surrounded by half-a-dozen youngsters who belonged to four different nationalities, three of them had manifestly negro blood in their veins, one was obviously Mongolian, the others I was unable to identify. With the easy carelessness, not without a certain charm, which characterises New York motor-drivers, the youngsters stood upon the footboard and entered into a lively conversation with me, the public spirit of the rest pulling up anyone who was disposed to intrude. I asked them as to their progress in education;

they spoke freely of the public school which they attended, and all were learning to speak English well. I asked them if they knew any poetry, and a girl amongst them said she knew many pieces. She immediately struck into Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, quoting the passage "He prayeth best who loveth best," and went through it promptly, interruptions by the others showing that they were all familiar with the passage in question. I had heard the quotation of Charles Kingsley a day or two earlier given by a Demerara girl whom I met on board ship, who had been at a convent school in Surrey, and had quite a stock of good poetry, and I wanted to hear the end of Charles Kingsley's lines, beginning "Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever." I asked my little audience if any of them knew it. The three girls of the party knew it well. The song which they all knew was "My Country, 'tis of Thee." I think they were surprised to hear that the tune was also our British National Anthem.

At Boston I found all the waiters were Negroes—gentlemen of colour. They did not strike me as interesting. I found them slow in movement, and apt to be surly or sulky. Everyone to whom I spoke told me that one sees the Negro at his worst in the New England States. His legal position is assured, his social position is doubtful. Meantime, thousands of Slavs, of Russians—especially Jews, of Magyars, and of Italians are steadily pouring into the country. Will the leaven of the New England States be sufficient to leaven the whole lump and make a united people? The best Americans are hopeful that it will, and their trust is largely in popular education. The immigrants are almost useless for such purpose, but their children furnish hope. They are all thrown into the great mill of the public schools, and grounded in the language of Shakespeare, Milton, Franklin, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and of James Russell Lowell, and come out American citizens; and if their character is formed on these lines the nation may well be hopeful.

Each new generation will believe that it is the heir of the lovers of liberty possessed by those who obtained Magna Carta, who invented writs of Habeas Corpus, and of whom it might be said: "Yours are Hampden's and Russell's glory; Sydney's matchless shade is yours." As to-day the Greeks in Trebizond, in the Greek islands, and in the Morea speak of the glories of their Greek ancestors of the time of Pericles, with which, ethnologically, they have not much to do, so a thousand years hence the noble, free Republic of the West, the refuge for those who are desolate and oppressed, may even speak of their ancestors of the *Mayflower*, for human faith in such matters is gloriously trustful and is not without a basis of truth.

EDWIN PEARS.

FOOD CONTROL AND HASTY DECISIONS.

THE first Food Controller of whom history contains a record was Joseph, and he owed his appointment in Egypt, not only to his skill in the interpretation of dreams, but to the fact that he was discreet and wise. In these latter days of rule by halfpenny newspaper, there is some danger that the qualities which gain preferment and lead to high honour should be hustle and haste rather than wisdom and discretion. At any rate, the farmer views some of the present Food Controller's regulations with the justifiable suspicion that they are the outcome less of well-considered judgment than of anxiety to "get something done."

To begin with the most important factor in our food supply—wheat. Lord Devonport has seen fit to fix a price for all good wheat of the 1917 harvest—viz., 60s. per quarter of 504 lbs. The current price varies from 76s. to 80s., and before a limit was fixed there was the prospect of a much higher price for the product of this year's harvest. The aim of the Food Controller is obviously to keep down the price to the consumer whatever the season's crop may be. But what is the ultimate advantage to the consumer if, whilst the price of a commodity is prevented from rising, the supply of that commodity falls short of the requirement? So far as English wheat-growers are concerned, I do not think they would take objection to the reasonably high limit of 60s. per quarter, if the result would be for the benefit of the nation. But farmers plainly see that the effect of fixing an arbitrary limit will be to reduce the acreage under wheat in the present year. Already this effect is operative; wheat sowing has been stopped, for farmers know that winter wheat sown in January, or spring wheat sown in March, is not likely to average more than three quarters per acre, which, at the Food Controller's rate, equals a value of £9 per acre; whereas oats sown on the same land will produce seven quarters per acre, which, at the price of 38s. 6d. per quarter fixed by the Controller, is equivalent to a value of £13 9s. 6d. This gives a preference of £4 9s. 6d. per acre in favour of oats, besides which the farmer will be able to reckon upon a good crop of wheat in 1918 to follow the oats, if suitable manure is used and early sowing takes place. Thus, so far from stimulating the production of the greatest possible quantity of wheat in 1917, the steps taken promise to have the exactly opposite effect.

If no maximum price had been fixed, farmers would have been spurred on by the anticipation of reaping still higher prices to grow every acre of wheat they could. The Government, having secured

all the available wheat crops in Canada, Australia, and India, and possibly also the Argentine crop, would have been able to keep the price of English wheat within reasonable limits by fixing the price of their own holdings of imported wheat. Thus the price of bread would have been kept steady, and the maximum acreage would have been laid under wheat. The adoption of such a policy would have avoided the rocks which threaten to break up the best concerted plans based upon the arbitrary fixing of a price-limit.

Mischievous as this latter course appears to me, an even worse blunder has been committed by fixing the price and conditions of sale of the potato crop of 1917, and of the unsold portion of the 1916 crop. With respect to the 1916 crop, it is proposed to limit the price to £8 per ton for the best table potatoes, and to make the maximum price for seed potatoes £12 for choice early varieties, and lower prices for the main crops. The prices current last year were £11 to £14 per ton for table potatoes, and from £12 to £20 per ton for seed. The average price for the best Scotch seed delivered to growers south of the Humber is from £13 to £17 per ton. Now, it is surely well known to Lord Devonport that if the price of a commodity is substantially reduced, the demand for it is greatly increased. We have seen this law in operation in the case of meat. The large advances in wages during the war have vastly increased the consumption of meat all over the country. It is, in effect, the same thing whether you cheapen the price of an article or increase the purchasing power of the consumers; the demand for the article goes up by leaps and bounds. If, then, the consumption of potatoes is increased by reducing their retail cost, how is Lord Devonport going to ensure a sufficiency of potatoes to last until the next crop comes into the market?

But with regard to the prices fixed for the 1917 crop, the results of the Food Controller's policy appear to me to be still more disastrous. The terms arranged are £5 15s. per ton for the best potatoes in six-ton lots delivered on rail in the autumn; £6 per ton in the early spring of 1918; and £6 10s. in the late spring of 1918. The prices of summer potatoes are also to be laid down, but the details have not been stated at the time of writing. They will necessarily be high, probably £20 per ton for June, £12 for July, £8 for August and until the middle of September, when the £5 15s. price comes again into operation. What will be the effect of these arrangements? In June, when the price is, say, £20, growers will be tempted to dig up the immature crop which ought to remain in the ground until July, when it would fetch only £12 per ton. The same thing will happen in August and early September in order that the larger price may be realised. If my prophecy is fulfilled—and I speak with practical experience from the grower's point of

view—the total crops from the summer potatoes will be small and unripe, and the first month's main crop will be gone before the winter season commences.

There are serious difficulties with regard to the main crop when lifted. The season is from September to June. How is the Food Controller to decide which farmers are to have their crop taken off their hands in September, and which farmers are to be compelled to hold their potatoes until May or June? It is obviously better business to receive £5 15s. in September than to wait for the proposed price for the late deliveries. Moreover, how are the risks to be proportioned? Is it seriously proposed by the Food Controller that all growers of main crop potatoes should hold them at his bidding for several months whether they will keep sound or not? If a grower is compelled to hold his crop till May, and they have not kept sound, who is to stand the loss—the grower or Lord Devonport? Under normal conditions farmers watch their stock and sell rapidly or not, according to the condition of the tubers.

When Mr. Prothero made his first public appearance, as President of the Board of Agriculture, at a gathering of the representatives of the County Agricultural War Committees, he used the striking phrase, "Remember we are practically living in 'a beleaguered city.'" He urged everyone to grow all possible crops, and expressed his belief that this war would be won on the cornfields and potato lands of Old England. With these injunctions ringing in their ears the gathering hurriedly decided upon two courses of action. The first was to put forth every effort to encourage city, borough, district, and parish councils all over the country to cultivate their waste land and building sites, and to stock these lands with potatoes and other vegetables.

Now this policy is, at first glance, decidedly attractive. With a stroke of the pen, as it were, a large amount of idle land is brought under cultivation in close juxtaposition to the markets. It makes striking headlines in the newspapers, and has been acclaimed with enthusiasm by the headlong folk who like to "see 'things done.'" But certain doubts obtrude themselves in the mind of the practical man. Derelict land and playing fields will be very costly to break up, and only one-quarter or one-half of the farmer's normal crop could be expected from this untilled land in the first year. Moreover, the effect of bringing all these local authorities into the seed market in competition with the regular growers will be to increase the difficulty of the latter to secure their adequate supply of seed.

Again, what labour is there available to work these town lands? There can only be the casual labour of the district, and the farmer on the suburban fringe is wholly dependent on this labour to sow

and reap his market-garden crops with which he supplies the town retailer all the year round.

The second proposal, though as hastily conceived, is not so open to criticism. Every parish council is invited to ascertain what seed potatoes will be required by the cottagers and smallholders to ensure the full cropping of their gardens and holdings. They are to be supplied with the seed at a wholesale price, no person being allowed to have more than five cwt. This will undoubtedly be a great boon to the cottage-gardener. He is enabled to use up all last year's crops and be sure of a good change of seed at a moderate price from which to provide for next winter's needs. But immediately the mischief arising from the fixing of a low price for the large grower's crops shows itself. Considerable enthusiasm has been aroused in the towns, and everyone is anxious to produce the greatest possible quantity of food for next winter. But the Food Controller steps in with his fixed price for potatoes at £6 per ton, which means ninepence per stone wholesale and not more than one shilling per stone in the shops. The cottager and smallholder will throw down their spades, and say: "Why should we labour like this when we are to have our potatoes next year at the usual price? If we grow our own potatoes they cannot come out as cheap as that; we shall have the trouble of storing them, and who knows if they will keep sound during the winter!"

Now let us see what the farmer's position will be if £6 a ton is to be the price he will receive for the 1917 crop. The returns of the Board of Agriculture show the average crop of the last two seasons to have been just under six tons per acre gross, of which not more than five tons could go to market, for many potatoes decay during storage and much weight is lost. On the Food Controller's basis the farmer will get £6 per ton for five tons, which is £30 per acre. The cost of growing an acre of potatoes on good land this year will be:—

Seed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£15 per acre.
Manure	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£10 " "
Rent, rates, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£3 " "
Labour, ploughing, cultivating, furrowing, planting, hoeing, spraying three times with copper sulphate solution, earthing up	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£9 " "
Lifting the crop	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£3 " "
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£40 per acre.

The crop has then to be loaded on rail. Thus the grower, on the basis of the last two years' average crop, will expend £40 per acre and receive £30. Of course, the grower who is able to produce eight tons per acre, or, as occasionally happens, ten tons, would make a profit; but the fixed price will spell disaster to the man whose crop falls below the average, and heavy loss to the man

who obtains only an average crop. If we are in reality a beleaguered city, is this policy of Lord Devonport's calculated to secure a sufficiency of foodstuffs for our immense population?*

To arrive at headlong decisions upon such complex matters is surely unwise. The new buildings which were erected to house the Board of Agriculture were completed after the war had broken out, and were taken over for the Munitions Department. When I was on these premises recently I remarked to the attendant: "This lift moves slowly." "Yes, sir," he replied, "but it was built for the Board of Agriculture!" Slow but sure is a paying policy in matters agricultural. Hastily-conceived plans prove unworkable and sow feelings of distrust broadcast. The proposed prices are inadequate for reasons other than the experience of the last two crops. Seed is three or four times dearer than usual. Artificial fertiliser has advanced 60 per cent. in price. Stable-manure is difficult to come by, owing to the widespread use of the motor-car. Labour is scarce and expensive. If prices must be fixed it would be fairer, in the general interest, for the Food Controller to fix them month by month. He would then be in possession of the knowledge of what the crop was, and be able to take into account all the circumstances. The flat rate is manifestly unfair, for it fixes the same price in all districts without regard to variations in rent, cost of growing, and the distance from the market town. For example, Kent, with its large population in the London district and in the coast towns, and with military and naval requirements to supply, will get £6 per ton for the home-grown crops. When these are absorbed the potatoes have to be brought from the Lincolnshire fens, from Yorkshire, and from Scotland, with, say, £1 per ton expenses on them. They are grown much more cheaply in some parts of the country than in others, but the price proposed is £6 on rail everywhere.

Whilst knowledge of the facts compels me to subject the hasty decisions arrived at by the Food Controller to the above criticism, I gladly admit that the Board of Agriculture, under the control of Mr. Prothero, has achieved some useful results. It is clear that if this country is to produce largely increased quantities of corn we must not only improve the crops on the existing arable land, but bring more land under cultivation. During the last thirty years one and a-half millions of acres of plough-land have gone down to grass, mostly of an inferior kind; and during the last

* Since the above article was written the injurious effect of fixing a maximum price in advance for the potato crop of 1917 has been impressed upon the Food Controller by the representatives of agriculture, and that official has announced that the price of £6 per ton is to be regarded as a minimum figure designed to safeguard the grower. The power is retained by the Food Controller, when the nature of the main crop is ascertained, to alter this price so as to prevent anything in the shape of a ring, and to maintain the cost to the consumer at a reasonable figure.—W. W. B.

twenty years 500,000 acres have been taken for railways, docks, buildings, and other non-productive purposes. The Board's policy is to have every acre in crop so treated as to secure the highest possible yield, and every acre of recently laid-down grass-land broken up and brought into crop as soon as possible. For these purposes powers are now given to the County War Agricultural Committees, through the Board of Agriculture, to deal with the matter by persuasion where possible, to grant Government assistance in men, horses, motor-ploughs, and money where required, and to use compulsion where the desired ends cannot be reached by other means. Every county and every parish is being rapidly surveyed to ascertain what the farmer can grow beyond what he grew in 1916; how much grass-land he can plough up himself, and how much other land he possesses that can be brought under cultivation if the Committee provides the means under the Board of Agriculture's scheme for carrying out the work. Powers are granted to take indifferently-farmed land from the farmer and place it in hands which will treat it properly; and the control of whole estates may be taken from their owners if the evidence shows that they are grossly mismanaged.

But when all these projects have been put into execution the question of labour remains as the most anxious problem. The War Office has blundered all along the line by taking away so many men from the land in the face of reiterated protests, and in spite of the categorical promises of the Government. Last month the military authorities put the topstone on their edifice of mistakes by calling to the colours 30,000 of the agricultural labourers who had hitherto been exempted. They added insult to injury by offering to replace these men with clerks and pianoforte tuners from the C3 class! Worse still, as the proofs of this article are going to the printer, I read that the authorities have called up immediately all boys who have reached the age of eighteen. This will deprive farmers of a source of labour which has been widely utilised since the first year of the war. Boys of sixteen have been trained on the farms and are doing the work of skilled farm-hands. It is practically impossible to replace them now. The position is serious all the world over. America is very short of wheat; the Canadian crop was small and largely spoiled by early frost and shortage of labour for the harvest. We must remember that Canada, thinking only of supporting the Mother Country in the war, has sent her farmhands on a large scale into the Army until the labour question is as serious there as in the homeland. The same position is evident in Australia, where the crops are good, but there are few men to handle them. The Argentine wheat crop is estimated at 50 per cent. below the normal. So there is all too little wheat for the world's needs, and that which

there is must encounter grave risks from submarines in its transport to this country. The new submarine policy of the enemy has placed these noxious vessels far out in the trade routes, and rendered the task of our Navy in dealing effectively with this menace more and more difficult. Our Allies must be supplied not only with coal and munitions, but with wheat; considerable quantities of Australian wheat are going to Italy at the present time. Even if the war came to an end in a short time we could not expect to obtain at once all the supplies we require, nor can agricultural produce become cheap for some years. There must be a shortage of ships for a considerable period, and countries that formerly were practically self-supporting will require food for their people and seed-corn for cropping their own lands. We are told that Russia has vast stores of grain in her possession, but it is difficult to believe that that country has been producing her crops as usual throughout the war. It is certainly plain that the Black Sea ports, other than those belonging to Russia, will have nothing to send us when the Dardanelles are open. Whichever way we look we are bound to turn our eyes back again upon ourselves, and confess that within the limits of our own land lies the solution of the problem. Every possible effort must be made to obtain more labour for the farmers, and the military authorities must be pressed to release the men they have recklessly snatched from the essential work of cultivation. Some assistance will be available from the German war prisoners. A census of the internment camps, taken by the Board of Agriculture, shows that there are at least six thousand prisoners who are *bonâ fide* agricultural labourers. These men will be placed under the direction of Mr. Prothero for use on the land where the need is most pressing. I do not anticipate much difficulty in inducing farmers to take advantage of this kind of labour. The prisoners are too well acquainted with the superiority of their lot over that of their fellow countrymen in the trenches to have any desire to escape or to conduct themselves otherwise than in an orderly manner.

Though I have ventured to submit to critical examination certain plans which appear to me hastily-conceived and ill-suited to achieve the objects aimed at, I am convinced that, in general, we must trust our leaders and loyally endeavour to carry out the policy which they may finally adopt. If hardships follow, as probably they will, the memory of the way in which our magnificent Navy and Army have done their part must fill us with gratitude, and inspire us with the determination that nothing shall be left undone at home which would assist our brave men to bring this long-drawn and devastating struggle for freedom to a triumphant conclusion.

WALTER W. BERRY.

WEST HIGHLAND SHEEP-FARMING.

SOME questions recently asked in the House of Commons, regarding the clearance of sheep-stocks from certain farms in the Western Highlands of Scotland, may have helped the public to realise that all is not well with a large department of the National Food Supply. It is of the first importance that the breeding stocks, which maintain the supply of home-grown mutton, should not be diminished. Yet sheep-stocks are being reduced or cleared off the land altogether, and deer are replacing them.

The first impulse of the democratic mind, on hearing this, is to blame the landlord. It is possible, however, that the proprietors and factors are no more responsible for the situation with which they have to contend than is the fireman, as he struggles heroically with some great conflagration. It may seem absurd to compare factors or owners with firemen. "Can the proprietor not do as he likes with his own?" it may be asked. "If he displaces sheep by deer, is he not guilty of an action 'prejudicial to the national interest?'" Much eloquence has been spent in advancing this contention; it has been a favourite theme for declamation from many platforms, and it has prompted much scribbling in the Press. There are, however, certain matters which should be explained to the public, before the great King Demos, that mighty judge, pronounces final sentence upon the unfortunate proprietor. Pity the poor proprietor, most noble Demos! Perhaps, with all your many-headed wisdom, you could do no better yourself! As a matter of fact, Demos has been tried as a proprietor of grazing-land, and he has sometimes failed to do much better than the West Highland landlords have done. In the Western Division of New South Wales, to quote but one example, the state is proprietor, yet the sheep population in 1907 numbered only about one-third of what it had been twenty years previously.

In Australia the great drought of the 'nineties is often spoken of as the turning-point in the fortunes of the out-back sheep-runs. In Scotland the terrible winter of 1879 is regarded as the end of the old condition of things. But the drought and the storms did not cause, they merely accelerated, the growth of an evil that was already in existence. That evil is the deterioration of pastures. It is not man, but nature, that has brought about the reduction of sheep-stocks. The earth has become sick of sheep; it has had enough of them, and will have no more. The earth is dumb, and there is none to speak for it: neither landlords nor land-leaguers can authoritatively represent it. Yet with dumb persistence it has its own way in the end. It starves or poisons the sheep till it rids

itself of their presence, and attains the peace and rest that it requires. When land is cleared of sheep, man's wisdom or folly, greed or goodness, may have hastened or retarded the event, but it is nature, in most cases, that compels it to happen. The bandying of accusations, the blaming of landlords, factors, farmers, land laws, Government, is ridiculous. Such attempts to fix on man the responsibility for nature's action are as absurd as the old habit in the Dark Ages of burning witches for causing storms. Nature is following, in the West Highlands to-day, its ordinary course in regard to sheep. It is recognised in agriculture that if the same crop be grown in a field for a number of years without manure, rest, or intermission, the yield decreases. The special plant-foods required by that crop become exhausted, unless the farmer replaces the used-up plant-food by means of fertilisers. If he cannot do so, he must, in order to cultivate the soil profitably, give it an interval of rest, that the chemical and mechanical processes in the soil may have time to produce a fresh supply of the needed foods. This is an elementary truth, which every agriculturist knows, and it is the reason for the rotations, fallowing, and manuring to which farmers have recourse. But though every ploughman knows the importance of this principle in growing grain or potatoes, it is astonishing to note how slow pastoralists are in perceiving that the same principle applies also to the production of crops of beef, mutton, or wool. Many English farmers say that it is unhealthy for sheep to be kept on the same ground for several successive years, unless the ground is freshened by ploughing. Yet in the West Highlands sheep have been kept for a century and a-half without interruption, and people are to be found who, nevertheless, denounce the wickedness of the proprietor, because the exhausted soil has at last, in many cases, succeeded in gaining the rest and "fallow," so to speak, which it imperatively requires!

On a farm sending a thousand sheep to market each year, about a ton of lime, with a slightly smaller quantity of phosphoric acid, is taken off the ground annually. On the West Highland hills no attempt has been made to compensate the soil for this drain upon its resources. It is about one hundred and fifty years since the present sheep-farming era commenced in the Highlands. It is really wonderful that the soil has endured the strain so well and so long. It is easy also to see why the Breadalbane estate, the first to be farmed for sheep-breeding in the modern way, should be brought into prominence, at present, by the removal of sheep-stock. The management of the Breadalbane estate has been singularly free from the cruelties and errors which have disgraced the management of one or two other estates. This fact in itself might suggest to the censorious critic that the landlords are not to blame, seeing that the evil is almost at its worst with one of the best of landlords.

In order to elucidate the matter further, a brief sketch of the fortunes of West Highland sheep-farming may be permitted here. The industry dates from about 1760. The making of General Wade's roads in 1726, and the break-up of the clan system after the '45, followed by the discovery that sheep could live all winter on the hills, paved the way. Simultaneously, many hills and glens in the south of Scotland became violently sheep-sick. There are traditions of extensive glens becoming so unhealthy for sheep that the grazing was rented for one pair of hose per annum! Consequently, the sheepmen of the south readily migrated in large numbers to the "pastures new" of the Highlands. There for fifty years they spread and prospered. The period of settlement and prosperity lasted till the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. The present writer has seen an elaborate scheme for the stocking of a part of the Island of Skye with south country sheep. The scheme, which gives estimates of capital required, rent to be offered, &c., is in the handwriting of Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, and dates from the first decade of the nineteenth century. The day for such things was nearly over, however; before another decade was ended the tide was turning. The high prices of the war period were followed by exceptionally low prices. There were instances of lambs selling for a shilling or one-and-sixpence each! Long leases, taken at high rents during the war, hung like millstones round the necks of many unfortunate farmers. The low prices, combined with the exhaustion of the soil, reduced profits to the vanishing point. Capital was scared away, and the process of replacing sheep by deer began. So exhausted, in some cases, had the soil become, that once, in the early 'forties, a shepherd, driving some lambs over rough ground in wet weather, was surprised to find that the burden of the rain-water in their fleeces was causing the animals to stumble and break their legs. The pasture from which these lambs came must have been very completely drained of bone-forming food. Needless to say, that pasture was long ago merged in a neighbouring deer forest. Even to the eye of the most casual observer who had seen the hills in the early part of the century and revisited them after the lapse of years, a change was visible; a change which has become more widespread with each succeeding year; the heather and the finer grasses are disappearing, and bracken and coarse grasses are taking their place. The sheep have eaten out the finer vegetation, and are thereby changing the very colour of the landscape.

As the pastures deteriorated, the sheep became unhealthy. It became necessary to send the ewe hoggs east or south to healthier grazings every winter, and the cost of this added a very heavy item to the expenses of the farmer. In addition to this, the ill-health of the sheep, fed now on sour, coarse grasses instead of the fine, sweet herbage that they naturally prefer, affected the financial side of

sheep-farming in another way. It not only increased the running expenses, it also led to the inflation of the capital. The custom was, that when a tenant gave up a farm, the incoming tenant, or, failing him, the landowner, took over the sheep-stock along with the farm, paying "valuation prices" for the sheep. These valuation prices tended always to be a little higher than the prices the sheep would fetch if sold in the market. The homing instinct is strong in sheep, so that those already on the farm and native to it, do not readily stray, and fences are accordingly dispensed with. The "valuation price," therefore, would always be "market price," plus a small allowance for the homing instinct in the sheep bred on the land. As the nineteenth century approached its close, the difference between the "valuation price" and the price that the sheep would fetch in an auction yard, became greater and greater. In many cases it would be no exaggeration to estimate it at 100 per cent. The naïve explanation was sometimes given that this was due to a tacit conspiracy amongst the sheep farmers, from whose ranks the valuers were drawn. It was alleged that they gave a fictitious value to sheep-stocks in order to depress rents. When the stock was valued at several times the value of the land, the proprietor of a grazing had either to accept whatever rent the farmers chose to offer or else to raise a large sum and invest it in an unremunerative fashion. It is needless to say that this allegation was unfounded. There was no conspiracy. The inflation of the valuation prices was due to the inclusion in them of a new factor—the "acclimatisation allowance." This "acclimatisation allowance" is really a huge insurance premium, rendered necessary by the increasing unhealthiness of the sheep. In accordance with the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest," it might fairly be concluded that the sheep actually living on a farm, and descended from many generations of sheep that had lived on it, were more likely to continue to live on it, than strange sheep, whose constitutions would not be so completely adjusted to the environment. The sheep on the farm might be expected to have a lower death-rate than other sheep brought in from some other place. They were accordingly valued at a high premium over market rates. In course of time the premium became too high. It inflated the capital required for sheep-farming until it became impossible in many instances to earn a reasonable rate of interest on it. Several persons who gave up sheep-farming during the past twenty years have declared that they could obtain a better income by investing their capital in Consols than by keeping it in sheep. It is obvious that no industry could long survive in these conditions, and there have been many signs that a great change is impending in the management of the West Highland sheep. Though the years immediately before the war brought high prices, which temporarily relieved the situation, and the war has raised

prices still higher, the prudent farmer or proprietor views the future with anxiety. With the market price of sheep so high as to be almost equal to the valuation price, the proprietor can now take over a vacated farm and sell off the sheep at a minimum of loss; and a farmer retiring from sheep-farming now finds better investments for his money than could his friend who retired ten or twelve years ago. In view of the possible collapse of the market after the war, landlord and tenant alike must be tempted to listen to the petition of the exhausted soil, and grant it the rest it craves.

Such is the present condition of West Highland sheep-farming. The malady here diagnosed is by no means unique or even uncommon. A somewhat similar case is referred to in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Book I, Chapter XI., where the observations of a Mr. Kalm, who visited the English Colonies in North America in 1749 are given:—

“ Their cattle are allowed to wander through the woods and other uncultivated grounds, where they are half-starved, having long ago extirpated almost all the annual grasses, by cropping them too early in the spring, before they had time to form their flowers, or to shed their seeds. . . . A piece of ground which, when he wrote, could not maintain one cow, would, in former times, he was assured, have maintained four, each of which would have given four times the quantity of milk which that one was capable of giving. The poorness of the pasture had, in his opinion, occasioned the degradation of their cattle, which degenerated sensibly from one generation to another.”

Similar quotations might be multiplied indefinitely, showing that there is nothing new or extraordinary in the condition into which West Highland sheep-farming is falling.

So far, this discussion has been on sure ground. But it is easier to diagnose a disease than to prescribe a cure. Anything that may be said here regarding remedial measures must be of a highly tentative character. Some remedy must be sought. Nature is slowly driving the flock-master from the hills; but it is man's duty to conquer Nature, and he must not yield ground without a struggle. Future generations may find other uses for the Highland hill sides; but in our time it must be sheep or nothing. But how retain the sheep? That is a question which no wise men will hurriedly answer. Small holdings are frequently advocated as a cure for the present condition of things in the Highlands. Protection has also been proposed as a remedy. When the conditions are suitable, small holdings are certainly desirable from a national point of view. In dealing with the Highland hills, however, we must dismiss at once the conventional idea of a small holding as a farm of 50 acres or less. In the Highlands there are vast tracts of country where no man could hope to make a living on 50 or even on 500 acres. Some years ago, a deputation of working

men were invited to visit a deer forest. They were offered grants of 25 acre holdings if any of them saw land he considered worth taking. Needless to say, none of them accepted the offer. They reported that the forest was quite unsuitable for small holdings. It is evident that both the deputation and the proprietor thought of holdings of a size suitable for the Carse of Gowrie. Such small holdings would be ruinous to the unfortunate occupants, and would injure the deer forests or sheep runs into which they had been intruded. If, instead of 25 acres, 2,500 acres had been offered on reasonable terms, genuine small holdings of a size suitable to the conditions might have been created. Captain Bean, in his book, *On the Wool Track*, Chapter 10, tells of the homestead leases which we may regard as the equivalents to small holdings in the Western Division of New South Wales. The smallest leases, he says, are 10,240 acres. It may be added that in Queensland the Land Act of 1910 provides for the compulsory resumption of big sheep and cattle stations, in order to break them up into smaller holdings. It fixes the maximum size of these new holdings at 60,000 acres—between ninety and a hundred square miles! A wider interpretation of the idea of small holdings is thus suggested, and if deer-forests are ever broken up, it is to be hoped that they will be made into holdings large enough to carry from 500 to 1,500 sheep, thus allowing the farmer to maintain a reasonable standard of living. The creation of such holdings would be likely to relieve the crisis discussed here; it would enable sheep to be transferred from the present deteriorated pastures to land which has long “lain fallow,” so far as sheep are concerned.

The Small Holdings remedy has a political tinge. Another political remedy—Protection—also calls for notice. It has had advocates in the United States, who recommended it as a safeguard against what they called “soil-butchery.” This forceful though ugly epithet they applied to the continuous cropping or grazing of the soil without any attempt to maintain its fertility. The derelict farms of states like New Hampshire afforded a close parallel to the abandoned sheep-farms of the Highlands, with this difference—that there were there no deer, sport, nor proprietors to divert attention from the real malady. It was argued that Protection, by securing to the farmer better prices, would make it profitable for him to improve and nurse such land, and save it from exhaustion. It is not necessary to enter here into a discussion of the merits of this remedy in connection with the Highland sheep-runs, or to enquire whether the possible loss of an overseas market for wool might not counterbalance any improvement in the home market for mutton. At best, Protection would be indirect in its action, and the situation requires something more immediately beneficial.

When such political remedies are set aside, and practical measures

are sought for, the enquirer finds his footing very insecure. It is easy to perceive that the land needs fencing, top-dressing of the level and easily accessible parts, and rest from sheep. It is easy also to recognise that the sheep would be the better for more shelter than is usually to be obtained on the Highland hills. Without proper shelter, fences may become death-traps. Fencing is not by any means the impossible task that some imagine. When a settler takes up a grazing farm in Queensland, he is usually required to enclose it with a good fence within three years. The writer has examined maps and plans of Queensland selections, in which the Land Office calmly asked the tenant to erect a fence over swamps and gullies and water-courses, through dense timber, and up rocky and precipitous mountains, in country as difficult as any in Scotland. Even if only one-half of a sheep-run is enclosed, it will be a great improvement upon the unfenced runs common in the Highlands. Strange sheep can be kept in the enclosed part till used to the locality. Parts of the fenced portion may be partitioned off and given a three years' complete rest from sheep, with top-dressing where practicable; then, if suitable, grazed down with cattle before the sheep return. With even half the ground enclosed, there will be less reason for retaining the old sheep-stock when a change of tenancy takes place, and thus the fencing will both enable the land to have periodic "fallowing," so to speak, and also render the perpetuation of the evil of "valuation prices" unnecessary.

There is one question, however, which confronts the advocate of all such changes—the question of finance. Who is to pay for the fences, the shelters, and the top-dressing? Obviously, neither proprietors nor tenants can be expected to expend the money under the present system, as the evil of "valuation prices" leaves neither class in a position to sink cash in the soil. The solution that seems to present fewest difficulties is this: Let the proprietors, at the termination of the present tenancies, take over the sheep-stocks. At present prices they can sell them in the open market with very little loss. Let the farms then be let on "improvement leases," like those on which many Colonial sheep-runs are held. A definite rent is paid annually, and, in addition, the tenant undertakes to execute improvements of a certain value before the termination of the lease. In the case of the Highland sheep-farms, a fair rent being fixed upon, the tenant might pay a proportion in cash each year, and might expend the rest in fencing, &c., at any period of his tenancy which he chose, subject to the proprietor's approval. The details need not be developed here; it is sufficient to suggest that such tenancies, not unknown in Scotland in the past and common in most new countries, may help to solve a very grave problem.

ANGUS FLETCHER.

A BOOK OF WAR AND PEACE.*

THE literature of the Great War threatens to be as unique in its magnitude as the Great War itself. I suppose that many more books have been written about it already than about all the wars of the past. But the most of these publications belong to the class of perishable commodities. They are of the books that are not books, but rather journalism between covers, volumes hastily thrown together to explain some one or other phase of the mighty drama, to record detached episodes, or to convey the fleeting impressions of a spectator in some corner of the cosmic theatre. They have their uses if they are faithful and competent within their limits. They may help the historian or literary artist of the future, as the cinema film and picture post-card will help him, when he seeks painfully to reconstruct the story of the world-conflict.

But a few of the books of the war belong to a different category. These are the volumes which do not owe their being to purely objective inspiration, which are born, not in the writer's eye, but in his soul, which tell not only what he has seen, or heard, or diligently compiled, but what he has thought, felt, and endured; books which are so written and conceived that they may be read and pondered over long after they have ministered to the curiosity of the passing hour.

Of such I think *The Flaming Sword* is one. For this is a book with individuality and purpose, a book that deals with some most poignant and tragic events from the point of view of one who was not merely a witness of the scenes described, but an actor in them. That alone would place it among a select, a limited, class; for while many of us, in one way or the other, have gone to look at the war and then have come home to write about it, there are comparatively few who have written not merely of what they have seen, but of what they have known, as people only can know things when they do them.

Mrs. Stobart has seen the war, not from outside, but from within, as the readers of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW know. She did not go to Belgium, to France, to Serbia, to collect impressions or

* *The Flaming Sword in Serbia and Elsewhere.* by Mrs. St. Clair Stobart. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1916, 6s. net.)

to make copy. She went to do work, to help the sick and wounded on the field, in besieged fortresses, at the base hospitals, in the stricken villages of a ravaged and invaded country; she sought and found her opportunity to bear her part in the actual campaign, such part as women may take, such as they never could take in any former campaign, such as perhaps they would not be taking now if she had not herself shown them the way.

We are used now to the idea of "women's units." We have recognised the hospital, ambulance, and transport detachments, which are entirely feminine in their composition with women not only as nurses, cooks, and "orderlies," but also as dispensers, clerks, dressers, motor-drivers, surgeons, and directors, as is the case with the excellent Scottish Women's Hospital, now ministering to the Serbians on the Macedonian front, and another column doing heroic work with the Roumanians. But such a unit was unknown, and almost inconceivable, five years ago. The Voluntary Aid and Red Cross organisations everywhere were framed on the old lines. Women were allowed, as by masculine chivalry they so often are allowed, to do their share of the drudgery, the hard, obscure work; but strictly in a subordinate position, and with men to tell them what to do, and to perform the more important and interesting tasks themselves.

In those years before the war, when war for us seemed so far away, Mrs. Stobart quietly set out to change this tradition. She got together a corps of women, who prepared themselves for service in the war hospitals. She insisted that the training must be thorough, that it should consist of something more than attendance at first-aid lectures, and that the members of her corps, officers and surgeons, as well as the rank and file, should all be of her own sex.

Then came the Balkan War of 1912. Mrs. Stobart saw her opportunity and seized it with characteristic energy. Should English women be permitted to go among these armies of semi-savage mountaineers and peasants, to face the hardships of campaigning in countries so primitive and wild? The question was much debated in influential quarters; in the end it was decided that the Balkan peninsula in war-time was no place for "gently nurtured" English ladies. There were gently nurtured English ladies who thought otherwise. Mrs. St. Clair Stobart herself belonged to the same order of our society as her precursor, Florence Nightingale. Like the Lady of the Lamp, she had been brought up in what would have once been called the circles of luxury and refinement. Her girlhood had been spent in the pleasant ease of a well-endowed English country house. But she had touched the realities of life in South Africa, and she knew that Englishwomen were capable of facing hardship and danger, and

doing the most responsible work. Her followers were eager to support her, and she determined to put the matter to the test.

So, while the authorities were still debating, she mobilised her corps, and offered its services to Bulgaria, which seemed at the moment the belligerent most in need of medical aid. In due course, after rough journeying and camping among the Thracian Mountains, Mrs. Stobart found herself and her detachment established at Kirk Kilisse, close to the Bulgarian Front; and here, for several months, this little company of English ladies received the wounded Bulgar soldiers and Turkish prisoners as they came in from the fighting lines, operated on them, nursed and tended them, and sent them away healed and convalescent.

This enterprise was notable in two ways. No female nurses had ever before been allowed to work so close to the actual battleground; they had been relegated to the comparative safety of the base hospitals. Secondly, this was the first complete women's unit to take part in any war. The commandant, the surgeons, the X-Ray operators, the dressers, and medical attendants were all women. For the first time in the world's history women amputated limbs torn with shrapnel and extracted bullets from the shattered bodies of men. The value of the work was frankly recognised, alike by professional rivals and by the wounded patients. These latter overflowed with gratitude to their English "mothers" and "sisters" who tended them so skilfully and so gently.*

In the present war this body of medical women and nurses has done notable service in several fields, and its commandant has met with remarkable and perilous adventures. Some part of the thrilling story has been told by her in these pages. At the very beginning of the conflict, in August, 1914, she was in Brussels when the Germans entered the city, was arrested by the invaders in the first paroxysm of their anti-English fury, was carried as a prisoner to Germany, and narrowly escaped the fate which subsequently befell Edith Cavell. After her release she went back, undaunted, to Antwerp, where, during the siege and in the hours before the capture of the city, she and her companions did splendid service to the Belgian wounded. Then for some months she was at the head of a base hospital, working under the Croix Rouge in France, till the call came from Serbia, and she led her party to that devastated land.

The unit was better found and equipped than before, with some male orderlies and ambulance-drivers this time, though the nurses, the surgeons, and all the executive officers were women. It established itself at Kragujevatz, and remained there during the spring and summer of 1915.

* See *War and Women*, by Mrs. St. Clair Stobart. (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1913.)

In the lull between the first and second invasions there were not many wounded requiring attention. But there were plenty of sick; and Mrs. Stobart found a special sphere of usefulness in setting up small dispensaries to provide medicine and medical aid for the civilian population of the remote mountain villages suffering much from privation and disease.

When the country was attacked on two sides by the Austro-Bulgarian combination officers capable of commanding mobile medical contingents were few in number. The Serbian General Staff turned to Mrs. Stobart and asked her to take charge of an ambulance column with the status of a major in King Peter's forces. Here, again, she was a pioneer, she was once more enlarging the bounds of feminine action and achievement. Women, in several countries—in Russia, in Serbia itself, and elsewhere—have occasionally served in the trenches and batteries. But Mrs. Stobart, I believe, was the first woman to be made responsible with executive rank for the conduct, movements, and discipline of a body of soldiers engaged in the operations of the field and the march.

During the disastrous period in which the tragedy of Serbia was consummated, Mrs. Stobart accompanied the army through its brief advance and its long retreat in command of a column consisting of a dozen of her English women doctors and nurses, six English chauffeurs, and between sixty and seventy Serbian soldiers, orderlies, and transport drivers. She led this column to the Bulgarian frontier, was with it in the rout which befell the Serb forces when they were overwhelmed by the terrible drive of the Austrian artillery from the north and the Bulgar rush from the east, and with it shared in the appalling tribulations of the beaten army as it slowly wound its way through the passes of the Albanian mountains and among the snowclad Montenegrin heights; with soldiers and starving refugees dying by the roadside as they passed, and the Austrian, German, and Bulgarian guns thundering close in their rear, and sometimes on their flanks as well. In the end the column was brought down to the coast without the loss of a single one of its members, which was more than could be said of any other column in King Peter's service.

Several descriptions of that historic retreat of an army—of a nation—have been written. Mrs. Stobart's account of this sombre episode has an interest and significance of its own. Throughout the arduous, dangerous, and exhausting march she rode at the head of her column, directing its movements, maintaining its discipline, engaged in a ceaseless struggle to obtain the sheer necessities of life, and to make a way for her party through

the straggling host that beset the mud-soddened roads and slippery mountain paths; more than once barely escaping capture by the advancing enemy; and performing all the while such ambulance and hospital transport work as was allotted to it by the Serbian High Command. No trained leader of troops could have shown a higher courage, or faced emergencies with a more decisive energy, than this English lady. I do not know how she could find time and mental detachment in this ordeal to observe so much of what was passing, or to take the admirable photographs which embellish her volume. But it seems to me that her experiences give a special value to her account of the Serbian *debâcle*. Mrs. Stobart writes of it with the restraint and composure of those who are a part of all that they have known. Her narrative is the record of an experience, a living document, not a literary exercise; though literary it is, since it is written in a style that attracts by its precision, its symmetry, and the striking expressiveness of its descriptive passages. This is in itself no small merit at a time when so much of our writing is ragged, ill-balanced, inaccurate, and slipshod.

But to write well is to feel, or to have felt, deeply. There must be a purpose, a synthesis, a definite outlook, if the account, even of a series of events so absorbing as the Serbian march and retreat, is to be other than a more or less skilful chronicle. The writer of *The Flaming Sword* had this equipment. She had reflected much upon the relations of the individual to the universal order, of the citizen to the nation, of man to woman; and one can see from her pages that throughout the horrors she witnessed, and the misery she shared, and amid the tension of performing such stern practical duties as few women have had to undertake, she was shaping or testing her conclusions. When she can turn her eyes a moment from the anxieties of her position and the welter of suffering around her, she ponders over the eternal questions that have acquired a new meaning and a fresh insistence in these days, to consider how they may be illustrated, and perhaps solved, in the light of the facts and experiences brought so poignantly before her own consciousness.

Of these questions the most urgent for the moment is that of releasing the world from the scourge of war. This is the enigma of the Sphinx unto which our Western civilisation must find an answer or perish. How shall we make an end of war with all its wickedness and waste? That is the problem of problems on which many minds are cogitating, and on which much will be said and written. We should listen with special attention to those who have faced war with invincible resolution at close quarters, who have touched it in its gory and grimy

nakedness, who have been brought into intimate contact with those of its phases where there is the least hint of glamour or romance, or anything but a crude and abominable realism. Particularly is that the case when the exposition comes from a woman who has worked on equal terms with men in the harshest and most painful of man's vocations, and has shed the light of feminine gentleness and mercy over fields of masculine savagery and strife.

War-and-peace, so Mrs. Stobart holds, is pre-eminently a woman's question. She believes, if I follow her argument correctly, that women are by natural law the peace-loving, non-militarist element of the human partnership. This, not because woman is cowardly or spiritless, but because Nature has bestowed upon her the special function of giving and cherishing life. The male creature is wasteful and prodigal of life; he creates it as lightly as he destroys it, sowing it carelessly under the impulse of one passion, extinguishing it with a fierce recklessness in the whirl of another. Birth and death—these, we are asked to believe, are deeper realities to one sex than to the other; for woman, the mother, who buys each new life at the risk of her own, must be economical in her handling of the treasure if only from the instinct of self-preservation. And so if war, which in essence is merely killing *en gros*, is to cease, it will be only when woman, the thrifty guardian of life, has equal power with man, the spendthrift.

The reader must be left to examine the development of the thesis, here very roughly outlined, in Mrs. Stobart's own eloquent pages. I do not think that any other inquirer has approached the war-and-peace question from this point of view. Mrs. Stobart treats the subject with originality as well as with freshness and lucidity; and whether we agree with her opinions or not we can hardly fail to find them extraordinarily suggestive. They derive an added interest from the personality of a writer who has the best right, when she turns from the battlefield to the study, to speak of the evils of war, since she has laboured, with so much unsparing devotion and heroic self-sacrifice, to alleviate them.

SIDNEY LOW.

EXCAVATIONS ON THE PALATINE.

THE excavations on the Palatine, which were commenced about three years ago under my direction, are progressing slowly but steadily, and new and important discoveries are constantly being brought to the light of day. Some idea of the extent of the excavations and restorations which I have undertaken on the Palatine Hill may be obtained from the fact that, notwithstanding the staff of assistants and skilled workmen engaged, and the generous support of the Italian Government, which appropriates about 150,000 francs annually for the purpose, the work is likely to go on indefinitely, without ever being entirely completed.

The most important of the Roman hills is the Palatine; it dominates the valley of the Forum, and contains the ruins of the palace built by the architect Rabirius, about A.D. 91, for the last Emperor of the Flavian dynasty. It has been proved that the valley of the Capitol and the Quirinal was not excavated by man, but had been furrowed by the pre-historic Tiber. Therefore, in beginning the exploration of the Imperial Palace on the Palatine, I thought it was necessary to ascertain at the outset whether it occupied the site of a valley, the so-called Intermontium, or whether, as I supposed, it occupied the summit of the original hill, a far more conspicuous and noble site for such an important residence. The preliminary researches proved the latter view to be correct. Only a few feet under the atrium, the central court of the palace, I reached the primitive archæological layers, resting upon the top of the clay which covered the volcanic leucitic tufa nucleus of the Palatine, and of the other Roman hills. Having thus ascertained that the Imperial Palace occupied the top of a hill, not the bottom of a valley, their first prototype, the house of Tiberius, must have occupied the same site.

The late republican houses, some of which have been described to us as being the richest and most important in Rome, must have enjoyed a view of the distant Alban hills, and of the valley of the Forum from the slopes of the hill itself. In later times these houses were levelled down to make place for the successive rebuildings of the Imperial residence, as it grew larger and larger. In the days of Domitian the Imperial Palace seems to have been a colossal domicile—that is to say, the ordinary Roman house, multiplied by six; just as the statue raised by Domitian, in the centre of the Forum, had the same colossal proportions.

I hoped that it would be possible, by discovering some of the houses of the Republican period which were buried under the Palace, that we should be in a position to study the biography and to analyse the evolution of the structure of the houses themselves in order to find out their primitive form and shape, and eventually, perhaps, to reach those elementary prototypes of the Roman residences, the huts of the primitive Latin inhabitants of the hill sacred to Pales, the shepherd goddess. It is of great importance to determine the site, the shape, and grouping of such primitive Latin dwellings on the Palatine, because the shape of the huts themselves may give some clue to the origin of the progenitors of the Romans. The Romulan people, who founded Rome, were most probably shepherds, just issuing from nomadism, while the Sabines, who occupied the Capitoline Hill, originally the Pagus Saturnius, had already by this time attained to the agricultural stage of a people who had ceased to be nomadic. . . .

Geological formations are differentiated by their composition, texture, and by the relics of organisms found in them; and geological science had advanced so far that it is possible to say beforehand what fossil remains will be found in a given formation, if the stratigraphical position of that formation shall have been correctly determined. In the case of archæological accumulations, some of which have remained unknown till now, it is absolutely necessary, if we are to raise archæology to the level of a science, to be very careful to study the materials and the structures in their definitely ascertained chronological order. This method of analysis, by which I was enabled to attain scientific accuracy in the exploration of the Forum, I have applied to investigation of the Palatine. I began my exploration on this hill in the area of the private basilica on the right-hand side of the entrance to the Palace, adjacent to the vestibule or throne-room of Domitian. The large crevices, caused by earthquakes, which split the whole of the Palatine Hill, had also extended through the wall, close by one of the arches in the wall of the basilica. I knew that these arches indicated that there was something hollow underneath. I searched there and found a staircase leading down to a piscina of the time of Nero, of which five large compartments still remain, carefully-plastered with Opus Signinum, which, however, is much decomposed by sodium chloride.

We are told by Suetonius that Nero caused sea-water to be brought from the sea to the Palatine, and sulphurous-water from Tivoli. This latter was evidently meant to be used for bathing, but the sea-water for the purpose of keeping fish. The chambers of the piscina, communicating through arched doorways, remind one of what Varro says of the Roman fish-tanks or piscinæ; he

compares them to the palette of a painter which is used to keep the colours separate. So in the piscinæ the fish of different varieties were divided, the smaller from the larger, one kind from another, by means of nets.

Close to this piscina I discovered an older structure. It is one of the houses of the last years of the Republic. The house is a most important one, because the central hall, cut through by the cylindrical substructures of the Neronian piscina, is decorated with fresco paintings, important from both the artistic and historical points of view, since they reveal the importation of symbols and of ornaments from Egypt and Asia Minor. These paintings are also technically important as they indicate new pigments, which the invasion of Egypt introduced to the Romans and which they adopted in their frescoes. The early Greek paintings were based on four colours: white, black, red, and yellow. These colours could easily have been got by the early Romans from materials obtainable from the mineral deposits in Central Italy, or from burning pine-resin. But the pictures in the house which was cut through by the piscina reveal to us a most magnificent and gorgeous polychrome entirely unknown to the primitive Romans, its effect being especially due to the lavish use of *cœrulum*, which is a light blue silicate of copper imported from Alexandria, a colour so much admired that, in the days of Vitruvius, cheap imitations of it were the fashion. The mixture of this blue with the best yellow-ochre produced various tones of green. The red panels are of the most brilliant vermilion, which was procured from Monte Amiata. Some of the floral decorations are painted a brilliant purple colour, obtained from the *Murex*. In the construction of this late Republican house, again, a still more ancient house has been cut through, of which the staircase in *Opus Incertum* is still preserved. Under this staircase runs one corridor of the *Favissæ*, a mysterious system of hiding-places, stores, or treasure rooms, which runs under the whole extent of the Palatine.

The exploration of the Republican houses, under the basilica of Domitian, has supplied the first important data concerning the geological structure of the hill. It has shown that the houses themselves were built on a level surface which was obtained on the eastern slope of the hill by removing a thick layer of clay from the top of the horizontal surface of the underlying tufa rock. In order to carry out these researches on a larger scale, I began to explore the adjoining vestibule of the Palace—a magnificent hall 120 feet wide, where Heraclius was crowned as the last Emperor. Here, near the principal entrance, I was able to determine the chronological succession of the Imperial palaces. I saw how the substructures in silex-concrete of the palace of Domitian had cut

through the substructures in travertine-concrete of a previous palace, probably that of Nero, which, in turn, had cut through the older concrete substructures, containing late Republican terracottas and broken tiles, and belonging to a still older palace, probably that of Caligula.

All these foundations of the three imperial palaces, of which we now know the chronological order, met in a certain spot, and were cut through the threshold and vestibule of another house of the late Republican period, originally belonging to a patrician family such as that of Catiline. The threshold and the pavement are in slabs of the most beautiful and precious African red breccia, separated by slabs of green-veined cipoline marble from the island of Eubœa. I discovered also that the atrium and the lateral rooms, or Cubicula, were paved with marble slabs which covered mosaic floors belonging to an earlier period. These mosaics are not composed of fragments of marble, but are of pebbles from the Umbrian confluents of the Tiber—red, yellow, green, black, and white limestones—grouped so as to produce a polychromatic effect, which is not only beautiful in itself, but historically interesting as being important evidence of that inspiration towards a kind of decoration, a taste which the Romans were able to gratify to the utmost later on when they came into contact with the eastern and African marbles.

It appears that the new owner of the house, towards the beginning of the Augustan era, covered the old mosaic pavement with slabs of marble, demolished the original first story, which had been destroyed, and threw down fragments of architectural remains, stuccoes, and the like, which filled up the basement rooms of the original ground-floor. These remains have been most valuable, for I have been able to study in them the whole architectural and pictorial decoration of the older house. The original ground-floor itself is decorated with stuccoes and pictures of interest to geologists, as they represent panels inlaid with sections of silicious pebbles, displaying the wavy concentric layers of chalcedony and agate, while the architectural framework in which they are set shows the first attempt at parallel perspective. Under this ground-floor are layers containing the terra-cotta decorations of a still older Republican house of the third century, B.C., also a row of grottoes, cut in the tufa, filled up with the remains of what appears to have been a yet older house, if we may judge from the terra-cottas, which are of the archaic period, and from the relics of the life of the family, who seemed to have occupied the site somewhere between the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Among these interesting relics we found indigenous pottery, some articles meant for cooking, some for the table, Campanian

ware, black Etruscan bucchero, and the most exquisite early Attic, with inscriptions in archaic Latin, Etruscan, and Greek. These remains reveal the presence of different races, and indicate intercourse and communication about the time of the Gallic invasion of 390 B.C.

These various remains, moreover, enable us to recognise the stage of development of the inhabitants of the Palatine in the early Republican days; and they give us approximately the date at which the Favissæ below were filled up. But the date when these excavations were first made is still to be discovered. The first row of Favissæ under the Republican house has several rectangular and cylindrical shafts leading down to corridors and galleries. These shafts, in most cases placed only a few yards apart, seem to have served for ventilation purposes. The corridors and the galleries at the bottom of the shafts lead to chambers carefully plastered, which were used as granaries or safe-deposits, and were well protected against damp. A large cylindrical shaft has been sunk through the first tier of Favissæ, and at a depth of sixty feet it cuts through another very extensive and complicated network of corridors and galleries shaped like the Christian catacombs. Similar Favissæ were found under the central part of the atrium, and under the house of Tiberius Claudius, which represents the actual prototype of the Imperial Palace. The Palatine Favissæ were supposed to be quarries, but their complicated structure, and the way in which they were plastered, made us look at them more closely, and compare them with similar excavations which are to be found all along the Latin coast, as far as Nettuno. Research will doubtless one day reveal when the Palatine Favissæ were first excavated, who excavated them, and for what purpose. We may, perhaps look on these subterranean chambers and galleries as the predecessors of the Christian catacombs, and make certain comparisons in regard to them, since the people who issued from the catacombs seem to have had many points of similarity with the indigenous Mediterranean race who had at first been subjected by the Latin Romans, and waited patiently, as plebeians, to re-emerge when the patrician families were withdrawn from circulation by Nature. These patricians left behind them, in the sunlight of the Palatine and of the other Roman hills, many noble buildings, together with the evidence of civilising power.

Among other things, "Mechanics" has to do with my present researches on the Palatine. Years ago, under the central part of the Roman Forum, I found a group of twelve elevators, worked by capstans, and used for the gladiatorial shows of Julius Cæsar. I was convinced that more powerful and complicated mechanical appliances must have been employed on the Palatine, and that

these must have been on a much larger scale on account of the greater difference in level between the Circus Maximus, which we may look upon as the ground-floor of the Imperial residence, and the official parts of the Palace, about 120 feet above. It is obvious that the still higher level of the terraces to which the water from the Neronian aqueduct had to be specially pumped in order to supply the necessary amount for the fountains, bathrooms, and the irrigation of the hanging gardens, would demand a large amount of mechanical energy for raising water and for working the lifts and elevators for the rapid transit of persons and goods. We have also to account for mechanical power of sufficient magnitude to work the hydraulic organs, and also to move the circular dining-room of Nero, which revolved like an astronomical dome with the sun.

The most notable of the restorations which I am carrying on at the present moment is the marble pavement in one of the halls of Nero's palace. This pavement, of which only a few portions were found intact, was composed of slabs of coloured marble arranged in an exquisite all-over scroll design. Red porphyry from Egypt, green serpentine from Laconia, Frigian marble from Asia Minor, and yellow from Numidia, are the materials employed, and the effect is singularly beautiful. The entire floor has now been re-covered with white marble slabs, carefully joined to the fragments, and the scroll pattern is continued throughout the hall by being carved into the white inset. It is now possible to study the floor-pattern as a whole. Not the least of my labours has been my transformation of the long-neglected Palatine Hill into a beautiful garden. Two years ago, with the exception of a few large trees, the entire summit and slopes of the hill were covered with nettles and weeds. At my own expense, I have planted over 10,000 trees and shrubs; 2,000 rose bushes, including many ancient varieties; about four hundred varieties of indigenous plants, many of which were used in the sacred rites and were dear to the ancient Romans; rows of pine trees, cypresses, laurels, larches, which latter were so much appreciated by Julius Caesar; also oleanders, jasmine, myrtles; and classical fruit trees, such as quinces, pomegranates, and wild cherries, together with masses of ivy, convolvulus, and other climbing plants. My plan in the introduction of flora on the Palatine has been to confine myself to four groups—the first, indigenous plants; the second, Mediterranean flora; then classical flora; and last, Renaissance flora. The result is that the Palatine is now a mass of gorgeous colour, and, with the background of stately trees and shrubs, forms a highly poetic setting to this classic and historical spot.

GIACOMO BONI.

GENERAL LYAUTEY AND HIS WORK.

THERE is a story of the new French War Minister which typifies the man. Years ago he was at Tonking under Gallieni, that indefatigable coloniser. The order came for him to return to France, and gladly he accepted it, for he was worn out. No one saw him on board; he was down below resting tired brain and muscle. At Colombo a telegram was handed to him from the French Government saying it required him in Madagascar. What was he to do? Return to France and thence take a steamer? Not a bit of it. He learned that at Aden, six days further on, a French boat for Madagascar would cross his. That was good enough. At Aden, then, he transferred himself, bag and baggage, to the other ship, and speeded over the waters to his new post. His fellow-*voyageurs* noted that he was no longer tired—for France had need of him.

General Lyautey combines intellect with energy. His colonial work for France is a happy blend of the two. "Not so long ago, "the idea existed that a man of action and a man of thought were "irreconcilable," said the new Minister, in a famous address delivered at the Lycée at Oran in Algeria. "But such a notion," he continued, "is disproved by the most glorious periods of "humanity: Hellenic civilisation and the Italian Renaissance." Perhaps there is no modern Frenchman who represents the Greek ideal more closely than the new head of our Allies' war machine. Boutroux defines perfect action as the balance between power and will. Lyautey is possessed of such equilibrium. His life has been one of accomplishment directed by intelligence. And he has found the greatest theatre for his energies in France overseas.

His teacher was Gallieni, whom he always regards as his master. Gallieni himself was inspired by Bugeaud, by Lamorcière, Courbet, and Faidherbe, and other of the great French pioneers. Lyautey was Gallieni's lieutenant in Madagascar, and collaborated closely with him in his work of pacification. Before that, in Tonking, he was head of the military bureau, whilst Gallieni was settling the country. He became imbued with his doctrines, the application of which established France firmly in Indo-China as in the Indian Ocean. She owes a debt to the great soldier-coloniser, who was

cut off in the midst of his patriotic labours a few weeks after the death of Lord Kitchener. But he has left behind him a colonising principle at once sound and successful.

"When you root out a nest of pirates, remember that you have "to plant a market on the morrow," was Gallieni's advice to his military commanders. It is the principle upon which Lyautey has always acted in Algeria and Morocco. *Ense et arato* (by the sword and by the plough) was as much his motto as Bugeaud's. He thought always of the market or the school or the bridge or the road that he would "plant there" on the morrow.

The results of this system have been conspicuously successful in Northern Africa. We are on the morrow of a turbulent Morocco full of brigandage and internal warfare. Yet, since the Great War commenced, there has been an exhibition at Casablanca and a fair at Fez! The latter was opened with great ceremony in October last, and is a particularly happy omen of a rejuvenated Empire. The new Sultan, Mulai Youssef, successor to Mulai Hafid, who abdicated in 1912, made his first state entry into his capital after four years of absence. Tens of thousands of persons lined the streets, and the cavalcade included French and native soldiers, the famous Black Guard, arrayed in white, and all the important functionaries of the Empire. The Sultan, looking very majestic on his grey thoroughbred, was preceded, Arab fashion, by twenty superb horses led by hand; an attendant on horseback carried the traditional scarlet parasol over his head. At his back waved twenty flags, green, red, and orange, symbolising his power. Behind these came the Kaids and a cloud of tribesmen variously mounted, some with gold and silver ornaments on saddle and bridle.

The fêtes, which lasted four days, testified not merely to the progress of Morocco, but to the revival of the old Shereefian power. The spectacle of the Sultan, surrounded with so much ceremony and respect was at least in contrast with his departure from the capital four years before, without a guard or the least sign of authority, and in such penury that the French had to provide him with a horse and accoutrements. The change effected since then is a tribute to the wise and enlightened methods of General Lyautey as Resident-General. "Military occupation," he wrote, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, "consists less in military occupation than in active organisation." And this is the secret of his success, as it was the secret of Gallieni's. "An army thrown into "a new country," he said, again, "should remain in it, inhabit it, "and colonise it." Louis Herbert Gonzalve Lyautey was appointed Resident-General in 1912. The country was in a state of anarchy; there was no effective authority. The Berbers besieged

the capital. Mulai Hafid declined to co-operate with the new Governor and retired into private life. Lyautey grappled with the situation by setting upon the throne Mulai Yusef, who, though devoted to the French, had little influence in the Bled. The task before the pro-Consul was both military and political. He settled the first by entrusting the operations against the Berbers to General Gouraud, and against revolted tribesmen in the south to Colonel Mangin, who has since distinguished himself at Verdun.

Both campaigns were brought to a successful issue, and the General Administrator began to add conciliation to his other arms. The Moroccans who had resisted force were disarmed by his courtesy and charm, his courage and chivalry, his quickness of perception and common-sense. Establishing himself at Rabat, on the Atlantic seaboard, he surrounded himself with men familiar with Arab character and customs. In a few months he had won the confidence of many of the chiefs. It is noteworthy that in the procession at Fez marched some of the Kaids who actually fought against France four years ago, and are now her best friends. Such was the General's skill and knowledge and sense of native psychology that he pieced together a new Shereefian sovereignty with the tattered remnants of the old one.

The war brought new complications to Morocco, and the General showed great energy in dealing with them. Thanks to fleet action, French and British, the seas were clear to send a contingent to France, and Lyautey saw that it was larger even than the official expectations. He liberated every possible fighter and Territorials and Reservists from the Mother Country, and Senegaliens from Central Africa were sent to take the place of the Regular Army. This newly recruited force had some anxious moments, but by its courage and devotion the menace of an insurrectionary movement was speedily removed. Nevertheless, it was commonly believed in Morocco that the Germans intended to effect a landing, and when two warships appeared off Casablanca there was considerable disquiet until the invaders were chased away by French cruisers, and had disappeared into the Atlantic mists.

The Governor was no stranger to German intrigue, for, three times in succession, Morocco has just missed being the cause of a vast European war. Perhaps nowhere else have our present enemies pursued more implacably the policy of Bismarck. They have made disloyal use of the Capitulations (or special jurisdictions) and have constantly created nationals and partisans by turning in their favour the habitual regulations. Instead of contenting themselves with a couple of native employees in their business houses, which is the rule, they have created in this way twenty to a hundred protégés.

Again they took part in gun-running, and many a French soldier found a grave in Africa through a German bullet. By way of protest against the French occupation, Teutonic traders often refused to pay taxes on some pretext, and consuls hindered the course of justice by claiming jurisdiction in unwarrantable cases. They have notoriously taken part in spying, and a common practice was to keep in business premises, side by side with the ledger, a book containing information of the movement of troops, the state of mind of the natives, or any point telling against the French, for transmission to Berlin. And yet, of course, Germany agreed, after Agadir (as did Spain and the other signatories) to the creation of what is practically a French Protectorate.

Our Allies desire, however, that the Protectorate should be made more strong by the abolition of the special diplomatic courts. The war, of course, has done away with German jurisdiction, and has had the unlooked-for effect of strengthening the hands of the Residency, for it has made it master in the country. Under the operation of martial law, Germans and other suspected persons have been interned or deported. Moreover, the French courts now hold sway over all classes of the community, whatever the nationality, real or presumed, and the special *régime* exists no longer. Seeing the beneficent effects of unifying justice, the French, not unnaturally, ask that it shall continue after peace has been declared; and they base their argument partly on the fact that the foreign consulates are unable to enforce their jurisdiction through lack of a *personnel*, and have often to invoke the aid of France. Italy seems to have made a practice of allowing the French courts to judge her nationals. Nor has there been any protest from England or the United States by reason of the suppression of their tribunals. Why not, then, make the condition permanent? asks the reformer.

The statistics of the courts bespeak the efficacy of the system. At Casablanca the French magistrates adjudicated upon 3,200 cases in 1915, and this number was reached during the opening quarter of last year. Police, Commercial, and Appeal Courts have been set up, not merely at Casablanca, but at Rabat, Fez, Meknès, Oudja, Marrakech, and Mogador.

German intrigue was not confined to the country, but affected Mussulmans abroad—in an obvious attempt to invoke the Holy War. A certain Kaid, Si Taibi el Goundafi, who set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca in July, 1914, was assailed by all the rumours in circulation as he was journeying to the holy city. The Turks had taken Fez and Meknès; all the French had been assassinated; Rabat was besieged, and Casablanca threatened. Perhaps the Kaid felt the tale was overdone, for he was sceptical about it, but,

none the less, perceived that he was no longer safe from the Turks. Arriving at Beyrout, he placed himself under the protection of the American Consul, and by this means reached Marseilles, and thence Morocco. At home, he found each man sitting beneath his fig-tree, and none of the stories had come true. The shops and cafés were open in the "besieged" or "captured" towns, the merchants sat on the ground cross-legged, peaceably smoking their pipes, and in the public squares the singers and the snake-charmers gathered about them the usual crowd of the curious and idle. In the country laden camels swayed along the tracks with their merchandise, and the chief remarked that each animal was muzzled—a new order brought about by the planting of trees by the French authorities. Here, evidently, was no devastation or disorder, and as the astute Oriental made this discovery he naturally gave credit to the new conditions which had established themselves in his country. This is a common story, and shows the hold that the new administrator had been able to exert over the Empire.

By actual reforms and by promoting the security and contentment of the tribes, General Lyautey has governed during the four years of his office. He applied the same methods in Oran when he commanded the troops there a dozen years ago, and his method of sowing civilisation by means of advanced posts amongst the malcontents worked as wonderfully as it had in Indo-China. Everywhere in the East the French discover that their *administrés* are amenable to wise and discriminating measures, which make appeal to their intelligent co-operation. Often the army itself participates directly in this work, and turns, literally, its sword into a ploughshare and its spear into a pruning-hook.

General Lyautey has written some remarkable pages describing what he calls the social or civil *rôle* of the officer. Amongst subject-races he must uplift the banner of civilisation, he must advance the native in the arts of peace. At home, especially since the rigid application of universal service, he must devote himself to the moral, as well as the physical, well-being of his men. Universal service, he says, should not be regarded as a sterile or a burdensome task, but as an opportunity for extended social service. Let the young officer learn also that, though the privileged caste has disappeared, there is still a public necessity for discipline, respect, and self-sacrifice.

The author is particularly interesting when he defines this enlarged duty of the officer. Now that every young man passes through his hands in the barrack square or on the training ground, he has become the great educator of the nation. The writer has a fine image to represent the obligation resting on every Frenchman to serve his country. Universal military service is like a bar erected at

the entrance to the river of life. Will the young man founder thereat, or will he be fortified for still more searching experience?

The General's writings, which, by the way, have carried him to the French Academy, have also led to some amusing exaggeration on the part of some who professed to interpret his teaching. Military, like other reformers in France, are apt to go too far, and some assumed that the brilliant writer wished to convert the barracks into a species of University Extension centre where everything would be taught, except, presumably, the military art. Nothing, however, was farther from General Lyautey's thoughts, though he wasted no time in contradicting these false assumptions. Indeed, his duty had called him to active and arduous service in Algeria, where his gifts as leader and as organiser received new scope and stimulus. One may explain, however, that the General did not picture the officer as a pedagogue, but merely tried to show that when he had momentarily sheathed the sword, there was still useful work for him to do for the benefit of the State.

Certain circumstances, in which politics perhaps have had their share, kept the Pro-Consul at his post in Morocco during two-and-a-half years of the war. Now, at the moment of reconstitution he has entered the War Office as its titular head, and no wiser choice could have been made, for none is better qualified by temperament, experience, and education for wide responsibility. His arrival synchronises with an enlargement of the Minister's *rôle*—following on Marshal Joffre's retirement from the active command—and all France rejoices in his new powers.

The new Minister has originality and resource; he is clear-minded; he is a disciplinarian and a man of lofty ideals. In person he is not tall, but is built on elegant lines, and is handsome and alert-looking. He is sixty-three years of age, and was born at Nancy in French Lorraine. His manners are those of the old school, courteous and distinguished, but his methods are those of the new. He is a *charmeur*, and possesses that personal fascination which is of great account in a public cause, and has accelerated the progress in popular favour of both M. Briand and Mr. Lloyd George.

CHARLES DAWBARN.

THE REVIVAL OF THE RELIGIOUS SPIRIT IN FRENCH POETRY.

WHEN the Revolution, that ensanguined issue, passed over France, ruined political and social order, annihilated that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive the spirit, even in servitude itself, and exalted freedom; when manly sentiment and heroic enterprise were gone, together with the sensibility of principle and the chastity of honour, which felt like a wound, which inspired courage whilst it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil by losing its grossness*; when for a beautiful religious system was substituted the ugliness of sensual orgies, the Viscount de Châteaubriand wrote his masterly *Le Génie du Christianisme* and France became religiously regenerated. The indication of the same hopeful phenomenon one sees in our times, in times when atheism, supported by the demagogue politics of government and the indifference of the masses, seems to be triumphant in a country which was formerly proud of the name of the "elder sister of the Church." This shining star of encouraging hope consists in this, that there have appeared in *belles lettres* streams favourable to faith which announce the return to the traditions of the race; amongst them the religious sentiment—that is, the social life of a nation—had almost lost its importance as a ruling, moral principle. The evolution in that regard, of many noted contemporary French writers, is known, and delights the souls of those who realise how detrimental is the revolutionary vandalism of the democratic leaders to the national life of France, where the Catholic faith has formed the soul of the nation and made it highly civilised through its influence, both moral and cultural.

In that noble phalanx of Christian warriors there are such names as René Bazin, a Catholic *littérateur*, triumphantly asserting, in the decadent literature of modern France, the inalienable rights of true romance which has its roots in the Church alone.† He has resuscitated Catholic aims and Catholic notions

* Burke, *French Revolution*.

† *Westminster Cathedral Chronicles*. December, 1912.

in fiction, as did Huysmans and Maurice Barrès, whilst Brunetière—one of the ablest literary critics of our times—extolled the great merits of the seventeenth-century Christian writers, especially of Bossuet, called *l'aigle de Meaux*, who like an eagle soars above others in his sublime flight of thoughts, clothed in the most beautiful raiment of language. For this justified glorification Brunetière was dismissed from the Collège de France by the narrowminded Republicans endowed with petty souls and paltry brains.

These men, free from the tyranny of materialistic streams which deceive the masses through their alluring hues of would-be science—the great scientific minds being almost always respectful toward the transcendental—exercise strong influence and cause the return towards faith, which return is manifested especially in the province of poetry.

* * * * *

Charles Guérin belongs to those who found peace and happiness only when, as he says himself, he “wept over the impotence of youth and tore his heathenish body with Catholic *cilice*”; only then his doubts were substituted by fervent faith, his longings by sure expectations and his spiritual downfalls by deeds of Christian charity. The characteristic of his poetry is sadness, grief, moral suffering, that accompanied him through life from his childhood, and the cause of which was not without but within himself, for he wrote to a friend: “Do not try to find why and how. . . . I was destined to suffer. What I find the most beautiful is grief, and had I not always suffered, you had never read my poetry; when it happens that I am cheerful, I immediately cease to feel, I exist no more.”

His first volume of poetry was published in 1892, and was called *Fleurs de Neige*. The grief which his favourite book heralded seemed to him a divine endowment; and if the lot of man is to suffer, he believed that he was predestined to suffer much.

According to his notion suffering lent him dignity; he became proud of his pain, for he believed that through it he obtained emotions of which others were incapable, and thus he became an aristocrat. He felt himself to be “full of the majesty of great, proud, vanquished people,” and implored God to let him die young whilst intoxicated with his pride.

When, in 1894, he published *L'Art Parjure* and *Joies Grises*, he was under the double influence of Mallarmé and Rodenbach. Mallarmé, the charmingly modest and convincing *causeur*, produced on Guérin the same seductive influence he did on all contemporary poets. He taught Guérin how to delight in *glosses raffinées* and to be fond of precious attitudes. It was during this

period that Guérin disdainfully called the people at large "herd," and learnedly discussed the merits of the *allitération*, *élucidation sensorielle de l'idée*, and in order to give a lesson to the ordinary makers of syllables he used to compose verses that delighted René Ghil, for they read, for instance, thus: *Sous les pins fins pleins de plaintes au sein des landes*. . . . Mallarmé's influence is evident in Guérin's first poetical effusiveness, and it lasted for several years. George Rodenbach's ascendancy was manifested in this, that Guérin took from him what was of lesser importance, feeble and uncertain, and he produced soft songs, full of bizarre expressions and such rhymes as *infiniment* rhymed with *femmes qui mentent*.

In 1897 he changed his literary taste and wrote to a friend, "the intrusion of free verses into French poetry has had deplorable consequences," and he sent forth a violent censure against those Belgians who do not take the trouble to search in their memory for French words corresponding with their sensations, but manufacture atrocious verbs and adverbs, neologisms and barbarisms.

In *Joies Grises*, he attacked rhyme and advocated assonance, wondering at the aberration that caused its disappearance; he practised what he preached for a long time, and often wrote verses exclusively with feminine assonances. His lyrical effusions called *Le Cœur Solitaire* (1898) still preserved the softness and the uncertainty that lessened their flight, although this volume contains more precise verses than do the already mentioned books, than *Le Sang des Crépuscules* (1895) and *Sonnets et un Poème* (1897). Where Guérin employs rhymes the poems are graceful. He brought his verses under control in *Le Semeur de Cendres* (1901-1904), and especially in *L'Homme Intérieur* (1905), but it was only when he was near his grave that he succeeded and could use words and cadence with ease, as in the following poem:—

Si tu veux voir un vase aux belles formes naître,
Suis-moi dans l'atelier jusqu'à cette fenêtre,
Où l'ébaucheur travaille assis devant le jour.
Il jette un pain de terre onctueux sur son tour,
Le mouille, et, résistant à l'effort du mobile,
Elève entre ses mains la frissonnante argile.
D'un pouce impérieux il attaque en plein cœur,
La creuse, et la façonne au gré de sa vigueur.
Regarde, sous l'active étreinte qui la guide,
Le vase épanouir sa grâce encore liquide.
Tandis qu'il l'arrondit de la paume au dehors,
Ses doigts joints et courbés en polissent les bords.
L'argile cependant, sans relâche arrosée,
Comme un miroir voilé reflète la croisée.
Souple et svelte, le col jaillit des flancs égaux,
Il chemine en faisant onduler ses anneaux.

Menée au plus haut point déjà, sa tige molle
 Expire, et le potier la renverse en corolle.
 Le tour s'arrête. Alors, en prenant un répit,
 L'humble maître, content de sou œuvre, sourit.

If one examines this little masterpiece of French modern poetry, one sees that the movement of verses adapts itself to the described things; that every syllable is well calculated, and every stop plays its part; that the sounds of the words produce the desired sensation. This poem pleases the eye, caresses the ear, gives to the mind the same joyful satisfaction as does a perfect thing, and could be advantageously compared with any antique poem.

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There are many religious themes in Guérin's work; he was constantly tormented by the problem of the divine, for his philosophical studies deprived him—as many others—of strong faith, quiet, blind, and joyful. That continual strife between his natural inclination towards faith and the acquired scepticism was the source of his poetry and its religious character, equal—through its purity, melodiousness, and force—to that of Lamartine and André Chenier, its best expression being the volume already mentioned, *L'Homme Intérieur*. Notwithstanding that he was very unhappy, he refused for a long time to kneel down, to bend his head, to become humble and simple; he still tried to be happy without God, despite the atavism of his Catholic descent. His efforts were now directed to finding serenity of soul and equilibrium of mind in active life, and for this purpose he travelled, hoping to know the supreme joy that results from the possession of peace; but this means failed.

As his pristine faith did not come back to him, he thought that this might be effected in the midst of the quiet of nature and of home life; therefore he returned to his native place. However, everything seemed strange to him, although the fault was not in the things, but in himself; peace was not yet granted to Guérin, because it requires simplicity of mind and tenderness of heart, which he had not. Suddenly he understood that his life might have a useful and noble purpose: he would forget his miseries and alleviate those of others; he would think less of himself and more of his fellow man. But as this required an abdication of his personality, that could be done only through faith, and of this he was incapable, he again failed to find the so much desired peace. Having arrived at the conclusion that nature is hostile or indifferent, that woman does not fulfil man's expectation, and even betrays him; that art is insufficient for happiness, he turned to God, before whom he knelt this time, because humble and of simple heart. He at last triumphed over his rebellious mind, he silenced the sceptical doubts that poisoned

the joy of his heart, and having failed to obtain the reasoned certainty of God's existence, he was satisfied with sentimental belief.

He was so much more contented that he desired still greater happiness, and believing he could obtain this only through more lively faith, he prayed for it with a desperate fervour and a complete humility. His humble and ardent prayers were heard on high; faith, almost as simple as that of a child, was bestowed on him, and he blessed God for that priceless endowment; he found God everywhere; he invoked Him constantly; he sang no more of the beauties of nature, of luminous sky, of birds warbling amongst the green branches and in the azure air, of joy of light, of abundant harvesting, of the charms of dawn, of the rich colours of twilight, and if he did, it was only in guise of gratitude to the Creator, for henceforth the whole of the world was one glorious, holy hymn of God's life.

Since faith was returned to Guérin, his pains were ended; no more nights spent in fighting doubts, no more horrors of solitude, no more lamentations, anguish, and remorse; he spoke no more of disgust for his art, of the deceitful sweetness of ephemeral pleasures, of the quickly-disappearing perfume of voluptuousness, of the sadness that is at the bottom of all love. Since he found the truth he enjoyed his triumph, he felt strong and happy. There are numerous proofs in his last work of his perfect faith, of his deep sincerity, and of his serene happiness as a result of his submission to God's will.

Although Guérin died young—he was but thirty-three years of age—he could cry out wholeheartedly for his release on the play of *bonum certamen*. His literary legacy to civilised mankind is of consequence, for although his work is not finished, it is perfect in some poems, and it makes him immortal, for he tells with grave eloquence, with proud frankness, and with noble simplicity, the history of a very haughty and a very sad soul.*

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Charles de Pomairols is another contemporary French poet whose work is heightened by the sublime, borrowed from Christian ethics. His poetical activity began already in 1879, continued without interruption until now, but remained for a long time almost unknown, and was recognised only recently by large circles. The reason for this apparent neglect of a poet of merit was due to the conditions of his life and to the peculiarity of his character. The conditions of his life kept him in his native province of Ronergue—situated in the South of France—where he cultivates his poetical art, far from the glare of the Parisian light; the peculiarity of his character prompts him to prefer the quiet of his ancestral estates,

* *Charles Guérin*, by Albert de Besancourt.

where he conjures his verses out of the necessity of his spirit and not for vain glory; a small circle of friends, in whom he finds an affinity of culture, of notions, of convictions, and of sentiments, and who are capable of understanding and of appreciating him, suffice for him. To-day, when the merits of his poetry have become known, Charles de Pomairols must be put in the ranks of the young poets of the present time, his creative power having nothing antiquated in it, and his work being fresh and full of enthusiasm for noble idealism.

There is a slight likeness between Charles Guérin and Charles Pomairols, and the likeness consists in their vain search for truth in metaphysical philosophy and in Comte's positivism—Guérin having also preferred, at the beginning of his career, the would-be truth proved by reason to the truth of revelation. Having found that philosophy, unlighted by faith, limited the horizon of spiritual life too much, Pomairols turned to nature and to family traditions, for he felt that he was bound to them by the lasting tie of his ancestry, sanctified, so to say, by a long past; here he found the doctrine of life illuminated by the light of supernatural faith. The reading of Lamartine's work was very helpful for the adaptation of the Christian point of view, for he could not help admiring in his favorite poet not only his literary originality, but also the perfect equilibrium between his work and his life. Only then did it become clear to him that poetry has a greater attractive power than philosophy, which is limited by matter, whilst poetry leads to truth more quickly and makes it known more easily, because it has at its service sentiment, imagination, and intuition, the principal factors of the human spirit, for which experiments, observation, and mind are only tools of control.

Whilst writing his exhaustive and enthusiastic study of Lamartine* and whilst giving the spiritual portrait of the great lyrical writer, Pomairols proclaimed his own notions of the ideal poet:—

“Literature was not for him,” says Pomairols, “a career, an unceasing and obligatory occupation of life. Poetry was an accident to him, a felicitous inspiration, which one should follow without paying any attention to the public; it should be regarded as an ornament of the morning and of the evening of one's existence, the noontime of which should be filled with activity. This faith in God, his assurance in regard to the eternal destination, his aspirations lifting him to Heaven, the ideal transparency of nature in his eyes, all that gave him a countenance which, we imagine, poetry has itself. He was a poet because of the value and of the state of his soul, entirely inspired by pure forces and creating for itself a world of strenuous spirituality.”

* *Lamartine Etude de Morale et d'Esthétique*, by Charles de Pomairols. (Paris, 1889.)

This is Pomairols' ideal of a poet, and he strives to live up to it. Healthy rural occupations, the reading during leisure hours of Greek and Latin classics, alternately with his beloved Lamartine, such are the conditions in which his poetical taste was developed. He sings of sentiment and sympathy for the simple rustic folk, of their agricultural occupations, of the cult of traditions, of family love, of attachment to the inherited land, and the results of his poetical effusions are such books as *La vie meilleure* (1829), *Rêves et Pensées* (1881), *La Nature et l'Ame* (1887), *Regards Intimes* (1895), and *Pour l'Enfant* (1904). In *Regards Intimes*, tuned to the diapason of the ideal of love and full of serious sentiments, he tells how he became acquainted with his wife, to whom he was conducted by a path that serpentine across a meadow embroidered with variegated flowers. Love for the woman, who, like those who preceded her, was going to be the mother of the future generation, is united here with a strong feeling for nature that helped to draw the two hearts together. The poem called *Aïeuls* is perhaps the most beautiful in his whole work, and certainly it characterises in the best manner the poet's ego:—

Aïeuls, je voudrais de vous me faire entendre !
 Je peux du moins ici, plein d'une fierté tendre,
 Moi qui suis votre fils, pour ceux-là, qui suivront,
 Tracer parmi vos noms le nom de Marguerite,
 Et joindre à vos vertus l'éloge d'un mérite
 Devant lequel les fils de nos fils rêveront.

Pomairols' poetical gift is manifested to the best advantage when he expresses his paternal sentiments, idealised and made noble through suffering after the death of a beloved child. At first there rises from the depth of his heart a cry of helpless and unusual despair—rending one's heart through its immensely painful accent; little by little it changes into resignation, almost joyful, because the poet firmly believes that after terrestrial existence, short and passing like a shadow, there awaits him eternity, when, in face of God, he will be united with the temporarily lost, pure soul, a part of his own, after which his whole being is longing. Here are expressed his religious sentiments in their deepest form.

Pomairols' religion does not prevent him from searching after inspiration in mythological subjects, to which he was prompted by his classical education. Here, also, his poetry does not come from books, but directly from poetically personified nature, such as he sees in the old myths. In *Le Souffle des Naiades*, in *Koré Perséphoné*, in *Hymne à Apollon hyperboréen* his poetical effusion flows as easily and as naturally as in *La Nature et l'Ame*. On the

background of nature surrounding him, speaking directly to his soul, he even creates new myths, enwrapped in beautiful poetical atmosphere.

Pomairols' whole work represents that sound idealism, moral, healthy and elevating, united with noble pride and Christian simplicity of manners, of family life, which does not exclude love for fellow men, as the love for the natal land does not exclude, but strengthens the love for the country. All that is admirably concentrated in his last work, *Ascension*; in his novel of ideas and of feeling there is expressed, directly, his profound religiousness, verging towards mysticism.

The form of Pomairols' poetry is simple and void of external ornaments, the lack of which is repaid adequately by the flight of inspiration, by the very subtle feeling communicating itself and producing a strong æsthetic impression.

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Perhaps the most interesting poet with the religious element in his work is Francis Jammes. When, in 1895, his first book, *Vers*—dedicated “à Pierre Loti, maître dont la tristesse mortelle a écrit un “livre immortel”—appeared, this little curious volume disconcerted all the critics; its naïve poetry, hesitating, made of emotions and full of awkwardness, at first surprised, then enraptured.

“Undoubtedly, this is awkward, bizarre, and one thinks that one reads a translation from a foreign poet. However, cause some assonances to disappear, and some words that are repeated and unnecessary, and there will remain a penetrating impression of the country in Summer, something very delicate and very sweet. Francis Jammes has truly the soul of a child, and his sensations are delightfully fresh.”*

In 1898 his second volume, *De l'Angélus de l'aube à l'Angélus du soir*, was published, and André Theuriet wrote then à propos a poem, called *Un Jour*: “Listen to this. Are these verses? Hardly. “But for certain it is poetry.”

He who would try to analyse Jammes's work would be obliged to put aside his pen and cry out with the Romans: “*Oleum et operam perditis*,” for Jammes escapes literary examination; he does not belong to the provinces of academic criticism; poets alone, in presence of such presentments as “*Les Clairières*” or “*Pomme d'Anis*” can speak aloud, but with grave voices. Jammes's work does not borrow its beauty from any other poet, however; it is only through comparison with others that one can grasp its significance. As it would take too much space to enter into details, it must suffice

* François Coppée. *Le Journal*. (October 7th, 1897.)

to say that it does not come up to the academic standard, because of its unusual originality, its candour, and its spontaneity. Jammes's heart could not be likened unto any heart of any living poet; he could be compared only with the naïve St. Francis d'Assisi, whose existence left so much perfume in ancient Umbria, because of the same source of inspiration—namely, faith and nature, charm and sweetness of piety. In his *Praise of Creatures*,* that charming singer of nature says:—

“ Be praised, my Lord, for the sister moon and for the stars, formed in the heavens, clear, precious and shining. Be praised, my Lord, for the brother wind and for air, for the clouds and evening dew; for the sister water, very useful and humble, pious and chaste; also for the brother fire, by which the night lightens, beautiful, gracious, very strong, and powerful. Finally, be praised, my Lord, for our mother earth, amiable to support and to sustain us, producing various fruits, herbs, and flowers of joyful colours. Be praised, O Lord, for creatures, for animals, for minerals and plants.”

Such a faith has all the charms and all the beauty. When religious sentiment becomes dominating, it bends but feeble heads; it makes paltry only small and cold souls: then religion becomes dry; it turns into narrow fanaticism; it does not know either love or hatred. But when religion enters the heart of a poet, it radiates, it vivifies, it gives inspiration, and it stamps his work with elevated and even sublime character. Such an effect did religious sentiment produce on Verlaine. Before him was Lamartine, so fervent that he resembles an angel. Then there was St. Francis de Sales, of whom Ernest Hello could say that his style could be likened unto “an afternoon concert.” Nowadays France has Francis Jammes, whom religion has not deprived of spontaneous tenderness felt by him towards creation; on the contrary, it has given him a kind of legitimate dignity and sanctified in him what was formerly a little satyr-like; it has not affected his simple style and his *allegro* singing. He is like one of the old primitive painters, who studied intimately the structure of the daisy and of the lily of the valley, of the poppy, and of the convolvulus for the purpose of adorning their Nativities and their Annunciations. Jammes also examines every little plant, and reproduces in his poetry its contour and its hues.

Ortez, situated between the Pyrenees and the Atlantic, praised by Froissart, a prosperous capital in the fourteenth century according to Taine, of which old splendour there remains but the tower of a castle covered with ivy, is Francis Jammes's native and

* *St. Francis of Assisi*, legends by his three companions, the thirteenth century MS. published by l'Abbé Symon de Latreiches.

beloved town. When he was but a lad, an old and venerable woman said to him one day : " Do you see these pictures ? They represent " your maternal ancestors. The ladies came from Martinique." From that time the youthful poet *in herbis* was thinking—like the little Véronique in Balzac's novel, after she had read *Paul et Virginie*—but of tropical countries; and, like Jean Arthur Rimbaud, who never saw the ocean but wrote a masterly description of it, the same Jammes produced from his imagination a vivid narrative of the Antilles, where his grandfather was a planter in times when beautifully carved ships, with white sails, required two months to cross the Atlantic. It was at this period that Jammes's heart was :

" peuplé de jeunes filles tendres
et d'arbres indiens où montent des serpents."

After this first effusion he turned to the country surrounding him and wrote bucolic poems, in which there is Virgil, mixed with Racan and with Segrais. It was then that he created the type of country girl, scenting hay and tasting of honey, endowed with simple charms, wearing a hat adorned with wild blooms and clad in flowering frocks. His books are peopled with that candid Eve of rustic paradise, pink and thoughtful. The sentiment of her love is charming, for it is transparent and true; it is serious without sadness. One of them cries out : " *O mon Dieu, mon Dieu!* listen " to me; I wish to love. I am sad and unhappy; I am crying to " you, *O mon Dieu*, I need to love someone. . . . I am crying " to you."

From dreams about tropical countries, from love of his parish church, whose bell sounds the Angelus morning and evening, from glorification of " les travaux de l'homme qui sont grands," Jammes returned little by little to the vivid faith of his childhood; he prayed in his poetry, and these prayers, expressed in uneven verses, are beautiful hymns of faith and humility :—

" Calmez mon cœur, calmez mon pauvre cœur,
et faites qu'en ce jour d'été où la torpeur
s'étend comme de l'eau sur les choses égales,
j'aie encore le courage, comme cette cigale,
dont éclate le cri dans le sommeil du pin,
de vous louer, mon Dieu, modestement et bien."

Henceforth his motto was: To believe, to pray, and to hope; henceforth, too, his poetry became more beautiful, more idealistic, and could be likened unto the tender and sweet music of angels; his volume called *Clairières dans le ciel* revealed him as the pious poet that he desired to be, the poet full of gracefulness, of joy, and of love. To the admirable, mystic exultation succeeded a more grave

composure of mind; his heart being appeased by religion, he became less ardent, controlling his flights more, and he sang pastorals of quietude of soul :

“ Dans le ciel frais comme un lilas
 et que la pluie a fait sans borne et net
 de tout voile,
 l'étoile
 naît.
 Alors, tel qu'un facteur rural qui quitte
 l'humble chaumière,
 mon cœur sort de la nuit et s'en va vite
 à la lumière.”

At times when the schools of *belles lettres* are so numerous, one is agreeably surprised at such a personal and true poet. Jammes's work astonishes amongst so many learned works; through his sentiment of charm and truth he has invented a new sensibility and a fresh language to express it. His poetry is like the brooks of Bearn : it is pure, lively, and flows singing in the bluish bed of ravines. Many new poets come to drink its fresh water, and become inspired—they find themselves only then : Jammes has guided their uncertain steps, and led them towards the meadows covered with beautiful and varied flowers.

* * * * *

When one looks through the gigantic catalogue of the British Museum, one finds that the greatest number of entries is of books written on Shakespeare and Dante; this could be rightly attributed to the fact that both of them, having united earth with heaven, finity with infinity, the real with the transcendental, have struck human hearts with sentiments and human minds with thoughts that act as does the call of an Archangel. Therefore, let it be hoped that the works of Guérin, of Pomairols and Jammes, those three modern religious poets, will act on the French as does good leaven on paste, and raise in them that sublime factor which formerly made their country the first amongst all nations.

SOISSONS.

THE PLACE OF EVENTS IN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.

IT is now some years since there arose amongst us a revival of the mystical temper. An atmosphere of the kind was spreading in many minds when the war broke out, and what has happened since then has tended to increase its influence by bringing together different sets of Christian men who should never have been driven asunder. Now one rejoices in this renaissance of mysticism, because it means the discovery of the love of God with all the practical consequences of that truth in human relationships. Yet it may fail of proper development, as it has failed before now, dissipating its energy in pleasant emotion, and vainly seeking to propagate its message by a literature of capital letters. In the present article an attempt is made to think of safeguards, to consider from elementary principles of human nature the force of events, and with this to suggest a valuation of the things of time and sense for the enrichment of those which are eternal. It is here we part company with some distinguished mystics of the past. "The greatest man," says S. Bernard of Clairvaux, "is he who, "despising the use of things and of sense—so far as human frailty "may be permitted to do so—not by a slowly ascending progression, but by a sudden spring, is sometimes wont to reach in "contemplation lofty heights." This raises the issue which is considered in the present article. The logical termination of a process which "despises the use of things and of sense" is a position out of relation to fundamental facts of human nature, and foreign to the genius of the richest religion.

I.

There is undoubtedly a measure of the religious mind common to all the ages during which civilised life has been recorded—a transcendental consensus, which seems to indicate a freedom of the human spirit from anything like a despotism of nature.

"There's heaven above, and night by night
I look right through its gorgeous roof;
No suns and moons though e'er so bright
Avail to stop me; splendour-proof,
I keep the broods of stars aloof;
For I intend to get to God."*

** Johannes Agricola in Meditation.*

Words like these awaken echoes all round the world. In this ascent of the spirit past nature to God, there is discovered a community of life in souls that belong to widely divergent religious systems.

Such a community of life, however, is by no means an entire identity of life. Indeed, with all one's delight in the things which are common to sincere believers, one is continually being disillusioned by a closer acquaintance with the facts involved. What are thought to be agreements often resolve themselves into verbal coincidences, and, the further one goes, the clearer it becomes that, in attempting any reconciliation of creeds, we may only achieve a confusion of ideas. The truth is that the reduction of our several beliefs to a religion of all sensible men, if it is to be attempted at all, requires a better grammar of thought-forms than the mind of man has yet devised. For with all the unity of our experience there is ever a certain diversity. "My secret to myself," exclaims S. Bernard, and a million souls repeat the claim. Now, wherein does such uniqueness lie, and how does it come to be? Something we owe to what we vaguely call "congenital differences of temperament." The explanation of these we need not here attempt, because there is another, and probably a far greater cause, which can be made clear—variation of world-contact. As the outward world touches us—and no two persons receive the contact from the same point—it moulds us, or stirs us up, perhaps in subjection to its influence, perhaps in opposition, but in any case in modification of our real life. Here, therefore, we are compelled to see the importance of our circumstances. Here is the force, the dynamic of events. Men sometimes talk of religious organisation and vital experience as related to each other after the manner of shell and kernel, and they will emphasise the kernel as the thing of value. Certainly this is a half-truth. But whoever found a Spanish kernel inside an English hazel shell? Is not the fruit all of one structure, inner and outer intimately connected? And, in like manner, however true it is that "we have 'all of us one human heart,'" yet, actually, the convictions of the individual conscience and reason are as closely related to environment as is the kernel of a nut to the shell in which it grows. Some one has said, "I am a part of all that I have met." True; and, it may be added, I have by no means met everything. Whatever I derive from the external world, I cannot pretend, in the pursuit of a spiritual megalomania, to go beyond the point of positive assimilation. I receive from the circumstances I know. These need not be imprisoning bonds, but may be moulding hands. Whichever they are, as a matter of fact the history of religion makes it perfectly clear that the physical universe, and the

course of so-called secular events, do very largely colour and determine our spiritual life. A historian* has shown what profound effects upon religion (inducing toleration—the thin end of a tremendous wedge) and upon philosophy (inspiring Bacon's inductive method) resulted from the geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—effects which led Bacon to declare that truth (*i.e.*, man's knowledge of reality) is the daughter, not of authority, but of time. Possibly there was something of the reaction of world-adventure working in Shakespeare's† mind when he made one of his men observe, though it was with a sneer:—

“ I see, men's judgments are
A parcel of their fortunes ; and things outward
Do draw the inward quality after them
To suffer all alike.”

In any case, the words are profoundly true. There is a most real relevancy of the external world to faith. With all the immense gain arising from moments of great spiritual up-reach, when—

“ Splendour proof
We keep the broods of stars aloof,”

our larger life lies close under those stars, and, with much variety, will be found amongst things of nature, things which we may see with our eyes, and behold, and hear, and our hands handle, avenues of sense through which costly spiritual treasures may pass into our abiding possession.

II.

From the court of consciousness, with its conscience-throne, there come to us confirmations of the claims of that exterior world of which we speak.

A reflecting religion is forced to consider the nature of man. It finds, as it proceeds in its enquiries, that there is an interplay in him of mind and matter, which, to a certain extent, can be traced in its operations, but which ultimately defies analysis. We see enough to conclude that both elements in our life—body and spirit—claim recognition as essential activities, without which man cannot be. We may and do affirm that the spiritual in us should govern the physical. But even so it is not the whole of our life. Nor does it fail to experience reaction from the body it governs. Spirit in us has to reckon with the rights and functions of the

* *Cambridge Modern History* I., pp. 55-66.

† *Antony and Cleopatra*, III., 11.

flesh. Indeed, our wisdom lies in co-ordinating into a mutual ministry the diverse activities of the two sides of our nature:—

“ Let us not always say,
 ‘ Spite of this flesh to-day
 I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole ! ’
 As the bird wings and sings,
 Let us cry, ‘ All good things
 Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more now, than flesh helps soul ! ’ ”

With such an interplay, actual and potential of good, we learn to judge of men by the things they do in the conduct of life. Indeed, even of ourselves, how much do we know apart from the things we accomplish? For a man’s deed is the product of his will in conjunction with circumstances, and in the will we meet the central reality of our life. Here lies the truth of Carlyle’s great saying,* “ Our works are the mirror wherein the spirit first “sees its natural lineaments.” So to test the nature and potency and value of any thought we have but to act upon it. Indeed, conscience itself is a better judge than director, and we often only awake to the quality of the thoughts we have entertained when we have translated them into deeds we cannot revoke. Is not this the meaning of that bitter cry of the criminal, Sebald, in *Pippa Passes*:—

“ I’d commit ten crimes
 Greater, to have this crime wiped out, undone.”

That is the wail of a soul which realises, almost inarticulately, the preponderance of a crime done over any merely contemplated wrong. Our envisagements are never the equivalents of our recollections. So is the material world at least of this value to us that it stages our thought and reveals us to ourselves.

There is, however, a great deal more than this in the force of events. When an idea materialises does it not also undergo something of the nature of a development and a perfecting? There was once a question of Jewish ritual before the judgment of our Lord, and He said: “ Hear me all of you and understand; there “is nothing from without the man, that going into him can defile “him; but the things which proceed out of the man are those that “defile the man.”† Here we have a valuable corrective not only to ancient mechanical ideas of unholiness and the like, but also to the modern over-stress upon mere inwardness. For it will be noted that Jesus finds defilement to come, not from the mere

* *Sartor Resartus*, p. 114 (popular edition).

† S. Mark, vii. 14 ff.

presence of evil thoughts, but from their *procession* into positive deeds. We shall do well to set this teaching over against the demand of spiritual religion for a pure heart. Uttermost sincerity and the clean mind we do most certainly need. The evangelical standard requires us,

“Not ev’n in inmost thought to think again
The sins that made the past so pleasant to us.”

Yet there is a wide difference—all the force of an event—between entertaining and expressing evil thoughts. There is, of course, an earlier difference between the consciousness of evil thoughts and the yielding hospitality to them. For through that hinterland of the soul, which we share with others, even a pure mind may sometimes be invaded by shapes that are evil; and in such a case we certainly pollute ourselves if we extend a welcome to intruders like these. But there is a yet further difference between the act of inner welcome and the act of outer expression. The language of our Lord* in extending the scope of the moral law to the state of the heart was never intended to merge these distinctions, but rather to warn against the potentialities of seed-sins. We cannot measure the difference between a thought and a deed. But all our moral consciousness affirms the fact of difference. It is the things which proceed out of a man, the things which by his act of will become external facts, that, above all mere inner feeling, defile the man.

On the other side, the side of goodness, the same general fact emerges. By works, says S. James,† is faith made perfect. The reaction of the good deed upon the doer is seen in his next impulse to act. Moreover, the idea bodied forth visibly in actual circumstances has henceforth a wider speech of its own. It speaks not only to him who wrought it, but, so far as it is known, it speaks as a picture will speak, and every passer-by is invaded by its message. It enters into lives that are constituted diversely from its originator—richer, poorer, as the case may be, but, in any case, *other* lives. So the grace, as S. Paul says, is multiplied through the many.‡ The moral ideal embodied lives henceforth in a larger world. Circumstances, events, institutions become at once its creatures and its creators. Spiritually it is born again through materialisation. Thus an ethical mind, translated into external action, is made the more majestic, and the force of religious events is seen in the quickened impetus given to the ideas that effected them.

* S. Matt., v. 21 ff

† Ep. of Jas., ii. 22.

‡ 2 Cor., iv. 15.

III.

Now the things of our experience we have thus indicated suggest the value which the world must have for a moral Creator. From without and from within, from our relation to world-contact, and from the reaction of our deeds upon the interior life, we gather intimations of a Divine purpose to preserve the exterior world, both as a theatre of truth, and also as a rough foundation of something nobler yet to come. The conclusions we have reached prepare our minds for a supreme revelation in human life and for a final achievement of good. We may be sure that the physical universe, with all that happens in it, is more than a mere screen upon which ideas in picture-form may be projected. Our conclusions speak to us of a kingdom that is coming, a universe that is being built. We are led to see that an historical event is more than the manifestation of the hidden forces of our nature, that it is, indeed, an extension of them, an achievement of our most real life, an attainment in a journey. That which comes into externality has never before come. History never repeats itself. The universe fashions no replica. As the Old Testament prophets so often and so profoundly taught, God is always doing new things. And thus, because of this uniqueness of events and ceaseless onward movement of our life, like the stream of stars in which the solar system is borne along, we see that it is idle to exclude the possibility of any alleged event on the ground of its having no parallel in time. So far from its being true to say, "Miracles do not happen," they are the only things which really do happen.

In the interest of ideas, therefore, we desire a new sense of the divine values of history. We have seen that ideas, because they are phases of our real life, produce events; that events are ideas which have gathered new powers from their association with material things. Now the further they go in this association the more they serve the purposes of life. It has been acutely observed by a late and honoured leader* of a *non*-established church: "Religious changes which operate only in church life and in spiritual affairs are, as a rule, transient. It is through relation to political and social developments that they become vital and effective." That is a judgment which has its parallel in our best political thinking. Lord Morley† has said of the writings of Burke: "He is everywhere conscious of the mastery of laws, institutions, and government over the character and happiness of men"; and in

* Dr. A. R. MacEwen, in his *History of the Church in Scotland*; i., p. 152.

† *Burke*, p. 3.

this respect he speaks of him as "diffusing a strong light over "the awful tides of human circumstance." Lord Morley's comment is surely a very suggestive one. For if it is true that "the "character and happiness of men" are moulded by laws, institutions, and government, then "the tides of human circumstance," especially from the viewpoint of those who believe in the reality and permanence of the spiritual element in men, are "awful" indeed. And so to mould things external as to make them fulfil their function aright must be one of the noblest of human tasks. It will readily appear that it is a labour peculiarly incumbent upon those appropriately gifted. Theirs it must be to make institutions the treasuries and engines of moral efficiency. Here the few must guide the many, and Carlyle's doctrine of history, as the biography of great men, only needs to be qualified by a better analysis of greatness.

Thus, from many standpoints, the value of the exterior world to a God who is Love becomes manifest. Is it not to be looked for that He will so act towards us as to secure that world to Himself and to our better moral desires, and especially that He will do this by some event which shall be commensurate with the effective strength of His love?

There is thus an inevitableness to God in that which we adore in history—the gift of One who is a Son. The Incarnation has the first place amongst events that shape religious experience. It came once, and, because it is an event, it can never come again, though it is still unfolding itself in the life of the Church. As we see it in the evangelic history, the Incarnation is God's supreme deed, His achievement, the point of mastery in the dawn of His kingdom, when, by a full flood of energy, the weaker lines of Hebrew religion and ethnic inspiration died into the one strong light which is the Light of the World. Henceforth I know this doer, not only *by*, but *in* His deed. Christ in the unity of His teaching and character comes to us, not merely as a revelation of God, but as God. And whatever belongs to the history of that deed is of abiding importance for the spiritual life. To miss any fragment of its exterior aspect is to miss something of its interior value. And to see nothing but ideas in the Gospel is to see shadows only of these, not the very ideas themselves in their gathering power. In the significant order of the great phrases of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*,* we may first perceive "the effulgence "of the glory" before we discern "the very image of the "substance." But the second moment of the vision is for faith the proper sequel to the first. Effulgence must become image; nebula must condense to star. In his final view of the Rose of

* i., 3.

Heaven, Dante* beholds the Being of God as "Light Eternal," but within that Light he sees a human likeness. For man as spirit and flesh, perfect revelation must be Incarnation. Hence the full spirituality of the Gospel eludes the grasp of him who thinks to be spiritual alone. He and he only achieves man's supreme quest who finds God in things that happen. God is only fully God to us when He becomes flesh and tabernacles amongst us. And with this, as certainly as in the growth of a plant from root to fruit, there follows the extension of the Incarnation in the organised churches—that is to say, the creation of the divinest of all institutions which have in their power "the character and happiness of men."

IV.

We set out by questioning the adequacy of the mystical temper. We close with the suggestion of the Christian ideal. The disciple of Christ can never maintain his spiritual life apart from his fellow-believers. It is in association with others we acquire the proportioned knowledge of God. And the Church must effect this for us by cherishing both the historic sense and the upreach of mysticism. She must gather from the past all its golden treasure, even while she tastes "the powers of the age to come."† She has to administer time in the interests of eternity, enriching things of the spirit with things of sense. From the raw material of the world she must extract her radium for the ennoblement of a heaven that is yet in the making. And while she ministers to men in the name of her Redeemer she must live a life at once manifest and secret. She must stand amongst them as stood S. Cecile, in Chaucer's‡ beautiful legend, the saint whose head the angels crowned with roses and lilies. Every man, it was said, could detect the fragrance of her crown, but none perceived the flowers except those who, like the saint herself, were pure.

A. D. MARTIN.

* *Paradiso*, xxxiii.

† Heb. vi. 5.

‡ *The Second Nun's Tale*.

AN ENGLISHWOMAN IN SALONIKA, 1916.

AMID driving snow and wind, my old four-wheeler struggled over Waterloo Bridge on the night of March 28th, 1916. No taxi was forthcoming. It seemed even doubtful whether the boats would run. Yet the next morning found us safe along the quayside at Havre, passport in hand, the sun in possession of a cloudless sky. Had I known the hours of waiting and impatience that passport would cost me before I had done with it, I should still further have resented its power over me. But it was not till I reached Messina that it gave me any trouble. There I was shut up with an official who could not make head or tail of my names, and who eventually copied them laboriously, but with small resemblance to the originals, into a large ledger and allowed me to escape into the clutches of the sharks who had got hold of my luggage. I imagine that short of going to the front, one could see nothing that could present a better idea of the devastated towns and villages of our battle lines than Messina. Still a heap of ruins, it possesses nothing of the old town that existed before the earthquake except the shells of houses. The population is stowed away in rows of huts like our military camps in England except that they are painted white. After two nights in the comfortably equipped "Regina Elena" and more trouble with the passport, I embarked on the *Aprumontos*, a Greek steamer of which I had no little apprehension, but which was commanded by a captain, half Greek, half Scotch, who knew how to keep his ship, and to whose courtesy I owed a very pleasant voyage. Crossing Adria, we were held up by a French destroyer, and after an examination of passports were allowed to proceed. A sailing vessel had been sunk on the previous evening, and the Vice-Consul at Patras expressed himself as much relieved when the *Aprumontos* put in there for a couple of hours at 10 p.m. Next morning at 4 a.m. I rose and went on deck, for I wanted to see Parnassus with the dawn on its snows. A cold breeze was blowing, but sheltering behind the captain's cabin, I sat and watched peak after peak catch fire and pass from the subtle and almost imperceptible changes of twilight to a glowing mass of orange and mauve. Corinth was plainly visible under the beetling brows of the Acro-Corinthus, but it would have needed field glasses to detect the Doric Temple.

Through the canal we passed without bump or scrape, and by the aid and kindness of the Naval Attaché at Athens, I was able to land without difficulty. After three days there, a delay which enabled me to witness the Royal Procession celebrating the Independence of Greece, I embarked one dark Saturday night on a Greek steamer which shall be nameless owing to the comments I

have to make about her. Let all travellers beware of a Greek steamer, or they may find themselves on such a one as left the Piræus that night at twelve o'clock. It would be difficult in language appropriate to this article to describe the state of her decks. She was built at Newcastle in the 'sixties, and had twice changed her name. She carried a cargo of wine and vegetables, and her passengers were largely drawn from the scum of Oriental docks. They lay about the deck, barefooted and in rags, and my first-class ticket offered me no protection except when I withdrew to my cabin. There I met enemies of another sort. I resolved to remain dressed, and having tied up my head in a motor-veil, arranged a suitable bordering of insect powder all round my bunk and fastened a shoe within easy reach, I composed myself to contemplation rather than to slumber. It soon became evident that to switch off the light would be fatal, creeping things innumerable would have ventured out under cover of darkness, and, as it was, there were quite enough to occupy one pair of hands, armed with no better weapon than the heel of a shoe. Between consciousness and unconsciousness, that night somehow wore to morning, and the steward, whose few words of French were our only medium of conversation, came to inquire if I would partake of breakfast. I eagerly assented, but though hunger is a good sauce, my appetite recoiled at the rancid butter and sour-tasting bread set before me. I asked for two boiled eggs, and these, fortunately, were eatable. There was company at the other end of the table whose manners need not be described, and having swallowed the eggs, I escaped to the deck, carefully looking where I put my feet. It was Sunday morning. No hope of reaching Salonika before mid-day on Monday. We were skirting the rugged coast of Eubœa, and I set myself to the consideration of how to avoid any further descent into the saloon. As the fated hour of lunch approached, I arrived at the conclusion that my only escape lay in feigning *mal de mer*. So I retired below to my cabin, said I was not well enough to eat anything, and there remained till Monday. Being on the port side I was able to watch the coast through my port-hole. I hoped the old steward, who was very kind and attentive, would not observe that I was far from the pallor of sea-sickness. Someone at Athens had told him I was the wife of the "Chief of Staff" at Salonika, and I decided that no benefit would result from his enlightenment. Fortunately, I had a few biscuits and a little chocolate, and with these I maintained myself, till I reached my destination.

At Kara Burnu we were held up for five hours, and a passenger, whose papers were not satisfactory, was taken off. It was a wonderful view-point. Astern was the great mass of snow-capped Olympus. Thence low chains of broken hills carry the eye round

to the head of the gulf, where, on this April day, Salonika gleamed and was lost again in shadow, its slender minarets catching the morning light like bars in a stave of fairy music. Other ridges rise behind the town and lead round to Hortiach, or more properly Kotos, an isolated hill of four thousand feet, whose graceful outline challenges the beauty, though perhaps not the grandeur, of Olympus. On the starboard bow I watched the hurrying cloud-shadows as they chased each other over the sunlit hills of the Chalcidice, flying from ridge to ridge, till they vanished into infinity. The waters of the Vardar are held by marshes in their lower reaches, and, on entering the gulf, stain it to the colour of the Bristol Channel, but the turbid area is quickly merged in the long blue waterway that becomes one with the *Ægean*.

The town of Salonika climbs steeply up a big bluff, its ancient walls culminating in the citadel. The latter is used as a prison, and the prisoners occupy their time and add a few luxuries to their existence, by making crosses and snakes of minute and many-coloured beads. Beneath the citadel is the Turkish quarter, by far the most picturesque part of the town. It is intersected by narrow roughly-cobbled streets, mostly running from north to south, and crossed by wider ones from east to west. Houses of stucco washed in varying tints of pink, mauve, blue, and ochre, with projecting harem windows and deep eaves, cast their grateful shadows over one side or other. Common to all streets alike, but multiplied in infinite variety and entirely beyond the power of pen to describe, are the odours that urge their subtle influences from all directions. They are not of the West, and can only be met appropriately in an Oriental setting. An officer, writing to his small nephew, spoke of them as "important and various, but indescribable," and suggested that if he tried chewing a lump of aniseed outside a fried-fish shop, he might get a faint idea of them.

Many of the mosques are now inhabited by refugees, and the Eski-Djuma, with its priceless mosaics, is rapidly falling to pieces; St. Sophia, lately restored, possesses wind-swept Acanthus capitals and a mosaic apse representing an extremely beautiful Madonna and Child. She is presented in soft tones of brown against a background of gold, and so wonderfully are the figures drawn to the curve of the apse, that no matter where you stand, they are always in proportion. The mural decorations of the restoration are not fortunate, and would be more suitably placed in an English bathroom. In St. Demetrius one sees the greatest delicacy and variety of capitals, reminiscent of those in San Vitale at Ravenna. Also there are the remains of frescoes, which suggest work as fine as that found in Sant Apollinare Nuovo. I was present at a Greek service one day in which seven priests were taking part. It seemed a very haphazard and purely formal affair. In the middle of a

sonorous piece of chanting, one of them would seize his umbrella (used also as a sunshade, their cylindrical hats offering no protection from the glare), cross himself, sit down, and proceed to carry on a friendly chat with his neighbour. Presently he would resume his chant, or having bowed, walk out and leave others to continue the service. But they are very dignified, these Greek priests, and most of them are grey-haired, wearing sometimes a short plait and sometimes a tight coil of hair beneath the rim of their hats. Clothed in long black robes, they make a sombre note in the gay crowd of natives that throng the market and bazaars.

The two main streets are the Rue Venizelos, running north and south, and the Rue Vardar, which crosses it, and is the ancient Via Egnatia over which the Romans built an arch, richly carved in deep relief, and under which St. Paul must have walked. This Rue Vardar is lined with the small shops of greengrocers, blacksmiths, and saddlers, and leads to a space where several streets meet, and which Tommy has christened "Piccadilly Circus." Here transport lorries assemble and start on their way up to the camps, and close by is the Expeditionary Force canteen. Venizelos Street provides the most considerable shops and restaurants of the town, including, among the latter, the celebrated "Flocca's." In its last fifty yards before reaching the quay, the street widens and admits of rows of tables and chairs being set out. They are crowded with officers and men of all the Allied Armies, seeking whichever side is in the shade. It is an interesting *mêlée*, and the crowd passing to and from the quay where the trams run never ceases. Shrill voices of small boys and girls, carrying newspapers, bellow *L'Indépendant*, *L'Opinion*, *Makedonia* in your ear, or thrust the *Balkan News* under your nose, if they see that you are English. And they see it very quickly. The trams are generally crowded, but it is rarely that a Greek or a Jew will offer his seat to a lady, no matter with how many parcels she may be laden.

Round the long bend of the bay, the tram winds till it has reached a point about three miles from the centre of the old town. It passes on its way the Tour Blanche and its adjoining restaurant. The latter is one of the great institutions of Salonika, and is thronged with officers of the Allied and Greek armies. Its garden, gravelled and planted with single trees, under which tables are closely packed, leads down to the edge of the bay and terminates in a sea-wall. At one end is a landing-place, and from here you hire a *caïque* and can sail anywhere within the bar which the Allied Navy has placed across the gulf at a considerable distance out. The *menu*, when handed to you, seems to offer great variety, but experience will prove that the nightly *pièce de résistance* of the White Tower resolves itself into the inevitable *agneau*, dressed up in different guises. It is very good when it is not goat, and is practically the

only meat obtainable. Brightly lighted and always crowded, the scene is a gay one, a little reminiscent of the Riviera. Even the bands are not wanting. You sometimes wish they were. Sitting there at sunset, you will watch the *caïques* gently glide to shore, rosy where they lean against the breeze, and the mountains change to purple silhouettes as the glow fades in the west. You will see the deepening twilight claim the distant line where sky and water meet and creep onwards, till the great battleships become mere blotches of black, and the white hospital ships vanish like ghosts into the darkness. Going eastwards, the tram continues past the Champ de Mars, where the Young Turk movement was inaugurated on July 23rd, 1908, and where the Greek Nationalists gathered but a few months ago to proclaim a revolution. The proclamation was a mild affair, and although the shops closed down fearing a row, none was made till later, when a scuffle in front of the barracks between Venizelist and Royalist forces resulted in a few fatal shots on both sides.

The house I inhabited was at the far east end of the bay, close to the tram terminus. Beyond it were an aerodrome and three Canadian hospitals. Aeroplanes rising from a field close by used to fly within twenty yards of the roof, recalling one to consciousness in the early morning with as much gentleness as might the "Flying Scotchman" going over a viaduct. But I loved to watch them sailing home in the twilight, at first tiny specks above the Vardar marshes, then taking the shape of dragon-flies as they descended from plane to plane, and glided down in spirals to their hangars.

The road connecting the aerodrome with the main tram road used to rivet my attention. It was like watching a kinematograph in which the actors were real persons. Those who gave me most amusement were the Annamites, who, in biscuit-coloured clothes and conical hats, walk behind one another in single file disregarding the fact that they are no longer on the narrow paths of Cochin China, but on a broad European highway. Occasionally one would halt and let his rear friend overtake him, but having pointed out whatever object of interest had attracted his attention, they would again separate and continue as before, shouting at one another in a way that seemed to involve unnecessary effort, considering the thermometer generally stood at between 94 and 107 in the shade. To and from the hospitals ply the Red Cross ambulances, bringing the sick from camp, or convalescents to the quay, where they are taken off to the great white ships in the harbour, bound for Malta or England. And behind them would perhaps follow a long train of donkeys loaded up with forage till they looked like moving haystacks. Greek cavalrymen rush along the road at full tilt, scattering clouds of dust, wooden men on wooden horses. And before they swing into sight, you will hear the voices of Serbs

singing in chorus to the rhythmic tramp of their own feet. Cretan *gendarmérie*, French *poilus*, English Tommies, Italians in grey uniforms and peaked caps, and picturesque native women carrying earthen pots, looking for all the world like the figures on Attic vases, make up the unending turmoil of the road. And, far above it all, withdrawn in morning haze, or glowing in the sunset light, is the beautiful mass of Hortiach, benignly indifferent.

To ascend this peak I set out with a friend who shall be called Z——, at four o'clock one morning in July, when the edges of the hills were still hard against the deepening dawn. Crossing a spur covered with low scrub, rather resembling a Highland moor, we came into the deep and narrow gorge that intersects the lower slopes of Hortiach. Through it there purls over its stony bed a stream that might have issued from a Swiss glacier, so cold and clear it was, so busy and eager in its downward course. Up its steep banks we urged the horses, and, following a direction rather than a track, came out upon a level space whence could be seen the blue sweep of the gulf, and, far beneath, the tiny village of Sedes with its single minaret and cypress trees. As we proceeded, I became more and more convinced that Z—— was possessed of some sixth sense which endowed him with an instinct for discovering tracks and negotiating gulleys. In one of his books, R. L. S. remarks that "it is better "to travel hopefully than to arrive." I was reminded of this saying, and confident that with so discerning a guide I should both travel hopefully and arrive. Mingled with the freshness of the morning air came the scent of wild thyme and other aromatic herbs, and as the sun rose, long finger-pointing shadows reached down on to the shining levels beneath. Hortiach is unlike the other hills round Salonika, for it carries on its shoulder a magnificent shawl of beeches, some of which were being felled by Serbs. We stopped at an ice-cold spring at the edge of the forest, and then pursued our track to the top, leading the horses the last part of the way.

The summit of the Dent du Midi commands a panorama very different in detail, but in extent the only view I had ever seen with which to compare this one. Here on a stony outcrop, where Z—— planted a flag, I felt as though we were looking down on a gigantic raised map. Southward, Olympus rose, as it seemed, precipitously from the sea, like some great sentinel guarding a legendary kingdom, while to the north, lying beyond the blue lakes of Longada and Beshik (Bolbe), the shadowy mountains of Macedonia and Serbia faded away into a nebulous distance. Under the slant of the sun were folded hills of the Chalcidice, stretching away to Mount Athos, which, however, was lost to view. On the north-west slopes of Hortiach lies the little village of the same name, bearing in a miniature way some resemblance to Brusa, perched on its ledge beneath the Asiatic Olympus. The church is old, and

possesses many ikons, some of them of very primitive design and workmanship.

The country is mostly bare of trees or scrub. Here and there, and generally near a spring, you will come to a magnificent plane tree, under which goat-herds foregather for their noonday sleep. Flowers in infinite variety grow riotously over the hills, in designs more rich and wonderful than any Persian carpet. They are only interrupted by the camps that dot their ugly scars over the hillsides, making bare patches for horse lines and provision dumps, and all the unsightly paraphernalia of war. Many of the tents are surrounded with little gardens neatly edged with broken fragments of marble and gay with flowers. From the edge of an escarpment overlooking the lakes of Longada and Beshik a beautiful panorama spreads before one's eyes. Beneath, as I looked down, one cloud-shadowed day in June, the waters reflected, in deepened tones, the hills on their further banks and caught the light of the great cumulus clouds massing on their summits. It is a land of legend, and romance lingers in every fold of the hills, only to withdraw to some further point of mystery as you approach. Springs are plentiful, and their water is very cold even in the height of summer; there are, of course, hot springs, as the ancient name of *Therma* implies. Many Roman aqueducts bring water to *Salonika*, but owing to the troops tapping it on the hills the town supply ran very short during the ten weeks of this summer in which no drop of rain fell. Not a single tap in my house would run, and I was dependent upon one in the garden through which water came at uncertain hours, sometimes plenteously, but often a mere drip. Only in the King's garden was there an ample supply for hosing the flowers.

On one occasion in the early spring, Z—— and I witnessed a tremendous thunderstorm from the ridge behind *Kyrrichkoy*. We had carried our tea into a narrow gulley, unsaddled the horses, and decided not to picket them, as there was only one track by which they could escape, plenty of good grass, and apparently nothing likely to disturb them. Something, however, startled them, we never discovered what it was; up went their heads, nose to wind, and away they flew by the narrow path along which we had entered. Z——, who had thrown down his hat and tunic to brew the tea, tore up the hill after them, and would have caught them but for a silly goatherd, who with the best intentions only frightened them still further, and sent them off again at full speed to the top of a ridge, where previously we had halted for the view. Thoroughly blown, they stopped there to graze, and Z——, deceiving them by making his khaki handkerchief look as much like a nosebag as he could, and putting some small stones in it, caught first one and then the other, and came triumphantly back to where I was waiting. By that time the rain had just begun to fall, and the sky behind

Olympus was black with cloud. Violent scuds of wind and rain came up the gulf, whipping its waters into frenzied whirlpools, and lightning jagged the sky in scribbles of fire. It was not long before the outlines of the hills were wiped out and the valleys had become cauldrons of mist. Happily our horses were unperturbed by the heavy artillery rolling overhead; storms pass quickly in the East, and an hour later we were standing on a *col* looking down at the Vardar marshes in a sheen of mystic light that played over river and swamp, and which brought to mind the vision of Sir Percival as he gazed at the glancing arms of Galahad and the thousand piers that ran into the Great Sea. Far beneath us lay the walls and minarets of Salonika "in a glory like one pearl," radiant against the hushed waters of the gulf. The ring of mountains diffused their sapphire light in the clear west, and the scent of flowers after rain was sweet as Hymettus honey.

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It would not be a true picture of summer in Salonika, were no allusion made to the pest of flies and mosquitoes that accounted for so much of the dysentery and malaria suffered by our troops. It would not be permissible to mention the sick rate. Flies by thousands swarm at the approach of food, and every dish needs the protection of a muslin cover. You have to watch each mouthful carefully, or you will swallow a fly. Mosquitoes are even more persistent in the later summer months, and from them there is no refuge but in a breeze. In my bedroom one night I killed seventy, and then only ceased because I was too tired to carry the campaign any further. Artificial light attracts them instantly and awakens those that have been slumbering in the recesses of furniture. To read or write at night became an impossibility in August, and one had to spend the evenings in contemplation of the stars, sitting in the garden and slowly waving a fan to and fro. On the other side of the garden wall was one of those wide ditches used in Oriental towns as depositories for every sort of rubbish. This made a convenient breeding-ground for flies and mosquitoes. Frogs used it also in early spring when it was full of water, and sang in nightly chorus, like their classical forbears, "Brekekekèx-koàx-koàx." In Salonika, cocks crow all night and dogs bark, and you seldom wake without hearing human voices adding Oriental whispers to the *mêlée* of sound that never deserts an Eastern town. But if the pertinacity of the cock under your window at length rouses you to action, you will find your fury suddenly abated, for in leaning out to aim your missile, you will have caught sight of Olympus in his unearthly glory of dawn-lit snow, or, be it later in the summer, in that luminous haze which partly veils and partly shadows forth the majestic form of the Home of the Gods.

ETHELWYN DUCKWORTH.

THE NEUTRALITY OF MORESNET.

THERE is a neutral territory smaller and far less populous than the principality of Monaco, a sort of tiny state, which has been neutral by treaties to which Prussia had appended her signature for a century past, long before the solemn diplomatic conventions guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. This flagrantly autonomous state, which the Gotha Almanac fails to mention, whose independence was suppressed, and which was violated at the beginning of the war, is Moresnet. The neutrality of Moresnet was the first "scrap of paper" to be torn up by insolent Germany in August, 1914.

Situated on the Belgian and German frontier, at the boundary of the province of Liège and Rhenish Prussia, close to Aix-la-Chapelle, and only a few miles from Verviers, Neutral Moresnet—the name under which this territory appears on the map—is a parish of 860 acres in area. It is a fraction of a larger territory which was formerly designated by the general name of Moresnet, but was, under the treaty of 1815, divided into three parts, one of which is a Belgian parish, the other a Prussian, and the third for a century, up to the time of the war, neither Prussian nor Belgian, but Neutral Moresnet.

To sum up the antecedents of this unusual situation, in principle Moresnet's history was that of the Duchy of Limburg, which has never formed part of the German Empire. When united to the Duchy of Brabant in the thirteenth century, Moresnet was with it transferred to the House of Burgundy; then it passed under Spanish domination and was counted, after the Treaty of Utrecht, amongst the Austrian Low Countries. Holland, in parcelling out the Duchy of Limburg, made no change in the administrative conditions of Moresnet, and later, under the Revolution, when France was organising her northern conquests, it was to the essentially Belgian province of Aubel that Moresnet was attached.

Under the terms of the preliminary treaty concluded on May 30th, 1814, at Paris, for the one part between Prussia and her allies, and for the other between the allies and France, the Powers which had been drawn into the wars of the first Empire had agreed to call their plenipotentiaries together to a Congress which should

regulate the partition after the dismemberment of the French Empire. This Congress, from which France was excluded, was held at Vienna in November, 1814, and it led to a definitive act of partition, signed on June 9th, 1815. The unique position of Neutral Moresnet was the result of a contradiction between Article 25 and Article 66. The text of Article 25 is:—

“ In the former department of the Ourthe, the five cantons of Saint-Vith, Malmédy, Cronembourg, Schleinden, and Eupen, with the advanced point in the canton of Aubel, to the south of Aix-la-Chapelle, shall belong to Prussia, and the frontier followed shall be that of these cantons, so that a line drawn from South to North shall cut the above point in the canton of Aubel and be prolonged to the point of contact of the three former departments of the Ourthe, the Lower Meuse, and the Boer.”

This is the text of Article 66:—

“ The frontier then continues along these boundaries—between the former departments of the Ourthe and the Boer—until they touch those of the canton formerly Eupen in the Duchy of Limburg, and following the western boundary of this canton northwards, leaving on the right a small portion of the former French canton of Aubel, joins the point of contact of the three former departments of the Ourthe, the Lower Meuse and the Boer.”

If you compare these two outlines, which were adopted at the same Congress by the same diplomats and embodied in the same treaty, their incompatibility at once appears. Article 25 left a part of Moresnet to the west—*i.e.*, to the Low Countries. Article 66 drew the new frontier further east, and the confrontation of the two outlines left without nationality, without administration, without flag, and without protection a triangle of some 860 acres occupied at that period by 260 inhabitants. The dispute arose from the document itself, but the time was not favourable for arrangements. Whilst the plenipotentiaries deliberated at Vienna, Napoleon had left the Island of Elba and reconquered France, and the restoration of his Empire, the Hundred Days, had just ended at Waterloo. Nor had the dispute any interest for Europe; only for the sovereigns of Prussia and the Low Countries. They arranged to delay the matter, and the neutrality of the 860 acres became a legal cause to be settled at the first moment of leisure.

After long preliminaries the King of Prussia and the King of the Netherlands met solemnly at Aix-la-Chapelle to put their signatures to a treaty called the Boundary Treaty, which finally sanctioned the neutrality of Moresnet. This treaty is dated June 26th, 1816. It was still in full force on August 1st, 1914. It

stipulated that part of Moresnet should, beyond all possible dispute, be joined to Prussian territory, and that another part be assigned to the Netherlands. As for the third portion (the triangle of 860 acres) it was to be thenceforward governed by a "common administration." The two high contracting parties anticipated the intervention of an international commission for the final division of Neutral Moresnet between Prussia and Holland, but that commission never met, nor were its members ever appointed.

What was the "common administration" to which the inhabitants of Neutral Moresnet were subject until August 1st, 1914? The Kings of Prussia and of Holland seem to have received their inspiration from the system of Provosts such as exists in the Republic of the Val d'Andorra. The protectorate of Neutral Moresnet was handed over to two officials, one Belgian and the other German, who assumed the title of Commissioners. Just as the *Viguier*s or provosts of Andorra are always for France the prefect of the Ariège and for Spain the Bishop of La Seo d'Urgal, so the Commissioners of Neutral Moresnet are always for Prussia the prefect of Eupen and for Belgium the administrator of the district of Verviers. The analogy comes to an end here.

In the little republic of Moresnet the legislature consists of a deliberative assembly of ten councillors, and the executive of a burgomaster. Neither is based on an electorate, not even on a kind of copyhold or restricted franchise, for there are no electors there and no elections. Councillors and burgomaster are appointed by common accord of the two Commissioners, who choose them from among the notables, appoint them, depose them, or support them in their office according to their own fancy. Once in possession they administer freely, regulate the finances, appoint officials and employees, control the police and the customs. The position of councillor brings neither emolument nor reward; the burgomaster allocates to himself in the annual budget a salary of 1,200 francs and 300 francs for office expenses. The police consists of three rural guards, each of whom receives the same salary as the burgomaster. Amongst other officials there are three customs officers, six clerks, two men teachers, one woman teacher, a Roman Catholic priest as vicar, and another as curate.

There is one kind of taxation only. On December 16th, 1859, Neutral Moresnet set up an income-tax. From the year 1817 this minute republic has abolished militarism by proclaiming the abolition of standing armies. Moresnet has never furnished a single soldier to either Prussia or Belgium. There is no magistracy. The inhabitants still live under the law of 1815, French law—since they have never been subjected to either Belgian or Prussian law—but they have no judges to decree its execution. As a result they

go to foreign tribunals which give their decisions according to the law of Moresnet! Nowhere in the world is there a more extraordinary judicial phenomenon than this.

If an inhabitant of Moresnet—or, rather, a native of Moresnet—has a suit to bring against one of his countrymen, he can summon him, according to his choice as plaintiff, either before the tribunal of Verviers or before the tribunal of Aix-la-Chapelle; the defendant cannot ignore the summons; and then the Belgian or German judges will at once forget the national codes in the practice and respect for which they have been instructed; they will even, if necessary, give decisions contrary to the Belgian or German law; they will judge the people of Moresnet as the latter desire to be judged, namely, according to the Napoleonic code such as it was under the First Empire. This is required by the Treaty of Boundaries, signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on June 26th, 1816, by the King of Prussia and the King of Holland.

The position is the same in penal matters. In the case of a misdemeanour the Burgomaster of Moresnet has the culprit arrested and sends him, as he chooses, to either Aix-la-Chapelle or Verviers. The miniature republic then pays the costs of justice, including the keep of the criminal if he is condemned to undergo a term of imprisonment. This outlay for justice does not appear as a fixed item in the budget. The foreign magistrates are, so to say, paid by the job; German or Belgian judges of Aix-la-Chapelle or of Verviers, they receive a fee of 50 francs per attendance when they sit for Moresnet.

The procedure is the same in the case of smuggling. From the commercial point of view, Moresnet is outside the German *Zollverein*. The Republic has its own commercial treaties. Goods exported from the neutral country are burdened with very slight taxes; on the other hand, articles imported from Germany or Belgium are free of all duty. Commerce with Holland does not enjoy the same immunity; Dutch merchandise pays the same duties on entering Neutral Moresnet as it would on entering Belgium or Germany, according to the place of entry. In case of fraud the customs office of Moresnet sues the fraudulent persons in the courts of Aix-la-Chapelle or Verviers—where they are punished with great severity, as smugglers were before 1815.

There is no notary at Moresnet. Deeds are drawn for the inhabitants indiscriminately, according to their choice, by a notary either at Aix-la-Chapelle or at Verviers, by a single notary of each bench. There is the same latitude and the same want in respect of counsel and bailiffs. These arrangements are inconvenient only in regard to the registry of mortgages; it is often difficult to discover them. It may be noted also that since the people of Moresnet

established an income-tax in December, 1859, succession duties have been abolished.

The burgomaster, as head of the executive, superintends the keeping of the civil registers, but he is obliged to communicate the registers to the Belgian and to the Prussian Commissioners. Should a birth, a marriage, or a death take place he makes out the certificates, and immediately sends duplicates to Aix-la-Chapelle and to Verviers. His office keeps the most minute statistics. To quote a few figures relating to the progressive development of the population: In 1819 Neutral Moresnet had 300 inhabitants; in 1864 there were 2,670; in 1898 there were 3,038. The last census, in 1906, recorded a total population of 3,434 inhabitants divided as follows: 439 natives, 1,470 Prussians, 1,169 Belgians, 2 North Americans, and 1 Chinaman. We may say at once, to appease the curiosity of the reader, that the two North Americans were engineers attached to a mining enterprise and that the one Chinaman was their servant.

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So extraordinary a situation cannot have arisen and lasted for nearly a century without some serious reason, obvious or secret. Here the essential reason is easily observable, and the reader will instinctively discern it when he is informed that it is in the territory of Neutral Moresnet that are to be found the zinc mines of Vieille-Montagne. Moresnet is Vieille-Montagne. At the time of the French Revolution the Vieille-Montagne mine which had been recently discovered and opened, was exploited for the benefit of the nation. On the 26th Frumaire of the year IV., it was publicly assigned to a certain *Sieur Dauny*, for an annual payment of 40,000 francs. The mining was difficult and clumsy; tools and industrial methods were rudimentary. Up to 1815 the mineral, after the first mechanical treatment in a primitive workshop on neutral territory, was sent to Angleur and to Chênée, near Liège. This connected Moresnet more closely and directly with Belgium than with Prussia. But the owners and the people around them were by no means ignorant of the fact that these zinc beds were destined to have a brilliant future. And this explains why the sovereigns of Prussia and of the Netherlands made every effort to get possession of them, and that they preferred sharing the profits amongst their subjects to abandoning them entirely to either one or the other. The neutrality of Moresnet would be inexplicable from the political and diplomatic point of view without this determining economic cause.

Indeed, the Treaty of Boundaries signed by the two kings in 1816 specifies that the annual rent payable by the *Sieur Dauny*, by the terms of his contract—40,000 francs—shall be divided between the

two Governments guaranteeing the neutrality, and collected in their name by the two Commissioners. Further, the Treaty of Boundaries stipulated that the Society of Zinc Mines should be obliged to hand over their products to the copper works of the Low Countries and of Prussia at the prices fixed in the deed of concession—that is to say, for almost nothing. Now, in 1816, sulphuretted zinc, lead ores, pyrites, and other similar metals extracted at Moresnet were very rare on the continent of Europe, as also in the countries across the sea. The Treaty of Boundaries thus conferred on the copper works of Prussia and the Netherlands a valuable superiority over similar industries in other countries.

There was no mistake about the value of the mineral beds of Moresnet; but the value was nevertheless exaggerated. Vieille-Montagne at first produced a steady return, but it soon began to give way, from the year 1825; and—salutary lesson—the ephemeral prosperity of Vieille-Montagne in 1856 led them to put a tax on the revenue in 1859. What a pity they did not do it earlier!

On two occasions *roulette* and *trente-et-quarante* attempted to make a conquest of Neutral Moresnet. First, in 1869, the gaming at Spa was about to disappear; a Belgian company attempted to transfer it to Moresnet, but the two Commissioners of Eupen and Verviers opposed it. The last attack was in 1903. *Roulette* had been surreptitiously insinuated into Belgium under the ægis of the casinos and clubs, by the illusory guarantee of simple municipal concessions on the edge of the law. There was play at Spa, Ostend, Namur, Dinant, Blankenberg. By judicial decree the green tables were overthrown, cards and stakes were seized, croupiers were dispersed. *Roulette* attempted to find refuge in Moresnet, under cover of the Treaty of Boundaries. A Belgian shareholder, as notorious in France as in Belgium, rushed to make his offer to the burgomaster of the neutral state and its ten councillors. He did not propose an annual payment of 40,000 francs like the first concessionnaire of the zinc mines; he promised a million a year clear, and half revealed his intention of acquiring in block the whole of the 860 acres of independent territory, in order to become in some sort the absolute King of Moresnet. The burgomaster and his councillors were for the moment dazzled, but the opportune intervention of the two Commissioners at once dissipated their golden dreams. The daring attempt failed, as the other had done in 1869. But the Belgian shareholder had supporters in the Press and in the deliberative assemblies. His protest was voiced “in the name of international law and the liberty of small nations.” A great deal of fuss for nothing!

When the defeat of *roulette* had been finally achieved, Moresnet fell back on its mining business. There is not much zinc there

now, but there are still important deposits of calamine or natural carbonated oxide of zinc. It was the working of this mineral that had occasioned the presence at Moresnet of the two Americans and their Chinese servant mentioned in the last census of 1906.

The defenders of international law and the liberty of small nations will find a better occasion for the use of their talents and their eloquence. Indeed, the neutral territory of Moresnet was violated by the Germans on the morning of August 1st, 1914. The Emperor William II. tore up the Treaty of Boundaries, as he tore up those treaties which, over the signature of Prussia, guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium and of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. Soldiers crossed the frontier and occupied the 860 acres, whilst an officer scattered the councillors and took possession of the town hall. The boundary posts were knocked out. Two hundred inhabitants of Belgian origin were torn from their homes and taken as prisoners to Germany. A Dutchman and a Moresnetan were shot on the pretext that they resisted the army of occupation. After this a proclamation was put up giving notice to the rest of the inhabitants that they were henceforward Germans.

Thus was a further attack made. No honest man would think of measuring the crime according to the importance of its object; and ethics are in agreement with justice in visiting the theft of five shillings as severely as the theft of a fifty pound note. The violation of Belgian territory is a crime; the violation of the territory of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg is a crime; the violation of the territory of Moresnet is a crime. The disgrace is the same for 860 acres as for thousands of square kilometres, for two innocent men shot as for a hundred thousand.

The fate of Moresnet has been forgotten in this immense catastrophe. We must bear it in mind. After the victory the plenipotentiaries who draw up the conditions of peace must not neglect this poor little piece of independence which has been victimised.

CH. FLOR O'SQUARR.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. PREACHERS. By J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY	249
2. REVIEWS	256
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY; GIORDANO BRUNO; A WORLD OUTLOOK; A CHINESE DANTE.	
3. SHORTER REVIEWS :—"Portraits of the Seventies," etc. ...	265
4. NOTICES OF BOOKS	269

PREACHERS.

AT Wiltwater religion plays an extraordinary part in the life of the people. It takes the place of the newspaper, the novel, the historical romance; it is the medium of social intercourse; it is the basis of quarrels and astounding reconciliations, love-making and marriages, comedies and tragedies. The real interest of Wiltwater village in life is religious. It is through the medium of religion, or shall we say of phases of religion, that the village looks at the world. The religion exhibited is not entirely a good thing. It is as replete with jealousies, with fierce argument, with hate and scorn as that of any third-century church. But it is a real thing. There is no sham about it. And reality covers a multitude of sins. The folk *believe*; believe wrongly very often; but belief outweighs a pyramid of false doctrine. Some people who believe nothing have the theory of religion cut and very dry; these villagers who believe everything have twenty theories of religion, all mostly wrong. But the Christian verities they believe with all their being, and though the belief is rusted with all manner of human weaknesses, still the fires of life burn away the rust, and the Christian residual products remain. This, no doubt, sounds fanciful to town dwellers who are regular in their devotions while a great multitude surrounds them to whom Christ and Christianity are little more than names in devotion, in life, in reality. That is not the way of Wiltwater. In that village religion, and the quarrels of religion, affect the entire population, including the babies. There is no apathy. It is a tremendous business; all other business is secondary, even the very serious business of looking after visitors in the golden days of summer. The only thing that has competed with religion is the Great War, and that they regard as part of the

eternal religious question, as indeed it is. Town dwellers little realise the significance of religion in a life lived very near to nature and very close to the fundamental realities of seed time and harvest. Town dwellers speak sometimes with scorn of the laziness of country rectors and vicars, of the crudity of country Nonconformity, of the absence of organisation, of eloquence, of religious outwardness. Perhaps there is some truth in some places in all this. The vicar sometimes gets so immersed in rural somnolence that he forgets his flock in some measure or another. But the man would never have been a good pastor anywhere, and it is probable that he does less harm in the country than anywhere else. The chapel or chapels sometimes, too, go to sleep or become political, and forget their duty. No so the people at large. If religion is denied them they take the business in hand themselves; at least they did so at Wiltwater, and, in fact, it has been the fashion of English country folk in all ages; in the age of Wyclif and his followers, in the age of puritanism, in the age of Wesley, and in this age when new sects are ever appearing and disappearing, reflecting the thought of the cottage theologians. English religious movements were never in their origin town movements. They found their source, their inspiration, their organisation in village, remote village, life. It is so to-day; it will be so to-morrow, and it is for that reason, among many reasons, why it is so important to secure a movement back to the land, an emptying out of the great cities to the land where reality dwells, and God is visible in everything. The faults of country life are chiefly due to want of interest in life in districts where the profound interest in religion has been killed, and nothing has taken its place; where the evil aspects of town life have drifted through without the compensations of town life. It is in such districts that the crime which is reflected in the records of the assize towns takes place. It is again for this reason so important that the return to the land should be accompanied by a return to religion, by a new vitalising of religious faith, by the multiplication of pastors and preachers who are in touch with reality.

No doubt the closer organisation of religious life is as necessary in Wiltwater as elsewhere; the rector is old, his only curate (his wife) is old too. It is difficult for the old man to get about. He is a scholar, and loves his books; and, as age creeps on, loves his study more and more, sitting by the fireside with this or that classic, that or this Father of the Church, or wrestling with Newman as he literally wrestled at Oxford sixty-five years ago. And his wife has seen her children go out into the world till only one daughter, herself almost middle-aged, is left. Her life is in the letters of the men and women who are in the circumference of things; her children who are in India, in Egypt, the doers or wives of doers of

great things. Her pride is her life, and her each day is coloured by the letters that she receives and reads to her husband and daughter at breakfast. She has her sorrows, for not all have succeeded in life. One unhappy marriage in a fashion mars all; one unsuccessful son, the apple of her eye, is the perpetual shadow. And she is too old for work. The home-dwelling daughter is sometimes rector and curate at once. She lives largely, too, in the triumphs of her brothers and sisters. She is proud of the family, and her own life is lost in theirs. But the Church life goes on, and, though thinned in volume, it still holds on to reality. The Sunday sermon is begun on Friday night. It is a stately address. It is based on Newman's country sermons. It is listened to with respect by those who do not understand it. It has always a Greek quotation in it; it would be lost without it. The boys who are now Admirals and Generals would have been miserable without it, though they understood nothing of it. It was the remote coping-stone of a stately building that they never entered, but which nevertheless was part of their consciousness. Who will deal with these sermons when Mr. Battle—inappropriate name—is dead. There they are, neatly packed away in bundles; there must be fifty bundles, each containing not less than sixty sermons, each representing a week-end of scholarly toil and delivery. They are models of caligraphy, orthodoxy, morality, and each has a passage from a Greek Father or a Greek Tragedy. If they are burnt at the stake in the Vicarage garden they will burn for days; the column of smoke will hang like a pillar of cloud in the air for days, and will be a pillar of fire by night. Perhaps it will be the best end for them, a kind of modern version of that slaying of slaves which followed the death of a great chieftain in order that their souls should accompany his to Valhalla. In the same fashion the noble souls of these sermons would accompany the upward flight of the soul of Philip Battle himself, released from his cure of souls, his body lying, ashes like to the ashes of his sermons, in the quiet churchyard where once Wyclif, where once Wesley preached. But that is not yet. The Rev. Philip Battle, D.D., sometime Fellow of a certain College, has lived into the New Age which his silent influence has helped in its sincere but unobtrusive kindly way to build.

Mr. Battle never had been troubled about the spiritual condition of the village; he felt sure that it was all right at the heart. It was true that dissent, sometimes in the most alarming forms, had rent the village not only in twain, but into fragments. The indignation of Mrs. Battle and of Miss Battle was always as fresh as new-made butter on the subject; but that was not the way of Mr. Battle. He held Bossuet's views as to dissent, that dissent by its very nature

tended to infinite variation, and could not therefore in the long run withstand solid, not to say stolid Catholicism. Moreover, he was good friends with the Dissenters. He always affirmed over his post-prandial pipe that they were better Christians than he, though lacking, sadly lacking, in discipline. The independent preacher, a carpenter who swayed the moor as no man since Wesley had swayed it, was a great friend of his. He affirmed that in doctrine, setting aside the questions of organisation and discipline, he was absolutely sound. "It is, my dear," he said to his wife one winter evening, "in my humble view the greatest proof of the divine character and source of our religion that Mr. Samuel Miles should, without study of the Fathers, be perfectly sound on questions of extraordinary complexity over which I have spent sixty years without being as intellectually convinced as I might be. Mr. Miles has no doubts, no difficulties. I was with him the other morning while he was making a coffin for poor old Mrs. Bolt, and he threw more light on the doctrines of Predestination and Works than ever I found at Cambridge. I said to him, 'Miles, it is necessary that I should die before you.' 'Why? Mr. Battle,' said he, wiping the sweat from his great forehead with a red calico handkerchief. 'Because,' I rejoined, 'if you do not survive me there will be nobody with an appropriate frame of mind left to make me a coffin.' The old man chuckled and said, 'I always do the work with a sense of satisfaction. Though the poor body do be useless old thing on death, it do be hard worker all those long days o' life, and do demand reverence and, craving your pardon, sir, prayer. So I do make my coffins prayerfully.'"

Miss Battle was furious. "I really think, father, that this is a most unpleasant subject, and how you can talk to Mr. Miles on any subject I cannot imagine." "Well, my dear, I rode over there to see Mrs. Bolt, and was too late." Mrs. Battle changed the subject tactfully, and soon the family were immersed in the doings of the Battles by sea and land.

Sam Miles was indeed a wonderful man, and the Vicar knew it, though he never saw him on his Sunday task. The Chapel at Wiltwater is a bare, colour-washed, oblong building, with little attractiveness. Sitting on the back bench of all, near the little swing door at the south-west corner, one sees two rows of benches, uncompromising benches, with a passage between. By the north wall is a very necessary stove. Opposite, on the south side, is a harmonium. At the east end (to use an Anglican phrase) is a very tall pulpit, and the preacher by day is outlined against the east window. Lamps are affixed to the walls, and their warmth is welcome this Sunday evening. On the desk in the pulpit is an enormous Bible. The preacher seems

vastly above us all. The congregation which has gathered in little chatting groups take places that seem familiar to them. Here a farmer and his wife; there a group of lads; here two or three farm hands. Most of the girls are in the choir near the harmonium. Gradually the chapel fills, and as the eye grows accustomed to the faces it becomes plain that they are, many of them, faces that were in the old Parish Church this morning. The rector has two churches far apart, and the other church has his service and his sermon with suitable variations this evening. The local preacher in his pulpit seems somehow terribly remote. He recalls that figure in early Elizabethan tragedy that stood above the scene in a sort of recess or alcove, and, personating the Almighty, delivered at the end of each scene appropriate comment on the moral significance of it, as in that famous play, *A Looking-Glass for London*. He is an old man, with a great grey beard, a vast forehead, and great bald head, with bushy eyebrows and keen penetrating eyes. After Bible reading and impromptu prayer, and various hymns sung with thrilling heartiness to a sturdy harmonium, the preacher reads a passage from the Old Testament and begins his address. He knows his people, he knows their weaknesses, their strength, their pettiness, their faith. Moreover, he knows each soul there personally; knows the struggles, the tears, the laughter, the joy, the toil of each life. His seems a stern unbending personality. He seems to brood over the little chapel like an accusing being:—

“For this commandment which I have commanded thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in Heaven, that thou shouldest say, who shall go up for us to Heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? But the Word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it. See, I have set before thee this day, life and good, and death, and evil.”

The tremendous Mosaic exhortation lost none of its greatness in the mouth of this stern orator; for that he was and nothing less. He began his discourse in remoteness from his congregation. He made them feel that he was set apart and delivering to them the very message of God. He told them the cause of the message in the ancient days in the wilderness. “And are not you, too, set in the “wilderness. Be not this a wilderness, a beloved wilderness”—the thrilling deep voice trembled—“in which you dwell? Whither “go ye? Go ye like sheep, like lambs, those lambs ye lose, astray? “Lost in the wilderness, in the fern and the rock and the torrent “under pitiless skies and piercing winds, are your lambs too oft in “winter and spring. Be you like they be, be you?”—and the voice grew more familiar—“be you like they, like the poor Hebrew folk

“who knew not the way? Be ye lost”—the deeper note again—“in the ferns of heedlessness, the rocks of intemperance, the torrents of sin, the tempests of remorse, lost, lost, lost?” Then again he came down to the human level. “Ye do know the heavens above the moor. They do be high heavens. Shall I or any man go there for thee? Ye do know the sea beyond the moor. Shall I or any man cross that for thee? Nay, my friends, but I have walked in here ten miles this winter morning to tell you where you will get the help you need. God gave you arms and legs to toil with. Do you use them?” The men and women smiled quietly. “Ay, I know you use them. God gave you a mind to see how to use them. Do you use it? Ay, I know you use it. But God gave you more than a hand and a mind. He gave you a heart to keep the Word in. Is it there? Can you hear it, read it, say it, do it?” Then the old preacher proceeded from the general to the particular, and with humorous illustration brought the doctrine of conscience and faith into relation to every age and type present in chapel; hints of personal knowledge of the congregation that hit true to the hearer without giving the fact away to the rest, drove home the argument. With rhythm of voice, with penetration of thought, with illustration of the homeliest kind, he made the people see that each one of them was the arbiter of his or her own fate, that the Word was with them; and then carrying on the doctrine of the Word into its New Testament significance, he made the choice of Life and Death the choice of free will, the choice or rejection of Christ. Never once did he lose the attention for an instant of one of his audience. “The only fear was lest he should make an end.” These words spoken of one of Bacon’s great orations were absolutely true of Sam Miles’s address. The end came all too soon, and, with singing and the blessing, the service ended. But there was for one or two hearers more to follow. While most of the congregation melted away to re-argue the sermon by warm firesides, one or two lingered, and presently they were joined by the preacher. This man, who had seemed so vast and overpowering in the pulpit, was in reality a little man, but in a moment in conversation the sense of overpowering determination doubled his height and girth. He came up to the stranger, and, holding out his hand, said, “Your face is strange to me. You are welcome here. Tell me about yourself. Come, I am walking up the hill to the farm, where I sleep to-night. Walk with us.” Such an invitation was not to be lost, and soon we were breasting the stern hill in the moonlight. Few men over eighty could have such physical powers. Smiting the ground with his great stick, he strode on, and began elaborating and embroidering his sermon. “We need, sir, never to lose touch with English freedom. Men

“and women must choose. It is better to be damned by choice than by necessity. It may be bad theology, but it is good human common-sense that men should freely choose. Even if they choose wrong, the very fact of freedom will help their children, when schooling is better, to choose right. But still this freedom, if carried too far, is, I admit, a cause of weakness. You do not know these people like I know them. Criticism is in their bones, and a harsh people in a way. Doctrine is in their bones. They will fight over the soundness of Wesley’s doctrine in the kitchen while cooking the meat. They are liable to be led away by false doctrine. They are always watching for new doctrine, new gods, so to speak, like the Athenians of old. There is a new sect in the village within these five years. They meet behind closed doors, and talk nonsense enough. In their doctrine they miss the feast. They take words for reality. That’s where rector do come in.” The old man, pausing, dropped into vernacular. “It do fret I this peering for new gods. This do be where rector do come in. He be no manner o’ preacher, but he do have the doctrine solid, and give it them solid week by week. It do be dull, dreadful dull, but it do be sort o’ steadyng stuff.” The old man laughed. “It do need all manner o’ sorts to make the Church o’ Christ. But when you do zee old man in surplice ride on old horse down the hill, three mile, to church Sunday morning, you do zay to you, this do be serious business; and it be serious, too, in that old church, where our folk have been married and buried through hundreds o’ years. The very dust be our dust. Then I do come now and again in evening and wake folk up. I be not dull, and I do know the fireside o’ the farms in way rector knows nothing of.”

We were at the top of the hill at last. The moon shone out over the moor, and in the mystic winter light the farmsteads shone coldly, but distant windows gave here and there the human touch of light and warmth that makes the mystic and the man akin. “It do be wonderful land and wonderful people,” said the old man, “but they do need teaching and more laughter. They be a free folk, but a rebellious people and a bitter people. They must choose life. What are we doing to help them?” We turned into the lane, through the wood, to the farm, and soon were in a circle that the old preacher mesmerised into merriment with his tales of old time, and his visions of a joyous land. He carried no preaching into the farm, but entered into the very life of the folk, their hopes and fears, their pains and joys. So on the morrow when he departed early in the morning, he left behind him new light and new endeavour.

REVIEWS.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.*

Mr. Norman Angell has done well to publish in book form an address delivered last year in Washington. To a nation busily engaged in thinking and talking about "preparedness," our brilliant publicist addresses a plea for the elaboration of an American policy. For a country to pile up armaments, he declares emphatically, without a clear notion of how and when they are to be used, is a danger and not a safeguard; for it fills other countries with vague suspicions and apprehensions, which increase the probability of war. "That preparedness is dangerously incomplete when it does not include a clear formulation of foreign policy, what we intend to exact from or defend against foreign nations. As long as the other fellow does not know what the power is for, the more you pile it up the more dangerous the situation is likely to become. It is not sufficient that the intention behind a nation's power should be inoffensive and in no way threaten others. The specific object of the power and the policy it supports must be made clear to others. In the absence of that definite understanding, power must be mutually threatening."

It is precisely this clear-cut formulation of policy which is lacking. While isolation was the governing principle of the United States, the absence of definition was of less importance; but now that the country possesses an oversea empire, now that its relations to the problems and quarrels of the Old World are becoming more intricate, now that it is beginning with feverish haste to increase its Army and Navy, it becomes an urgent duty, not only to itself but to the world, to decide and announce its intentions. Mr. Angell devotes some of his most interesting pages to showing how wars have arisen from lack of knowledge as to what each country would hold to be vital. The defence of its territory against attack is, of course, the fundamental axiom of every State; but none of the wars in which the United States have been engaged were wars of territorial defence. "Every great nation is obliged to defend a policy rather than a territory, and to resent the policy of some other nation, even when that falls a long way short of sheer invasion." It is through this region of hypothetical conflict that a broad and well-paved highway must be constructed. It is the exception and not the rule for nations deliberately to plan a great war; more commonly they drift into it. What are you doing, the lecturer asks his hearers, to prevent a conflict with Japan? Make up your minds while the sky is clear

* *Dangers of Half-Preparedness*, by Norman Angell. (Putnam. 2s. 6d.)

what you will or will not fight for, and let Japan know precisely where you stand, so that she may be warned in time how far she can go and at what point a step further will involve war.

Mr. Angell's first demand is for the formulation of a policy, free from all secret commitments, known to every citizen of the United States and to every foreign statesman. But that is not enough. States can no longer find safety in armaments and isolation. They must unite for certain defined purposes with others of like mind. "We Western democracies, England, France, Italy, Switzerland, the Scandinavian States, the American Republics—if we cannot stand together, if we cannot form an international policy of co-operation, our day is done." For instance, the United States should become one of the guarantors of Belgium, and the Monroe Doctrine should be turned into a mutually defensive alliance between all the American Republics. This thoughtful, eloquent, and persuasive address will be of hardly less interest to English than to American readers; for we, too, need to think out our future policy.

G. P. G.

* * *

GIORDANO BRUNO.*

In the little city of Nola, east of Naples, in sight of Vesuvius, there was born, in the year 1548, to a soldier in the service of Spain, Gioan Bruno, and his Italian wife, possibly of German stock, a son Felipe, who was destined to alter the course of human thought. Dr. Boulting, in his interesting volume on the famous Giordano Bruno, tells us that:—

"the infant was destined to become a precursor of modern science and philosophy, to cast a searchlight into dark places and bring forth hidden things; it was his fate to wander, an excommunicated and fugitive priest, through many lands, impelled, heedless of self, partly by a restless nature but chiefly because of a certain missionary zeal for truth and desire to set the intellect free from the fetters of authority; he was to endure strange vicissitudes in penury, years of solitary suffering at the hands of the Inquisition because he claimed 'philosophic freedom in thought and speech,' and finally, to pass from its cruel dungeons 'a flame to the flames.'"

Mr. A. J. Butler, in the *Cambridge Modern History*, gives us a different picture. He declares that Giordano Bruno, "as an apostate monk, a loose liver, the wielder of an acrid and often scurrilous pen, had at least given provocation and caused something of scandal in several countries of Europe," and was not,

* *Giordano Bruno: His Life, Thought, and Martyrdom*, by William Boulting. (Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d. net.)

therefore, so good an example of the accursed methods of the Counter-Reformation as the blameless and gentle Florentine Carnesecchi, some time protonotary of Pope Clement VII., who for his unpublished speculative views was tortured and executed in 1567. The views of the two men are scarcely compatible. Yet perhaps the Neapolitan, as he flamed through life to death and to larger life, may well to certain minds seem repellant if placed beside the quiet Florentine. Bruno was a genius with an immense power of mental acquisition and a burning imagination. By the age of fifteen he had learnt all that the school could give him, and in due course was drawn as a probationer into the Dominican Order, and received the name of Giordano, possibly "because of" the promise he displayed; for it had been borne by the second "general of the Order." A year later he became a professed novice, though even at this early age his devouring mind and his hunger for enquiry frightened the monks. In 1572, at the age of twenty-four, he became a priest. For four years he carried out his priestly duties, but with difficulty, and his freedom of reading and comment created distrust, till in fear of a prosecution for heresy he fled his monastery and the kingdom of Naples, and sought refuge in Rome. He was eight and twenty, and a master of dialectic. Aristotle and all that his thought meant, and all the weakness of mediæval Aristotelianism, was within his grasp; he knew the schoolmen through and through; Saracenic investigations he had mastered; he knew well the works of the Greek and Latin fathers, and was absorbed in the philosophy of Plotinus and the schoolmen of Alexandria. He was, in fact, as fine a product of mediæval intellectual training as the period before the Renaissance had produced; but he was also a child of the Renaissance, with the spirit of enquiry and of doubt fully developed. A southern Italian of strong passions, violent self-assertion, great intellectual powers, he was let loose like a flame into the awakening life of Europe. He seemed to carry with him something of the untutored energy of that Vesuvius which presided over his birth. When Mr. Butler dismissed him with a sneer, when Pope Leo XIII. on June 9th, 1889, on the occasion of the unveiling of a statue of Bruno at the Field of Flowers, where he had been martyred on February 18th, 1600, denounced him in unmeasured language, it was forgotten in each case when and where Bruno lived his life. Bruno had, no doubt, most of the faults of the Renaissance, faults that he shared with the most eminent Popes and Cardinals, princes and prelates, of that age; but he had above and beyond these faults a range of mind, a soaringness of spirit that left his traducers and murderers dwellers in the hell of their own making, while his spirit rose into the regions to which he had aspired.

No stranger story can be imagined than the record of Bruno's wanderings and labours from 1576 to 1592. He trod the dangerous roads from Rome to Genoa, thence passed to Turin and on to Venice, to Padua, when he resumed the Dominican habit, to Milan and over Mont Cenis to the monastery at Chambéry, and so to Geneva, after three years' wandering from Italian monastery to monastery. At Geneva he inscribed his name at the Academy on May 20th, 1579, and placed his case before a brother Neapolitan, Galeazzo Carracciolo, nephew of Pope Paul IV. "The Marquis "advised me to cast away my monkish garb at any rate. So I "made trunk-hose and other gear from some stuff I had by me, "and he and other Italians gave me a sword, hat, cloak, and other "needful clothes, and other things that I might support myself by "correcting proofs." Within three months he was at odds with the Genevan Consistory and censured, possibly for his religious views, possibly for his attacks on Aristotle, most probably for his violent attacks on people who disagreed with him. Calvinism was as unattractive as other unreasonable things to Bruno, and he soon shook off the dust of Geneva, and went on, first to Lyons and then to Toulouse. There he secured a chair in philosophy, but a year later, after a stormy time, moved on to Paris, that Italianised city of hovels and palaces, and began teaching; was offered a chair at the University, which he declined, as he was unable to attend Mass, and became a client of that curious creature, King Henry III., who made him a salaried lecturer at the Collège de Cambrai, where wider views obtained than at the Sorbonne. For a time he succeeded, but in his excommunicated state his position was dangerous in the days of the Counter-Reformation, and so in March, 1583, he crossed to England with a letter of recommendation from the King to the French Ambassador at the Court of St. James.

Dr. Boulting's account of scholarship in England and at Oxford at this time leaves much to be desired. Humanism in England was at its height in the last decade of the sixteenth century, and even Bruno, as here quoted, admitted as much. Oxford, he said, after the bitterness of his Oxford experiences, entirely due to his bombast, violent language and scorn for other thinkers, had passed away, had been "founded on an excellent basis, and was "marked by such decorum, dignified ceremonies, and many other "adjuncts as to place her, in these respects, first in Europe, while "in polish and quickness of mind she can hold her own." Dr. Boulting is entirely mistaken when he says that "the English "Universities had fallen from their high estate." At the opening of the seventeenth century there were 3,000 undergraduates at Oxford. No other University in Europe could show such figures.

Bruno gives unconscious force to these figures. He hated the forms of grammar, and in anger exclaimed, when he shook off the dust of Oxford, "Search where you will in England to-day, you shall find everybody a Doctor in grammar." There was the truth in this statement that never before or since was humanism so widely spread. Bruno passed to London, and there for more than two years worked in peace at Beaumont House, the French Embassy, near St. Clement Danes, and in London he met Greville, Philip-Sidney, Florio, and others. Bruno liked England, and dilates on the extreme charm of English women, but he loathed the commonalty: "England can boast a common people which will yield to none other in disrespect, outlandishness, boorishness, savagery, and bad bringing up." He gives in *Ash Wednesday Supper* a prejudiced picture of English life. But he admits that Englishmen of quality "would deem themselves savages could they not speak Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian." Dr. Boulting adds that "even small tradesmen, educated at the Grammar Schools, could write to one another in Latin." But despite this book, Bruno learnt to regret what he came to regard as "beautiful, fortunate, and chivalrous" England. In October, 1585, Bruno returned with the Ambassador to Paris. England had given him the most peaceful time in his troubled life, and here he produced his most important works, works that showed him as the great precursor of modern science. Seven months in Paris was enough, and the wandering philosopher passed on to Metz, to Marburg, and thence to Wittenberg, where Gentile was then lecturing on law. There he stayed till March, 1588, in considerable peace and happiness, despite the quarrelling between Calvinists and Lutherans. His next brief resting-places were the Universities of Prague and Helmsted. In 1590, he left for Frankfurt and Zurich, where he taught and wrote and published, as indeed he did everywhere. In the autumn of 1591 he was induced to visit Venice, where he was betrayed by his host, Giovanni Mocenigo, immortal in the annals of infamy, to the Inquisition. The rest of the story is familiar. He was arrested in May, 1592. The trial lasted from May 26th till early in July, with intervals. After a long struggle between the Venetian Republic and the Pope, Bruno was extradited and sent to the prison of the Roman Inquisition on February 27th, 1593. Here he lingered for seven years. On February 18th, 1600, he was burnt at the stake. Rome, after infinite delays, not only burnt Bruno, but she burnt her boats. She had broken with civilisation. No better proof could be desired than the attitude of the greatest of her modern Popes, Leo XIII., on this very subject, or the attitude of the present Pope on the subject of the crimes of Germany. Dr. Boulting has given us a

very interesting book, interesting for its fair estimate of a complex character and for the summary of Bruno's works; but we may doubt if the author fully appreciates the true significance of Filipe Bruno. He was the link between the Middle Ages and modern times, the link that Browning sought in Paracelsus, that Dumas, in his romantic fashion, sought in Cagliostro. Bruno was a schoolman who had awakened to the light. The resemblances between him and Abelard are literally amazing, and not only in respect to intellectual efficiency. But he possessed that spirit of induction which belonged to Roger Bacon; the very spirit which had passed to Paracelsus, who died seven years before the birth of Bruno. Bruno represented the necessary transitional mind, and one can but regret that Robert Browning did not make him the subject of one of those profound analyses of character in the light of history on which so much of his fame as a thinker rests. Bruno saw the Renaissance in its Italian decline; he inherited the weaknesses and the aberrations of a silver age, but he also inherited that unconquerable spirit of enquiry, that passionate yearning for freedom, that belief in the indubitable future of the soul of man which was the harbinger of this new wave of the Renaissance of which we to-day are the spectators. Bruno in his death consecrated the quest for liberty. His ashes sank into the darkness of cloud-ridden Rome. His immortal part, his restless spirit sought new adventures.

If I stoop
 Into a dark tremendous sea of cloud
 It is but for a time; I press God's lamp
 Close to my breast; its splendour, soon or late,
 Will pierce the gloom. I shall emerge one day.

For us his emergence is at hand. The great fight for freedom draws near its close.

* * *

A WORLD-OUTLOOK.*

Mr. Branford, a Divisional Inspector on Education under the London County Council, in this unusual book, "thought out and "written at intervals during the last five-and-twenty years," gives us his outlook on a world of transition which he considers is passing through a crisis, of which the present war is what he calls "the unhappy culmination." The book is one that is likely to give rise to criticism for a variety of reasons, some of which we mention, but before doing so we should like to pay ample tribute

* *Janus and Vesta: A Study of the World Crisis and After.* By Bencharia Branford. (Chatto & Windus. 6s. net.)

to the high idealism and the noble aspirations for a better, and a permanently better, world that lies behind all that Mr. Branford says or strives to say. His very title, *Janus and Vesta* (the male and female spirits of all civilisation brought into union, the spirits of religion and humanism brought into accord, the Omega and Alpha of human aspiration), shows what his ideal is and his method of attaining it.

Many critics of the book have fastened on the style for attack. We prefer not to do so, though we could wish that Mr. Branford had given his thought or soul a more pleasing body or medium. His style is, as a matter of fact, not more difficult to follow than that of Carlyle, though it lacks that prophet's precision, emphasis, and dramatic force. Both thinkers owe much to German prose and German philosophy, and the dyer's hands inevitably are coloured by the medium he works in. Some criticism is due to the lack of accuracy in, at any rate, some facts. To say that St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, dates from 1226, Peterhouse, Cambridge, from 1257, and that the Sorbonne was founded in 1630 rather shocks the reader and creates a sense of doubt as to the array of facts, from east to west, through many centuries, that Mr. Branford hurls at his reader in divine fury. A more substantial and serious criticism is Mr. Branford's attitude towards the war. It might have been expected that in a work of this kind, which is called "A Study of the World Crisis," some examination would have been devoted to the attitude of Germany in exactly half-a-century of calculated and shameful aggression which has culminated in a war deliberately thrust by Germany upon the world, and accompanied by every possible manifestation of bestial lust and insensate crime by a soldiery that is fully representative of the German peoples. The attitude and actions and precipitations of Germany are hardly referred to; it is true that the point of view of the German universities since 1870 was criticised, but it is criticised chiefly as an outstanding example of the western spirit. Mr. Branford writes:—

"Upon the transformation of the mediæval type of Christianity in Europe and the entry of the Protestant form, the ideal and idea of University Catholicism undergo striking transformations, with momentous and far-reaching consequences to Europe and the rest of the world. Of those consequences, the latest and most significant fruit has been in great part the world war, the climax of anarchy of thought among the natural leaders of culture and civilisation in the West. . . . History becomes for a period Chauvinistic; a spirit which is certainly not confined to German universities and German schools, but is so widely prevalent from East to West that, as we have already stated, it is one of the mightiest factors that have persistently contributed to the present world crisis."

This statement seems to us inadequate, and (of course unconsciously) unjust. The true answer to it is the magnificent replies of Belgium and her Allies, published on January 12th and 15th, 1917, to Mr. Woodrow Wilson's Peace Note. In those replies there shines an idealism which must correspond to those high ideals which inspire Mr. Branford's hopes; but also in that reply there is enshrined for immortal memory the infamy of the German policy that prepared and precipitated and the devilry that conducted the war. It is true that German materialism had long been creeping like a fell disease from Berlin outwards, but in fact it had been resisted stoutly in France and England and Italy and Russia, and had only secured a definite grip across the Atlantic.

So much for criticism. We hold that the effects of the Renaissance have been, from the materialistic point of view, evil in Europe. Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation were alike unable to prevent the spread of materialism, but it is significant of the "world crisis" that this materialism in war and peace, from the siege of Magdeburg to the destruction of Louvain, was Germanic in source. It was not, *pace* this author, "the smouldering fires of Pan-Slavism" which kindled "into fierce blaze Pan-Teutonium." We proceed to quote some of the fine thoughts that Mr. Branford has set before the world. "Organisation without humanity is fatal"; the moral in the case of Germany is duly pointed. "A true cosmopolitan, whether man or woman, must be first a devoted member of the family, then a good citizen in the life of the town and region, an ardent patriot, a cultured member of the Western or Eastern institution woven into the particular civilisation in which he or she is born." That is an important thought to-day. Mr. Branford asks for a Hague Tribunal supplemented on the spiritual side by a World University. He looks for an armed force behind the Tribunal, and wishes this "balanced by an organisation of a spiritual kind, whose ultimate power, therefore, within its own sphere, depends on spiritual persuasion." But suppose this independent university on "an island in the Eastern Mediterranean" becomes an annexe of Berlin, or the Vatican, or both. "On an island site its freedom is more assured; though never absolute." Yes, that is the point. But we doubt if it is true to say that the European University system lost intellectual and spiritual freedom after the Reformation. No doubt in some cases it was so, but not generally. Our English Universities long stood, and still stand, for freedom. It is a misapprehension to write that "Henry VIII. of England cynically exploited the universities as mere tools of policy in the spirit of Roman or Byzantine imperialism"; it is equally a misapprehension of history to say that Cromwell exploited "the spiritual

“power of the universities in the temporal interests of the State.” James II. tried to do something of the sort and failed. Again, it is hardly sound to speak of the French universities as having imported “modern German methods and erudition in the direction of “thoroughness of detail and reverence for fact.” The French, as observers of fact, have always surpassed the Germans. The Germans only observe in order to establish a preconceived theory.

Mr. Branford is looking with all of us, for a second Renaissance in education. The point that we all have to keep in mind is that even as the Renaissance of the fifteenth century was, in so far as it was good, a revivifying of great humanistic traditions, so this second Renaissance must be the same. There must be nothing lost; we must recapture the educational splendours of the past, and mould them to new uses. We agree that this Renaissance must be related to the world crisis; so related that humanism can develop unhampered by the fear of another great war. That fear can only be eliminated by the re-establishment of law between nation and nation and the suppression of international criminals. Among nations as among individuals, there is a subjective law of conduct which the inner consciousness knows to be right, and which is, in fact, the binding force of organised groups. This law of conduct is well represented in its ultimate developments by that picture of Janus and Vesta that Mr. Branford gives, and, indeed, this law springs from Roman political idealism. This war for right is bringing us near the stage when the law of conduct will automatically operate as between nation and nation, and when consequently humanism, and education based on humanism, will come into its own. This seems to us to be Mr. Branford's real hope; it is certainly at any rate one he will adopt.

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A CHINESE DANTE.*

It is interesting to welcome a book printed in English by a Japanese firm of publishers, written by a lady, Mrs. E. A. Gordon, who has worked for many years at the task of investigating far Eastern faiths and the traces of Christianity enshrined in them. This book is dedicated “to all my far Eastern friends in grateful “recognition of their ever ready sympathy and aid during so many “years of happy investigation amongst the venerable sanctuaries “of Korea and Japan.” Mrs. Gordon compares with *The Divine Comedy* and *Pilgrims' Progress* a great Asiatic allegory of the

* *Symbols of “The Way”—Far East and West.* By the Hon. Mrs. E. A. Gordon. Fully Illustrated. (Maruzen & Company, Ltd., Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Fukuoka, and Sendai.)

thirteenth century, written by a Chinese monk. The hold of this classic "upon the affections of countless millions in the three Far Eastern Empires during the last 600 years proves that it comes no whit behind the works of the other two great Masters of the "Spiritual Life in value." This work, which has been recently translated by Dr. Timothy Richard, was long ago translated into Japanese, but in Korea it is studied in the original Chinese. The allegory, written, we are told, at the instance of Kublai Khan, is entitled *A Journey to the Western Heaven in Search of the Good Law*. "It vividly describes the visit of Tai-tsung—greatest of Chinese sovereigns—to the nether-world of Jigoku (the Jewish and Nestorian Gehenna, Greek Hades) in A.D. 639," a date only four years after a great company of monks visited China and the very year in which, we are told, a translation of the entire Bible was made for the Emperor. The Jewish and Christian narrative appears to have coloured this Chinese religious classic. The descent into hell is described, and the work itself is illustrated or paralleled in many Chinese scroll-pictures and Korean frescoes. Mrs. Gordon considers that the Nestorian monument and other evidence show that "all such teachings about the Invisible World of the Dead sprang from a common root so far back in world history as the *Creation* and *Deluge* brick-tablets of ancient Sumer." We are not, as at present informed, inclined to adopt so excessive a view, though no doubt there are common points in various faiths that make investigations into comparative sources and forms of various religions of importance if carried out by highly trained and very cautious scholars. Mrs. Gordon's book draws attention to many interesting comparative and parallel forms, and the author, full of fine enthusiasm, will be read with interest. The illustrations, beautifully reproduced from various Far Eastern frescoes and pictures, will give the reader a notion of the influence of Christianity on these faiths, and also of the influence of Christian art on the subtle arts of China and Japan.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Mr. G. W. E. Russell is inexhaustible and indispensable. His latest work, "Portraits of the Seventies" (Fisher Unwin), is one of the brightest, wittiest, and most instructive that he has written. He confesses that he has kept a diary since he was twelve, and he has certainly used his eyes and ears to good purpose for half a century. His portrait gallery includes statesmen, orators, theologians, doctors, leaders of fashion. The showman is never ill-natured, and seldom severe; for in almost every case he can look back on pleasant personal intercourse. Gladstone appears as the greatest all-round figure of

his time. The description of the Duke of Argyll, with his inspired eloquence and his oppressive self-confidence, is among the best in the book. He never seemed to realise that his associates were in any sense his equals. Even more admirable is the full-length portrait of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, one of the good men who was never a bore. "To hear Lawson at his best was to enjoy the very perfection of irresistible comicality. I consider him the most purely humorous man whom I ever encountered." He was one of the most independent of politicians, and Mr. Russell is abundantly justified in describing him as "a pure and single-minded patriot." The sketch of Labouchere makes the most of an ever-fascinating subject, and the witty little cynic lives again before our eyes. Among the nobility we are introduced to Lord and Lady Salisbury, the Duke and Duchess of Westminster, Lord and Lady Spencer, the Duke of Abercorn (the original of "the Duke" in *Lothair*), and Lord and Lady Mount-Temple. With the latter we enter the world of religion, in which we meet Liddon, Mackonochie, Father Stanton, and other of Mr. Russell's favourites, as well as his *bête noire*, Archbishop Tait. The volume will prove invaluable to the historian of politics and society, for it is full of shrewd, first-hand observation of a brilliant and many-coloured world of which there are to-day but few survivors.

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A work of learning is a joy for ever, and an honest piece of research is worth a king's ransom. These aphorisms come to mind on going through the "History of the Cutlers' Company of London and of the "Minor Cutlery Crafts, with Biographical Notices of Early London Cutlers" (printed privately for the Cutlers' Company, London), by that eminent antiquarian, Mr. Charles Welch, who was Master of the Company 1907-8, was formerly librarian of the Guildhall, and the author of innumerable antiquarian books and monographs. Every City Company ought to have at some time or another an antiquarian of merit as Master. He should be caught young, cherished on the noblest literary fare, and then, when a Past-Master, should be induced to write the veritable history of the Company. Mr. Welch in this volume carries the history of the Company in this noble tome from early times to the year 1500. "The Cutler's Company reached the quincentenary of its incorporation" on December 4th, 1916. "With the exception of the splendid series of accounts of the last half of the fifteenth century the Company possesses no early records, and the archives of the Guildhall, the Public Record Office, and other ancient repositories, are the only available sources for the early history of the Company." From this mass of material Mr. Welch has been able to throw "much light upon the condition and organisation of the Company at a remote period." The first chapter carries us from the prehistoric knife-grinders to the year 1388. London Neolithic cutlers' art survives in fine examples. Cutlery appears as a distinct craft in the reign of Richard I., and by the thirteenth century the cutlers of London were a recognised body: "Admission to the craft and to the City freedom by apprenticeship was then in full vogue, the earliest instance recorded being that of John, son of Saman the knifsmith who was apprenticed to Stephen atte Holt, cutler, in 1287." This John in 1309-10 was admitted to the freedom before the Mayor and Aldermen, and the next year "took as his apprentice John atte Holt the son of his former master." Probably apprenticeship in cutlery, a skilled trade, existed centuries earlier. In 1291, we get a reference to "Money of the Cutlers," which

seems to indicate a quasi-corporate body with funds of its own. Some five years earlier we have a reference to "a house of the Cutlers" opposite the Conduit, a locality frequented by cutlers, and known as The Cutlery. This was evidently their first Hall. "In 1328 . . . seven prominent cutlers were elected by their fellows and sworn before the Mayor and Aldermen at Guildhall for the government and instruction of the Mistery." The Mistery was, of course, much older than this date. In 1344 the Mistery had articles of governance over the craft sanctioned by the Mayor and Aldermen. There were to be penalties for false work, no Sabbath sales, no night work. It had become a great industry; it had its own Fraternity of the Mistery of Cutlers, a body existing before 1370, of a quasi-social, quasi-religious type. It watched over the foreign trade; it rapidly became highly organised. There were many women-cutlers. The cutler's art needed three classes of workers: "the *bladesmith*, or *knifesmith*, made the blade; the *hafter*, the haft or handle; the *sheather*, the sheath; and the cutler put together the various parts, and sold the tool or weapon complete. The hafters were an important class of workmen, and in days when the handles of swords, daggers, and knives were made of choice materials such as ivory, and embellished with gold, silver, and precious stones, the hafters were the artists of the craft. They were never independent of the cutlers, whose right to oversee the hafting of knives is provided for in the Ordinances of 1379-80." We wish that there were space to write more of the history of the craft and of the veritable cutlers who are described by Mr. Welch. We imagine that the Cutlers' Company possesses specimens of every age of knives, daggers, or swords, the reproduction of which would be a noble illustration of this book. Cutlery is a great mystery of peace; was the great mystery of the Middle Ages, when so much turned on edged tools and weapons. But to-day, the day of the bayonet, Cutlery is (once more) one of the mysteries of war as well as of peace.

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Mr. Phillip F. E. Schuler, the special war correspondent of "The Age," of Melbourne, has given us in "Australia in Arms" (T. Fisher Unwin, 12s. 6d. net) "a narrative of the Australian Imperial Force and their achievement at Anzac." Australia, spared from the horrors of war as part of her history, has nevertheless taken her share, with conspicuous and characteristic gallantry, in the war as a member of the Empire. In choosing this part, we believe that she chose rightly, since the defeat of the Empire inevitably would have meant sooner or later the invasion of Dominion after Dominion by the Germans. The Australian hearths, like the hearths of the other Dominions, were best defended in Europe by the defeat of the Power that had cast away all consciousness of right. But it was not on grounds of expediency that the Dominion of Australia sent her noblest sons to Europe and Anzac. It was because they were a living part of a living Empire, and rallied to the heart they loved. "Those records of glorious deeds" are dedicated "to the mothers of the heroes who have fallen." Mr. Schuler tells us that "the first twenty thousand who volunteered to go forth from Australia to help the Mother Country in the firing-line was an army that made even our enemies doubt if we had not deliberately 'chosen' the finest of the race." Since then there have not been twenty, but two hundred thousand of that stamp of soldier sent across the water to fight the Empire's battles at the throat of the foe."

Mr. Schuler, who witnessed "the whole of the August offensive from the closest quarters, being in our trenches at Lone Pine during the engagement of the 6th," is "most anxious to remove" any claim of singularity for the Australian heroes: with them he couples, rightly, "the magnificent 29th Division, the Lowland Division, and the Yeomanry," as well as the French at Achi Baba. In sight of Troy all heroes are one. This book first tells us of "the gathering of the Clans"—that is to say, the answer of Australia to the call of home. The description of the action between the *Sydney* and the *Emden* in this chapter will be read with thrilled interest. Then we have "The Anzac Campaign." Mr. Schuler has a clear, vigorous style, and we believe that this book will remain not only as a historical, but a literary record of the great events of Gallipoli. He makes the reader feel that the direct attack on the Dardanelles was right, and should have been pressed home. The Turks, after the campaign, admitted that a little more force and the forts would have fallen. The story of the Australian landing is the story of a great deed. The troops "joked while in the boats, talked of the newness of the shot and shell, laughed as bullets flicked caps and jackets. Their attitude to death raised the enthusiasm of the sailors." What more could one say? The Queenslanders got ashore a few seconds ahead of other troops from every State of the Commonwealth. With the Victorians landed the 26th Indian Mountain Battery, and made the position a little more possible. It was more than a wonderful business. It is in retrospect inconceivable. The present writer was talking not long since to an Englishman of the 29th Division. His description of the landing seemed like a Saga, and yet the narrator took it as a matter of course. It is not proposed here to attempt to go through this record of heroism; it is better to commend it to the readers of the Empire. Such deeds of daring are links, indissoluble and eternal, of Empire. If men after the war can live as splendidly as the heroes of Anzac died, live with the same self-abnegation, the same faith in righteousness and a great cause, what a golden world it will be!

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Miss Winifred Stevens, the editor of "The Book of France," has brought together a wonderful collection of contributions on the subject of Russia which she has edited and entitled "The Soul of Russia" (Macmillan, 10s. 6d. net). The profits, including the publishers' profits, "will be handed over to Prince G. E. Lvov, President of the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos, or Russian County Councils, for distribution among sufferers from the war." The work of these Councils, first created in the Reform Age (1864), and organised into a Union after the Russo-Japanese War, has been wonderful during this war. It is a national agency of relief. The activities of the Union "include care of the wounded, their transport, the organisation of hospitals, the provision of medical and surgical equipment, as well as the manufacture of clothing and munitions." The Union makes an ideal use of money entrusted to it. This book will do much to strengthen the growing comradeship and unity of goal between Russia and England. Here we have original articles on Russian themes by Englishmen who know and love Russia. Thus Dr. Hagberg Wright writes of Moscow, Miss Netta Peacock describes Russian Peasant Industries, Dr. Seton Watson writes on "Britain and the Slavonic World," Mr. Chesterton describes "The English Blunder about Russia." "The English anti-Imperialist denounced it for being an

"Empire, and the Imperialist for being another Empire." Mr. Maurice Baring contributes a series of sonnets that will be read with pleasure :—

"I only know that when
I hear your soldiers singing in the street,
I see your peasants reaping in the wheat,
Your children playing on the road, your men
At prayer before a shrine, I wish them well."

But perhaps the most interesting part of the book are the contributions of Russians. Professor Vinogradoff writes on "The Task of Russia," and declares that "the Imperialism of Russia can prove a beneficial force only on the condition that it should entirely renounce the oppressive methods of centralistic policy which have so often called forth suspicion, dread, and resentment." In the treatment of the Jews there have been "centuries of folly and oppression," but, we would point out, not only in Russia. But Professor Vinogradoff has no lack of confidence. "In the face of this steady flow of Russian contemporary history towards progress there is no room for doubts as to the future. Nor is there any danger of the nation losing individual character and spiritual originality in the process. . . . A mighty Russia is needed by the West—the task of Russia is to achieve freedom with the West." We have also poems by Valery Bryusov, Stravinsky, Z. Bukharova, Balmont, I. Grinevskaya, Schepkina-Kupernik. Miss Gusette M. Taylor's translation of "A Vision of War," by the last-named poetess, is really admirable. In addition, we have fairy tales and fiction and serious articles by eminent Russians. It is a wonderful collection, and the illustrations are worthy of the book. The pictures entitled "The Patriarch Alexis and the Vladimir Madonna" (Uspensky Cathedral, Moscow) are good examples of this strange Byzantinised art. As an instance of purely modern work, we have N. Goncharova's "The Queen of the Mermaids" in gold, red, and green. The Byzantine touch is still dominant, and we may doubt if Russian art can or should escape the great tradition.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., the grandson of a famous citizen of Calcutta, has given us a historical work of considerable usefulness and merit in the volume entitled "Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammedan Rule (by Muhammedans)" (Longmans, 14s. net). Mr. Law claims that "the subject-matter of the work has not anywhere been systematically treated. The materials for its compilation lie scattered in works published and unpublished." Mr. H. Beveridge in his Foreword points out that the volume covers a period of over seven centuries, from the Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, forty years earlier than the Norman Conquest, to the close of the eighteenth century. Mahmud was a lover of learning, and adorned that eyrie of Afghanistan whence he dominated the South. Mahmud was the patron of the poet Firdausi, who, however, was disappointed in his royal patron. The poet was promised a gold piece for every line he wrote; whereupon he wrote so many that even the Sultan could not keep pace. The poet hurled forty verses of satire into the air and fled. The Sultan was so pleased with the satire that he sent the money previously withheld to the poet, but the sum only arrived after the

poet's death, and his daughter refused it. But surely here is a lesson for modern poets and publishers. Each thinks that when fame is achieved any stuff can be flung at a high price at the public. The public, Sultan-like, should refuse so to be dealt with, whether by Firdausi or another. We are sure that Mahmud was right in his refusal, and perhaps this was the reason that the historian Ferishta declared that "no King had ever had more learned men at his Court." Mahmud's line carried on the tradition of learning. His son Mas 'ud was the patron of the savant Alberuni, and it was in his age that Arabian and Persian scholars ransacked Sanscrit and Grecian literary treasures. Mr. Law traces the progress of thought and literature under dynasty after dynasty, and the knowledge that he has gathered together will prove useful to the Western student as proof of strange and yet vital actions and reactions between East and West. It seems to us to matter very little whether Akbar was illiterate. It is said that Charlemagne was also illiterate. But in fact both were magnificent patrons of learning and begetters of thought. A work of this type deserves a large circulation both in the East and the West.

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Mr. J. B. Firth's volume, "Highways and Byways in Nottinghamshire" (Macmillan, 6s. net), charmingly illustrated by Mr. Frederick L. Griggs, tells us the story of "a pleasant county . . . rich in "comely landscapes," the county (how strange it seems!) of Byron, the county of desperate fighting in the Great Rebellion with which Nottingham and Newark are so closely associated, the county of the Forests of Sherwood and Robin Hood, Friar Tuck and Maid Marion, and the glorious company of woodland heroes. Mr. Firth has little faith in the reality of Robin Hood, though he admits that "it is hard to believe "there never was a popular outlaw who lived free in Sherwood Forest "in the days of King Richard and King John." The account of Sherwood Forest is excellent. The forest in the old sense has practically disappeared by the process of enclosure in the last two centuries, though, in fact, vast areas are still in private possession and are a favourite resort of sightseers. All the old Crown rights have been sold. The account of Lord Byron at Newstead is written by a pen that loves Byron and is fair to him, dismissing as mere boyish pranks the riotous living that went on in the old Priory. But Mr. Firth is not prepared to deny "the ill-luck that attaches to "Newstead," though he looks for it to "work itself out." It really does seem as if there are such places as unlucky houses; perhaps they deserve to be unlucky, and certainly the story of the Byron family gives no happy associations to their places of resort. Mansfield, near Newstead, was more fortunate in its literary associations, for thence sprang the ancestors of Laurence Sterne, and there was born Robert Dodsley, the famous bookseller and literary man of the Johnsonian age. The book is charmingly written, and will carry many a walker and wheeler happily through the quietude of a very English county, much of which still retains its ancient features, though mine and factory have claimed their own here as elsewhere in the Midlands.

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The Rev. Charles E. Raven, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Southwark, in the introduction to his lectures on the Incarnation and its Interpretation in terms of modern thought entitled "What Think "Ye of Christ?" (Macmillan, 4s. 6d. net), says that "if the "Church has failed, she has at least a good excuse for her failure.

"Very few Christians can combine the duty of study with the care of souls. Clerical life demands a vast versatility from its followers; and no man can be at once preacher, relieving officer, universal confidant, and expert in theology. So we are content to leave the answering of hard questions and the task of restatement to a few dons and professors, and, moreover, to make it almost impossible for the results of their work to be brought within the outlook of the parish priest." But surely such a state of things is not an excuse for failure! Surely it is the business of the Church, if she thinks she has failed, as she has in *some* areas of work, to set her house in order. The great fault of the Church of England is that the clergy are singularly ill-trained; they are not trained to preach, to teach, to know the economics of their work. They are taught more theology than anything else, and, if one may judge by the average Sunday sermon, are not taught that very well. We quite agree that it is absurd to leave restatement to dons, though in view of some dons we know we do not like to hear the theological don described as "a specialist and tainted with the academic habit—that is, he is somewhat less than a man." But we are in a pretty state if the professors and the parish priests are by necessity shut out from theology. However, Mr. Raven has done both research and parochial work, and can bring theory to the touch after having been through the furnace at Cambridge where hedonists and atheists seem to have been busy in his time. Reform, he thinks, and we are glad to read it, must "be begun by way of a readjustment of emphasis, not of a restatement of belief." We are sure that that is true, and these lectures on "Man's Knowledge of God," "The Oneness of Jesus," "The Many-sidedness of Jesus," "The Divinity of Jesus," and "Man's Salvation Through Jesus," will help those who are doubtful.

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Mrs. M. Sturge Gretton's "Kalendar of the War" (Nisbet & Co., Berners Street, W., 2s. net) was first printed last November, and ran into a second edition in December. We are not surprised; it is a wonderful record in books, selected with subtle skill, of the first 117 weeks of the war, "readings appropriate to those weeks, and spaces for a chronicle of private names and events." This quiet work, achieved in peaceful, pleasant Gloucestershire, is truly war work, for it brings the war, its achievements, heroism, and purpose into full focus. It is the focus that we all need and often miss in the confusion of crowding events. Mrs. Gretton writes in her introduction: "To all of us surely, even the most intensive and complacent, the springs of 1915 and 1916 must have held a poignancy, a clang almost, of beauty. Every year with us in Burford the fool's parsley and the buttercups and the apple-blossom—under the sun and under the moon—heap, spill over, the chalice of natural beauty till man's heart is filled. This year, the radiant blossoming, the child-like tranquillity, the clear streams and the slumbrous little hills were costing the best blood of England. It is, is it not, a momentous question now whether we who remain are worthy of our heritage? Are we capable of feeling the loveliness, the possibilities, of our land as those who have felt it a thing they must, gaily and gallantly—almost as troubadours—die for?" Each one of us has to answer the question; each one of us, man and woman, has to be willing to give all for England, God, and Right. These poems, beginning with Browning's "Cape Saint Vincent," and ending with Mr. Newbolt's "O, Son of Mine," will help us.

Mr. Leonard A. Magnus, in "Pros and Cons in the Great War" (Kegan Paul, 3s. 6d. net), gives us "a record of foreign opinion with 'a register of fact.'" The book is "dedicated to the enemy," above the text, "Thy mouth has testified against thee." The material of the book is mainly drawn from German and other foreign sources. The "anticipations" of the war as long ago as 1914 are important. The foreign evidence (especially German evidence) as to German atrocities is very damning and dreadful, especially when there is direct proof of superior command. The evidence is given that this system of atrocities is perennial with the Germans. The case of the sack of Magdeburg should have been quoted. The Germans, accustomed to the carrying out of atrocities, believed them to be a necessity of war, and made reckless charges against the English in connection with the *Baralong* case and various African campaigns; Sir Edward Grey offered to carry the *Baralong* case with other cases that occurred in the same forty-eight hours to arbitration. This was refused. The charges of atrocities in Africa were disproved by the letters of German prisoners. The evidence as to the German view of France will be found very enlightening, as are the sections on Alsace-Lorraine, on Germany, Greece, Poland, Prussia, small nationalities, and the Balkans. The book is of great length, but the material will be found invaluable as a work of reference in days to come.

* * *

Count Charles de Souza, in his work entitled "Germany in Defeat: A Strategic History of the War" (Kegan Paul, 6s. net), has now reached the "Third Phase," and illustrates his theme with twenty-six maps and plans. This phase is the phase in which the Germans, realising that defeat was inevitable, had to play for peace by securing some measure of temporary success and by attempting to frighten their enemies and the world by wild indulgence in atrocities as a means to an inconclusive peace. Meantime, regular fighting had to go on, and here Count Charles de Souza discusses and illustrates the strategy of the war; we have the great operations in Russia and the famous Russian Retreat; Joffre's offensive in 1915, and the Franco-British offensive of the same year, France thus again thwarting Germany in her attack on Russia. The Allied offensive of 1915 brought back from Russia enormous German forces which were wasted in the ten months before Verdun. Verdun bled Germany to death. "The battle of Verdun testified to the complete and definite triumph of France." Old Field-Marshal Haeseler's plans were faulty and failed. But were they *his* plans? The account of the French strategy is really valuable, and we think that this volume will be welcomed by experts.

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In "Religion and Philosophy" (Macmillan, 5s. net.), Mr. R. G. Collingwood attempts "to treat the Christian creed not as dogma but 'as a critical solution of a philosophical problem.'" He asks, "Is religion really a philosophy? May it not be that the philosophy which we find associated with Christianity (and the same applies to Buddhism or Mohammedanism) is not Christianity itself but an alien growth—the projection into religion of the philosophy of those who have tried to understand it?" Mr. Collingwood raises this and cognate issues in the first part of the book, and concludes that "religion is undoubtedly an affair of the intellect," but it involves also moral conduct, and the Creed finds utterance in history as well as philosophy. Part II. deals with Religion and Metaphysics, and Part III. carries us from Metaphysics to Theology.

AMERICA AND THE WAR.

A YEAR ago I laid before readers of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW an account of the state of American feeling on the war. The Presidential election in November endorsed the conclusions I pronounced, and thus encourages me to a further consideration of that which America is now thinking, and why she does so. It is obviously impossible to do anything more than indicate the general trend of public opinion amongst a people who number a hundred millions—since every statement can be challenged on the ground that nine millions at least think differently—Mr. Wilson, the most independent and successful of Presidential candidates since Ulysses Grant, having only defeated his opponent by 500,000 votes out of eighteen million votes cast. I can only, as an Englishman, faintly outline what I have good reason to believe to be American thought as it is reflected in the conversation and writings of many typical Americans.

In arriving at any just estimate of a nation's opinions, it is of primary importance to grasp in their entirety the reasons that country has for reaching its conclusions. To comprehend the other man's standpoint should be the earliest of the tasks of a successful negotiator, as to make allowances for his prejudices as illustrated in it is the most difficult; yet, unless we can do both when we speak or think of America, we shall miss the greatest, and perhaps the only, opportunity we shall ever have of wiping out past misunderstandings, of obliterating past history, and of converting the so-called cousinship, which is now but little more than a source of irritation and jealousy, into the pleasure and unity of a friendship based on the great possessions of a common language, literature, and ethical outlook.

Let us see if we can distinguish and trace the milestones along the track traversed by American opinion during the last six months, and thus reach the clue to their present attitude towards, and their probable action against, the German submarine menace to civilisation. The simplest method of doing this is to recall those European events which have attracted attention in America, and to estimate in what direction and to what extent they have affected opinions across the Atlantic. I would ask my readers to remember always that I am here only trying to record American opinion, and not

to impose upon them my own, for such a course would defeat, and deservedly, the object I have in view.

Of the occurrences referred to, the publishing of the Black List of firms trading with our enemies, the mail censorship, the execution of the Irish rebels, the Orders in Council, the entrance of Roumania into the war, and the coercion of Greece are foremost. As it matters little in what order we discuss them, perhaps that which is here the most contentious is the one to dispose of first.

The *New York World*, which is always and with truth supposed to be the journal most closely in touch with President Wilson, wrote last September that "neither the Censorship, nor the Orders in Council, nor the stoppage of mails, nor all these factors put together could so alienate American sympathy as the blundering in Ireland had done." America is but little better acquainted with the details of the Irish rebellion than we are with the truth about their Mexican campaign, and is hardly in a position accurately to assess the rights or wrongs either of Irish patriots, or of the English who were shot in the Dublin rising. The large mass of the American people, however, are apt to judge England solely by reference to Irish affairs, and when these are unsettled and volcanic, as they were and still are, opinion in the States, putting its own and not British interpretation upon history, becomes exceedingly suspicious of British methods and doings. That suspicion was held quite undeservedly by some of our wisest and most steadfast supporters. Luckily our best friends in this matter were the Irish extremists in the States, who allied themselves openly and violently with the German cause, and so threw back to the Allies sympathy which Germany gained but could not hold. Thus a large German attendance at an Irish bazaar in New York about the time of the Presidential election materially assisted the Allied cause by advertising a union between German Republicans and Irish Democrats which could only be ascribed to anti-Ally propaganda. At present there is no sentiment due to Irish complications which is prominent against England, but at any moment it may become visible and active, and a really serious outbreak of it might nullify all the misdoings of German submarines by rendering impossible an alliance with the traditional enemy both of Ireland and America.

So far as the Black List is concerned, we here are in no position to appreciate the irritation occasioned by its publication. It has in nowise affected the volume of American trade; probably not one in ten thousand of American merchants could tell from his books that such regulations existed, yet a belief, diligently fostered by the Germans, is prevalent in commercial circles that the Black List, nominally a war measure, has in truth been contrived for the

retention of German, and the acquisition of American, trade after the war. The resolutions passed by the London Chamber of Commerce and those of the Paris Conference have increased this conviction and roused a resentment voiced by Mr. Hughes in his statement that "no American who is exercising only American rights shall be put on any black list by any foreign nation." The real, as well as the journalistic, sentiments of the Western Continent are notoriously volatile, but the fact remains that it has been possible for an American friend to write late in the autumn of last year that "the feature of present opinion is the growing feeling against Great Britain." Steps taken by the Foreign Office merely to strengthen our Consular service were regarded as if the question of more effective black listing were involved, and the *New York World* called our position "increasingly sinister, "as it amounted to a world-wide boycott of certain American business men." The very cogency of the British reply in support of our legal position only added fuel to the fire created by our comments, none too judicious, as to criminal breaches of neutrality by Germans in the United States. There is no question but that the publication of the Black List, useful as it has been, and legitimate as it seems to us, has been one of the chief causes of the decline of sympathy manifested during the past winter towards the Allied cause.

The censorship of mails and cables has provided a target of even larger size for American criticism. It is firmly and widely held that Great Britain has deliberately delayed or withheld mails, and utilised for her own commercial advancement information derived from censored letters. Denials and explanations have been in vain. Exceptional instances of misdoing are regarded as evidence of habitual and intentional practices; and since England has come to be regarded as the protagonist in the war against Germany, England alone is credited as being the author of these vexatious interferences. A state of mind exists which in its inception is due neither to political motives nor to enemy intrigues, but which springs from immemorial sources, and is by so much the more permanent and dangerous. In the late autumn of 1916, the *Journal of Commerce*, one of the most steadfastly pro-Ally papers in the States, wrote: "Perhaps no action taken by any belligerent has caused more resentment here than the British practice of censoring mails in passage from one neutral to another," and this, be it remembered, was written after the destruction of the *Lusitania* and *Sussex*. I have heard of one prominent American business man, who, though heart and soul for an Allied victory, was beside himself with rage against Great Britain because his mails to Spain had been censored and delayed.

Such are some of the causes which have from time to time adversely affected the strong pro-Ally sentiment of the majority of American citizens. They have not alienated that sentiment, but they have in many individual cases profoundly modified and weakened it. Could the actions it has been necessary to take have been entrusted by the Allies to France for execution, or could they have been ascribed to French suggestion, they would perhaps have been overlooked, or at the least condoned. But, partly because of our naval predominance, partly because of French preoccupation in defending her own territory, and partly because we have usually replied to American remonstrances in our own name rather than in that of the Allies, to us has been attributed all the blame for interference, delay, and loss. The doubtful legality in many instances of American action during the Civil War, which we are entitled and have found it convenient to quote as precedents for some of our present doings, has not placated American wrath at these doings, and the fact that they are thus occasionally hoist with their own petard has merely accentuated the grievance felt. In short, for good reason or bad, we lost ground, and our only consolation must be that Germany did not gain it.

Another consideration which has left its mark on American opinion is the attitude of English writers and papers towards America. The strain of British blood amongst Americans is very thin, and yearly wears thinner. Because we speak the same language as Americans we flatter ourselves that they think the same thoughts as Englishmen, and are invariably to be actuated by the same reasoning and motives. Nothing could be more inaccurate or more dangerous than such a deduction. The ties of literature, law, and language between us are real, strong, and abiding, and are such as are enjoyed by no two other sovereign countries. There is, then, no necessity to create a fictitious bond, and by so doing to endanger and destroy the genuine one. Yet the unceasing and vexatious claim of cousinship, which has no meaning in the Middle West and no force in the West, must bear a modest share of the blame for American aloofness at the present time. To this cause of friction must be added that extreme sensitiveness to criticism which always is apparent in any people so critical of others as are Americans themselves. With a few exceptions, British comment on American speech and action has been reasoned and extremely moderate. But whenever it has been really critical or adverse, the German publicity agency has scattered it broadcast through America with deadly effect. The consequent resentment may be due to jealousy, or to the national misconception of English history and outlook, but not until school authorities in the States revise their history

primers will that jealousy cease to be endemic or become inoperative. To explain it is not to excuse it, but only to recall its existence as a matter of extreme consequence to the Allies and their cause.

Still another factor in the formation of American sentiment whose importance is overlooked here is the remoteness of Europe, especially from the Western States, and the ignorance of European racial and geographical limits. It is noticeable that whenever the centre of war interest has shifted to the Balkans attention in America to the war has begun to flag. In view of the havoc deliberately wrought in Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania by the German, Turkish, and Austrian Armies, a European would have expected on their behalf that display of humanitarianism which is the boast of American culture, which created and has maintained the national sympathy with Belgium. No such display, however, on behalf of the Balkans takes place; on the contrary, the issue becomes remote, alien, suspect: dynastic, not racial; oligarchic, not democratic. If we complain because the Balkan boundaries are unknown in America, we must measure with such ignorance our own familiarity with those, say, of Illinois, and yet the latter has the larger area and population, besides being one of the greatest of industrial centres. Thus measured we have little right to find fault with our Transatlantic neighbours for the parochial character of their geographical knowledge.

Again, we habitually undervalue even now the numbers, good citizenship, organisation, and consequent influence of the German element, which forms one-ninth of the whole white population in the States. A generation ago it was almost voiceless, without form or coherence, or influence on President, Senate, or Congress. To-day the German vote and German finance are factors in the political daily life of the United States, which no one dares to neglect or fails to court. They bulk more unfavourably to us than the number or circulation of German-American papers and literature would lead a student to expect. Some measure of their power can be gauged by the recent action of the Federal Reserve Board in vetoing Allied Loans, and by the widespread activities of the Peace propagandists. A new campaign was started by these latter at the end of the Presidential Election, and has never been more active and apparently effective than at the present moment. It is the successor of that earlier movement designed to secure with the minimum of effort for Germany the booty which she had seized, just as the present campaign is designed to enable her to retain it with the least possible sacrifice. The immorality of German war methods ensured the failure of the previous attempt, but as soon as Mr. Wilson had obtained his second term of office, and

contemporaneously with Lord Grey's address to the Foreign Press Association on the enforcement of peace *after* the war, the German organisation joined hands with the genuine pacifists in their second endeavour at *immediate* peace. The seed fell on fertile and favourable soil. There was, and ever has been, an impatient, even insistent, national desire to have peace restored. The President had been re-elected because he intended, if possible, to preserve peace. A series of letters written over the pseudonym of "Cosmos," in a journal known to have intimate relations with the President and believed to be by one of his close friends if not by himself, had pointed to the breaches of international law by both combatants, and dwelling on the fervent national desire for immunity of private property from capture, pointed out the impossibility of German, and the cost in men and money of Allied, victory. Thus, argued the author, the need of devising steps to obtain common ground for the cessation of war was urgent, and the duty of doing so compelling. Peace was the common aim of pro-Ally, pro-German, and neutral Americans; they were divided only as to the terms on which it should be concluded. The very fact that they desired a real peace kept the best intentioned and best informed of these pacifists from urging immediate intervention, and by their wisdom and moderation added to their influence and numbers. While, therefore, the President's Peace Note may not have appeared at a juncture best suited to attain its object (and it serves no purpose of mine to criticise its opportuneness, phrasing, or meaning), it did say what most Americans wished the President to say, and it sought to accomplish what they hoped to see accomplished. Accordingly, public opinion rallied to him as it has rallied to him throughout, because they regarded his message, dictated and issued by the submarine menace, as a warning to themselves of the probability of a break in the relations with Germany, as a reminder to Germany of the danger of continuing her policy of piracy, and as showing their President to the world as one who had done everything he could to prevent the break.

With such circumstances and tendencies working strongly and consecutively against both the Allied cause and intervention, I have now to show why it is that America has, notwithstanding, concurred in its President breaking off relations with Germany, and why it is prepared to follow him should he find it eventually necessary to throw down the gage to the German Government.

Of these predisposing causes the first is the hereditary sympathy with the French Republic. Few Englishmen seem fully aware of this governing feeling in American foreign policy. It dates back to the War of Independence, and no American can conceive of any event which could interrupt or extinguish it. It is a rare, almost

unique, instance of national gratitude, paralleled only, if at all, by the perpetual alliance between Great Britain and Portugal. The second of the originating reasons for goodwill was the wanton invasion and bestial ruin of Belgium. Directly the facts had been established—and some considerable time elapsed before they were finally accepted—America made up its mind that Germany had planned the war, had caused its outbreak, and intended by its successful prosecution to become the master and arbiter of Europe. Such a conception of statecraft and policy were repugnant to the peace-loving American citizen, and the attempted execution of them awoke alarm in the mind of every American statesman, to whom German doings in Brazil were not unknown nor unmarked, and who realised that the United States has a population of ten millions of full-blooded Germans. Thus to humanitarian detestation of violence was added political concern at such unbounded ambition. German diplomacy, here as everywhere, added both to the disgust of the religious and charitable section of the American people as well as to the distrust of the politicians, and no better servants of the Allied cause have existed in America than Messrs. Dernburg, von Papen, and Dumba. Their exhortations as to, and explanations of, the devastation by German armies in Belgium and Northern France neither satisfied nor deceived the American public, and their propaganda and advocacy of German guilelessness were received with aversion and incredulity. Americans demanded a narrative of facts without comment, omission, or concealment, from which they considered themselves competent, and intended, to draw their own conclusions. Such a narrative was provided by the Allied official documents, which were freely circulated. The German White Books with their interpolations, hiatuses, and mistranslations were received with some scepticism, have never gained credence, and have indeed seriously damaged their own interests.

When thus the Allied cause had gained a firm foothold in the States, various circumstances helped in counteracting the influences whose adverse effect I have narrated in the first part of this article. The chief of these was the character and reputation of the President. He had shown himself to be endowed with exceptional independence of thought and action. His disregard of precedent in dealing directly with the Senate, his control over the different members of his Cabinet, and his readiness to dispense with the most influential of them if occasion demanded, his radical railway legislation over the head of great and threatening business interests, had, each in turn, marked him out as a tried and trustworthy public servant, a head and shoulders above the contending crowd of unknown men. It is admitted that he, and not his party, won the

Presidential election. The thought, the judgment and action of such a man were bound to sway the mind of any people so unused to the consideration of foreign policy as are the Americans. Moreover, a new development of American life has taken place which has given Mr. Wilson's authority a greater hold on the country than even his success would appear to warrant. The more recent legislation of Congress, known to have been inspired by the President, has been of a radical character approved by the working-classes. These have broken away, particularly in the West, from their political bosses, to support the man who brought them freedom. A new alignment of opinion has taken place, which for the moment at least owes allegiance to Mr. Wilson and to Mr. Wilson alone.

Now Mr. Wilson's attitude towards the war, and those Powers who are waging it, seems to be clear. He does not want to be involved in it. He is determined not to be inveigled into it by adroit manœuvring in any quarter. He is well aware that such manœuvring has been going on, and he has not yet been the victim of it. He conceives it to be his duty to protect American life and property from damage, but as the injury may be due rather to the indiscretion of subordinates than to the intention of a belligerent Government, and knowing what loss of both life and property will be entailed by entry into the present conflict, he does not intend to be forced into the arena by a relatively unimportant loss of either. So I read his policy, and so I gather do the bulk of his countrymen. They are inclined to be friendly, as he is, to the Allies; they think, as he does, that we are fighting for justice and freedom; they hope, as he does, that we may win. They are of opinion, as he is, that the Allies have violated some of the fundamental conditions of international law, which would require serious attention at once were they not condoned by the massacres in Belgium and at sea of innocent non-combatants by order of the Imperial German Government. In this conviction, to which they have been slowly drawn, they are confirmed by the Belgian deportations and by the failure of Germany to table the conditions on which she would accept peace. Mr. Wilson's note of protest against the first has been even condemned as inadequate to the gravity of the offence against humanity and international law, and, gradually, American relation to the war has absorbed all other controversies and interests. Since Germany's failure to state her peace terms in her reply to the American Note, it has been held almost universally that such failure indicates a complete lack of honesty and sincerity of purpose. Contrasts have been made with the Allied reply, and the conclusion drawn from the comparison is that the war will continue until victory is achieved; that Germany has

broken deliberately her promise; that to protect the lives and property of thousands of her citizens thus threatened America must intervene against Germany; that President Wilson can be trusted not to intervene until the last moment, and can also be trusted to act with vigour when that moment arrives. So thinks America, and because the process of conviction has been very slow, very hesitating, very reluctant on the part of President and people alike, now that the necessity for action is clear they will enter the struggle as a nation united in deed as in theory, in defence of rights imperilled by acts of murder and piracy. But their intervention will have been secured by German wrongdoing far more than by direct and first-hand interest in our struggle on behalf of liberty and justice. It should be our object to do, then, our best during any ensuing military convention between the two nations to develop the co-operation of both nations into a real understanding of each other's mentality and aims, that this in turn may lead to a formal and even permanent alliance. On the basis of such an understanding between peaceful and powerful nations whose language, law, and institutions are more respected and imitated than those of any other single country or alliance, it may be possible to build up a world-system which shall assure a peace whose permanency may be some compensation to our descendants for the horrors we ourselves are suffering.

C. HOBHOUSE.

WHEAT SUPPLIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

THESE islands depend mainly on imported foodstuffs for their subsistence, and the most important of them is wheat.

Setting aside the disturbance in our grain supplies caused by the war, we find that in the five years preceding the war, 1909-13, the average production of wheat in the United Kingdom was about 33½ million cwts. After deducting from this 15 per cent. to allow for seed and tail corn, the net amount available for human food would be about 28 million cwts. In the same period imports of wheat and of wheat flour, adjusted to its equivalent in grain, averaged about 120 million cwts. Thus before the war our home supply was about 18 per cent., or less than a fifth of our total consumption.

In 1914, 1915, and 1916 the proportions have been as follows, in millions of cwts.:—

HOME.					FOREIGN.			TOTALS.
1914	...	30	20 per cent.	...	117	80 per cent.	...	147
1915	...	35	25 per cent.	...	102	75 per cent.	...	137
1916	...	28	19 per cent.	...	113	81 per cent.	...	141

Our imported supplies come almost entirely from six countries—Russia, the United States, Argentina, India, Australia, and Canada. During the seven years before the war (1907-1913) our supplies thus distributed were very steady; on an average 95 per cent. of our wheat imports coming from these six countries, in 1913, 98 per cent. And yet, if we take each country separately, we find large fluctuations. Thus Russia sent us nearly 29 million cwts. in 1910 and a little more than 5 million cwts. in 1913. In the United States the range was between a minimum of 16 million cwts. in 1910 and 40 million in 1913. Argentina ranged between less than 16 million in 1911 and nearly 32 million in 1908. British India ranged between less than 3 million in 1908 and 25 million in 1912. Australia's range was between less than 6 million in 1908 and over 14 million in 1911. Canada has risen with hardly a break from under 15 million in 1907 to nearly 26 million in 1913.

Thus we see that a widely distributed area of supply gives great

stability to our resources; as we find that the minimum of one country rarely coincides with the minimum of another country, and is often compensated by the maximum of another. Since the war, of course, our foreign supply has been hindered, and the result has been accentuated in the year 1915. Thus the supply from Russia is practically cut off. So is that from Germany, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Turkey, which, though not important sources of supply individually, are not negligible. Thus Germany in 1913 sent us 448,000 cwts.; Bulgaria in 1907, 420,000 cwts.; Roumania in 1907, 2,540,000 cwts.; and Turkey in three different years sent us over 400,000 cwts. In addition to our loss from these excluded areas, we have, of course, suffered from a great shortage of shipping. This has greatly delayed delivery, and has added immensely to the cost of freight. Moreover, Australia, as a consequence of the drought, sent us in 1915 less than 200,000 cwts., compared with over 12,000,000 cwts. in 1914. On the whole, our imports in 1915 fell short of our imports in 1913 by nearly 19 million cwts., a reduction of 16 per cent.

The return of imports for 1916 shows a material increase of wheat imports over 1915. Including wheat flour we imported 113 million cwts., against 102 million in 1915, an increase of nearly 11 per cent. In the series of years from 1907 to 1916 the price of imported wheat has been as follows:—

	s.	d.			s.	d.
1907	7	7	per cwt.	1912	8	5
1908	8	5	„	1913	8	2
1909	7	10	„	1914	8	7
1910	8	7	„	1915	12	10
1911	7	10	„	1916	14	5

And on January 30th, 1917, the quoted price of wheat per cwt. was 17s. 8d., and the Government have announced their intention of taking this year's British wheat crop at 60s. the quarter, or 14s. per cwt.

We are told that we must at once greatly increase our home production of grain, and especially of wheat; and we are further told that we must do this not only during the war, but as a permanent method of cultivation. During the war this seems hardly possible. Agriculture has been deprived of its able-bodied and experienced labourers, and is offered elderly men taken from sedentary and urban pursuits who are not fit for the hardships of military service. These are to be supplemented by women and girls. Under these conditions most farmers say that they cannot keep up their present tillage, or get the same result per acre as they did when they had adequate

supplies of manure and fertilisers, and such a staff as would enable them to cultivate their present area properly.

Moreover, they say that unless substantially high prices, or some similar adequate security, is afforded to them it will not pay to produce more grain crops. No doubt, in the continuous shrinking of tillage and substitution of permanent pasture during the last thirty or forty years, the land most suited to wheat has been retained, and land no longer under tillage would not continuously produce as much grain per acre as the land now under the plough. Farmers and their friends tell us that they must be assured a substantial price, not less than 40s. a quarter, for a considerable period if they are to grow more wheat.

Mr. Prothero is now our Minister for Agriculture, and therefore we may take his views as indicating what those in charge of public affairs might be inclined to promote. He gave evidence before the Departmental Committee on the Employment of Discharged Sailors and Soldiers on the Land, and he advocated an increased area under tillage. He advocated a guaranteed minimum price of 42s. 6d. a quarter (Q. 9358), but he thought that this price, if coupled with a minimum wage, would be no inducement to increase tillage (Q. 9364). He further said (Q. 9366) that a guaranteed price of 55s. a quarter would be "preposterous" and "ridiculous." As to the period for which the guarantee should last, it might be four or five years (Q. 9367). Yet Mr. Prothero, on the whole, concluded that any guaranteed minimum price such as the nation would stand would not increase tillage (Q. 9376), and in answer to the same question and to Q. 9378, he also repudiated an import duty. On the whole, his evidence is most interesting to read, for it shows that a sympathetic and competent witness who has given careful study to the question comes, in effect, to the conclusion that Parliamentary action will be neither effective, profitable, nor just. There are two lines of political preference working towards some form of protection for British food production, especially in the case of wheat; the one is based on war conditions, and, for the purpose of security, desires by increasing the cost of our food supplies (wheat being the most prominent) to prevent the risk of our being starved by such interference as might arise, for instance, by the action of submarines. It would probably be admitted that so long as we had the free use of the ocean highways we should do well to draw our supplies from the world.

The other policy aims not so much at insular security as at the Imperialist policy of developing trade within the Empire at the expense of our foreign trade. This policy would be no use to us as against an effective maritime blockade, but unless our Dominions and dependencies could produce more grain for exportation than

this country could absorb, a preferential import duty would not only raise the price here against the world price by the amount of the duty, but it would also raise the price of wheat in our dependencies, for the import duty here would amount to a bounty to them on exportations to this country. No doubt Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was right when he said that if you want Colonial preference you must do it by a duty on food, for food is the principal article we import from our Colonies and dependencies except raw materials, which few Protectionists in this country have as yet proposed to tax. But whatever the device which by raising the price of corn would lead to more corn growing in this country, there is a general agreement that in order to secure sufficient and efficient labour on the land agricultural wages must be materially increased, and the other conditions of living and housing must be made more attractive so as to arrest the present outflow to the towns.

Let us assume a very high rate of bonus approaching to what Mr. Prothero described as preposterous and ridiculous. Assume a guaranteed price of 50s. a quarter for a considerable period—say six years—and let us assume that this bonus would not merely keep the 2,333,000 acres under wheat which are returned under that crop for the year 1915, but would add 25 per cent. to the area, and possibly to the crop. Taking the production at 32 bushels to the acre, we should have 2,900,000 acres under wheat, producing nearly 93,000,000 bushels, or about 11,700,000 quarters; and assume, further, that after the war the world price of wheat delivered here would be not higher than 40s. a quarter, then the British farmer would receive a bonus of 10s. a quarter on his wheat. Is this bonus to be paid on all the wheat grown, or only on that which is marketed, excluding seed corn and such corn as is not fit to be marketed, but will be consumed by cattle on the farm? If we only pay on the marketable corn, then deducting 15 per cent. for seed and tail corn, the bounty would be paid on a little less than 10,000,000 quarters, and if the market price did not exceed 40s. a quarter, there would be a minimum bounty of nearly £5,000,000. If, however, the bounty were paid on all the wheat grown, it would run up to a minimum of £5,850,000. In any case, if a bounty were paid on the product of each farm, there would be some difficulty in verifying the several crops, and if the bounty were paid on an assumed product per acre, the bad farmer would be encouraged as against the one who cultivated his land well. As the result of this bounty it is assumed that the home wheat supply would be increased by 25 per cent. beyond even the 2,333,000 acres of 1915. That is, that we should have not quite 43,000,000 cwts. of home-grown wheat, which on the basis of 150,000,000 cwts. for our total consumption, would give us nearly 29 per cent. of our total requirements. But this food

increase would not be a net gain, for the land brought under wheat would displace other crops. Thus in 1915 we find that the considerable increase of land under wheat was accompanied by a great reduction of the land under barley, and there were also large reductions in the root crops and clover areas. And yet the shortage of our barley imports in 1915, compared with before the war in 1913, was much greater than the shortage of wheat imports, the former being 55 per cent. of the 1913 imports, and the latter 84 per cent.; thus the shiftage to wheat materially reduces our resources for securing meat and dairy products.

Can anyone contend that this action would add materially to the safety of the nation in case of war? If the farmer were encouraged by an import duty of 5s. a quarter instead of by a bonus, this at an import price of 40s. a quarter would be a tax of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; but it would be levied at the present proportion of imported and home-grown wheat on about 26,000,000 quarters, and would yield to the State about £6,500,000, while it would increase the cost by £8,750,000 to the consumer of all the wheat which would be used, and this tax would be borne mainly by the poor, whose consumption of bread *per capita* is larger than that of the rich, for the rich eat more meat and less bread than the poor. If this import duty stimulated, as is desired, the home production of wheat so as to reach the suggested proportion that would result from a bounty—namely, an increase of 25 per cent., we should have 11,500,000 quarters of home-grown wheat, and 23,500,000 quarters of imported wheat. In that case the State would receive from the tax about £5,900,000, while the consumers of wheat would still pay £8,750,000.

Mr. Prothero and other witnesses rightly concluded that a subsidy in this shape would be hard to defend in a House of Commons elected on a broad popular basis. But a proposal to subsidise wheat-growing alone would not recommend itself to farmers; the great mass of the agriculturists of these islands are not interested in wheat-growing, which is mainly confined to the Eastern counties of England. Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the West of England have little or nothing to gain by proposals to encourage wheat-growing. If we want more tillage, we must encourage tillage as such, and not tillage for one particular crop which chiefly interests such counties as the East Riding, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire. We are told that this country is badly farmed, and that Germany produces a much larger amount of foodstuffs per acre than we do because of its much larger proportion under tillage. But the character of the cultivation of Germany is due to several causes. One is the very much larger proportion of its area which

is cultivated by the owners who are small peasant proprietors, and who therefore by very hard work and by penurious living extract more gross value from the soil, but at a cost of effort which the British labourer would not be willing to give. Another, no doubt, is the great extension of scientific knowledge among the owners and cultivators of the soil—and in this we should do well to follow the German example—greater chemical knowledge, and generally an application of all relevant science to agriculture; greater familiarity with theory as well as with practice among English farmers, and the careful keeping of accounts; a closer association of the larger landowners with the land, not merely as rent receivers and as providing the fixed capital invested in buildings, &c., but also as skilled agriculturists farming much of their own land, and studying closely the industry of farming on its economic and on its scientific side. All these would be useful and practical ways of increasing the productive powers of the soil.

Further economy in marketing, and the development of co-operation among all producers, and especially among the smaller ones, are much to be encouraged. A greater alertness and more initiative should be stimulated. But these qualities in our rural districts demand a more democratic spirit of independence among those who have inherited a disposition to stick in the rut of routine, and who, though not oppressed by those socially above them, have not emancipated themselves from an hereditary habit of deference; this habit is inconsistent with that spirit which characterises our growing Dominions and the United States, where certainly we find more initiative than we do in England among those connected with the land. And this independent spirit has to animate not only the farmers, but the labourers who, as a rule, are lacking in the wholesome ambition which enables and stimulates the most efficient to find a field in which efficiency will reap a material reward.

But assuming that we do not produce as much as we could or ought to do as agriculturists out of the soil of the country, it does not follow that grain, and especially wheat, production should be the line of our development. Our climate, with its relatively cool summer and its open winter, may be, and probably is, more favourable to stock raising and to roots than it is to grain, and so far as we do raise grain, oats, not wheat, is the predominant crop. But the examples of Denmark and Holland show us that in two countries not very dissimilar in climate from our own, and where farming receives great and careful attention, other products get preference from the farmers. Thus in Denmark, out of nearly 7,000,000 acres under cultivation, less than 100,000 acres are under wheat, or not one-seventieth. In the United Kingdom about one-twenty-third. In Holland, out of 5,300,000 acres under culti-

vation, about one-thirty-seventh is under wheat. These figures are not quoted to show that more of this country should not be under tillage, but that wheat cultivation is not necessarily the best course for us to take; for in Denmark nearly 41 per cent. of the cultivated land is used for grain production, whereas in these islands about 17 per cent. is cultivated for grain, and in Denmark only 17 per cent. of the cultivated land is in permanent pasture; in this country more than 58 per cent. is in permanent pasture. In Holland more than 23 per cent. is cultivated for grain, and about 36 per cent. is permanent pasture. And with this predominance of tillage, Denmark's exports, though mainly agricultural, are almost entirely of animals and of animal products, such as butter, meat (mainly pig meat), cattle, eggs, and horses, amounting to a total of about £25,000,000 out of about £31,000,000. So if we turn to Holland we find large exports of farm produce other than grain. The Dutch grain exports are exceeded by their imports. It may be observed that among farm products that might be produced here to a larger extent and to great advantage are those things which are best when produced nearest to the consumer. Milk especially is such an article. Fresh butter and eggs are also articles which we can produce advantageously. It is true we draw butter largely from Russia, from Australia, and from New Zealand; cheese from the United States, from Canada, and from New Zealand; eggs from Russia, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Egypt, and Canada. But our total imports of these commodities are very large. Butter (before the war), £24,000,000; cheese, over £7,000,000; eggs, £9,500,000. These three items exceeded £40,000,000 in 1913, and nearly £11,000,000 of them came from Denmark.

It is clear that not only is there a large demand in this country for milk, a product for which we must depend almost entirely on ourselves, but other products of which we import a great deal, we have equally favourable conditions for producing. Whereas for wheat the whole world is open to us, our climate is not very favourable, and the wider the area of supply the more independent are we of the fluctuations of the seasons in any one country.

To sum up the position, even if we doubled our production of wheat we should still be largely dependent on foreign imports, and as this increase of wheat would probably involve a reduction in our home supply of meat and of dairy products, for both of which we depend largely on imports, we should merely shift our dependence on imports from one necessary article of consumption to another.

The examples of Denmark and of Holland show us that, in two countries where there is no tariff protection for agriculture, energy and intelligence applied to the cultivation of the soil have resulted

in large production of crops and a prosperous condition for the farmers; and they show us the road we should follow if we wish to improve the resources to be derived from the land.

It is not by artificially interfering with the course of industry and diverting farmers from the cultivation which they find most profitable that we shall increase our national resources. And experience shows that to relieve any producer from competition does not stimulate either his industry or his intelligence. But if we can increase the intelligence which guides the operations of our farmers, if we can learn lessons from Denmark, or Holland, or Germany of better methods which can increase production and facilitate distribution, we should enrich not merely the agriculturist but the whole country. Moreover, we must interest all connected with the land in its effective use.

The farmer, though he might (like many others) be more up-to-date in his methods, is not badly off; farms are sought after, and there is no need to reduce rents. But the person who stands most in need of better conditions, of all connected with the land, is the agricultural labourer. An improvement in his position would probably improve his efficiency, and would prevent the most energetic of the farm labourers from seeking urban employment or emigrating. If we are to have a manly, energetic, and efficient population to cultivate the land, their situation must be made more attractive. And this must be in three important respects—better housing, better wages (commanding a better supply of the necessities and comforts of life), and better opportunities for those who have most energy to emerge from wage-earners into an independent position. As has been already said, we need for the labourer and for the farmer a fuller share in the social and public life of the village and of the country side. The artisan in the towns feels himself independent, and he largely is independent. We need for the rural parish a freer atmosphere in which men shall be able to have their say, and shall wish to have their say, in all that concerns them. This is not the occasion to expand the methods by which this awakening of the rural districts is to come about. But unless it comes about the economic condition of our rural industries will not be vitalised. It will have to go hand in hand with a social uplifting.

SHEFFIELD.

ARMED PACIFICISM.

BEFORE the world are many schemes for making this war the last of its kind. I have received, chiefly from the United States, descriptions or programmes of at least a score of such, worked out with more or less skill, and there are many others unknown to me. Some of them are framed with little regard to the difficulties to be overcome, conceived in a generous but uncritical mood, the productions of those who, seeing some one thing clearly, are blind to any other, or who, having a favourite remedy, will hear of no other. Some of them are mere political phantasies; the authors create a new or "reorganised" Europe, and airily establish International Courts and Councils which are to dispose of territories and population without regard to the wishes of their present rulers. It is the hope, one can see, of some of the authors of these projects that human nature, passed through the furnace of terrible experiences, will be purified of passions which have kindled strife, and that the present struggle is the last convulsion of an evil spirit about to be cast out. Everywhere is a belief that the world is in travail, and that the widespread sufferings are the birth-pangs of a new and better order. Wise or imperfectly considered, these projects by their multitude impressively testify to the resolution to prevent the recurrence of this dire calamity. Never before was so general and emphatic the determination, "This shall not again be."

These proposals may also be the sign that international law is entering a new stage, the constructive stage. In its history there have been, so far, three periods; the first or ante-Grotian period, in which rules were few, ill-defined and ill-observed, in which international law was mixed or confused with theology and Roman law. Next came what I may call the Grotian period of international law; a period during which, with many differences in points of detail, the methods of the great Dutch jurist—the incomparable Grotius, as Leibnitz described him—the postulates and assumptions which he made—were followed by the chief writers of the eighteenth century and the greater part of the nineteenth; a period in which the usages of warfare were discussed by private writers with more or less authority, but in which, broadly stated, there were

until lately, on the part of Governments no concerted systematic attempts to prevent wars or mitigate their evils. We are approaching—I am inclined to think that we have entered—what I may call the post-Grotian period, which will, it seems to me, differ much from its predecessors. The *prolegomena* of international law must be revised at several points, if its rules are to be those of living law, that is, law acted upon. I suggest that it will distinguish facts from desiderata; that it will expel fictions; that it will recognise the potency of great ideals, nay, the necessity of their existence, but that it will not confound them with the social or ethical realities of the world; that it will reconsider and revise certain assumptions generally made by writers on international law; above all, that it will endeavour to be constructive, or, to express my meaning otherwise, to create organs as well as to strengthen and nurture functions. The multitude of projects, some of them supported by men of great practical wisdom, is a sign that this reconstruction has begun.

It may be well to try to examine in the light of the experience of this war and in a fair and judicial spirit the chief of those proposals; particularly schemes for the formation of a League of Nations, favoured by statesmen and publicists of sagacity and wide experience.

The first, and necessary, stage in reconstruction is a reconsideration of old positions, which is being done on a large scale. Some of the safeguards once much believed in are discredited or are no longer regarded as fully effective. Pacifists in all lands are examining the old remedies—their own included—against war, and if they are candid they admit defects which they did not before recognise. They are everywhere revising their working programme, if not their creed. Thus there is no longer unqualified faith in the pacific effect of trade. Understood by Cobden and his disciples, it meant peace; as understood by many in Germany—and here, too—it means perpetual friction, if not hostility. “As a nail sticketh fast between the joinings of the stones,” says the wise man, “so doth sin stick close between buying and selling”; and if we listen to some modern expositors of international commerce the particular inseparable sin is hatred or envy of a nation’s trading rivals. I am not sure that to the remedies now deemed insufficient by those who once thought otherwise of them should not be added international arbitration; that is, the multiplication, and one day the universality, of submission of all questions in dispute, with the omission of restrictions as to honour, &c., to be found in the modern type of arbitration treaty to which this country is a party. One must, on the whole, admit a declining faith in the complete efficacy of international arbitration. It has settled

many questions, some of which would have become dangerous. It has failed to provide for the settlement of the gravest disputes, especially those in which pride of race had a share. Looking at the world as it stands and is likely for some time to be, the action of arbitration must be somewhat limited. Even if the great States consented to submit to it all questions between them without reservation, can we, with recent experience, be sure that a powerful State, armed to the teeth, will always give effect to them? The success of arbitration in matters of secondary importance is no proof that where racial passions are aroused the same will happen. The old remedies are not discarded. But new values are put upon them.

Nor, to pass from pacifists to diplomatists, do the latter seem to have faith in the old safeguards. Little is heard of that which was once believed to be the only practical security for the peace of Europe, the maintenance of the balance of power, every State which aimed at aggrandisement knowing that it would encounter the opposition of a League of Nations. Whether this theory caused more wars than it prevented, whether it bred an atmosphere of suspicions and led to perpetual interventions, is a question hard to answer. It did not avert the greatest war of all time. It is not likely to do much better in the future; and for the present it appears to be discredited even among professional diplomatists.

And not merely pacifists and diplomatists, but the world generally has lost faith in what once seemed a strong preservative against aggressive wars, or the brutal conducting of them. Among the many disillusionings in the present struggle, one of the chief is as to neutrals. They were to be the speaking consciences of humanity, prompt to denounce wrongdoing and to act in accordance with their needs. Some have been cowed. "I take it for granted," said President Wilson, in justifying breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany, "that all neutral Governments will take the same course." They did not, with a few exceptions in remote parts of the world. The greatest of all the neutrals has, for more than two years, been silent as to the justice of the issues in the struggle and the crimes committed in the course of it, and has spoken only when the lives and property of her citizens were imperilled. The old assumptions as to the influence of neutrals need revision.

The schemes for the maintenance of peace which at present find most favour are of three kinds. (a) Those which depend upon the control of foreign affairs, including peace and war, by the people—that is, by the Parliaments of the world. (b) Those which depend more or less upon force for the prevention of war; some going so far as to recommend the use of force in order to compel submission to arbitration; others—and they at present are preferred—holding that compulsion should be used only to bring about submission to

arbitration. (c) Some rely upon disarmament, including therein restriction upon the manufacture of munitions of war and cannon of large calibre.

The first of these remedies seems to have much in its favour when we think of the failure of diplomacy, still more or less secret, and reflect how wars have been made with slight regard to the interest or wishes of the people concerned. But there is another side to the matter. Can one be sure that democratic control would be uniformly pacific? Would it be so if, as it is often invited, democracy everywhere declared and carried on a war of tariffs; if in times of peace there were constant commercial hostilities, quarrels about new markets and the like? Democracy in our Dominions and elsewhere has, for a time at least, allied itself with Protectionism. Will such a policy conduce to peace? Experience is not wholly favourable as to the pacific influence of democratic control of foreign relations. The war of 1870 was, at the beginning, popular in France; I have reason to think that it was not unpopular in some parts of Germany. The wars with Texas and Spain were popular in the United States. So in this country was the Boer War. So in Russia was the war against Turkey in 1878; so the war of Italy with Turkey. "But for the wicked, "inflammatory newspapers, it would have been otherwise." As if the newspapers did not know their readers! As if every community had not the newspapers which it deserved! It is to be remembered that the political state of Europe of to-day is not what an enlightened and a susceptible democracy would perpetuate. There are so many communities with unsatisfied aspirations and just claims. The Poles, the Serbians and Southern Slavs, the Letts, the Albanians, the Armenians, the Finns, are only a few of the oppressed or discontented nationalities which appeal, and not in vain, to the people of every land. The ready sympathy of democracy with them, one of its highest qualities, is also one of the perils of the future. Democracy is ensnared by its virtues as well as by its failings. It is not false to lost causes. It admires the heroism of the soldier who gives all that he has to give. Its idols are successful generals. It is captivated by the splendour and the tumult of war, and is prone to forget the brutal realities until they are close at hand. True, it is rarely consulted while there is still time for deliberation. An appeal is generally made to it when argument is over and resort to the sword has become inevitable. The United States have shown how tenaciously a democracy may cling to a policy of peace if it is early taken into confidence or consulted before the hour for decisive action has come.

Common to the second group of schemes—those which are at present most attractive—is the idea of the forma-

tion of a League of Nations. It is, too, a feature of all of them that they contemplate the employment in some form and in certain contingencies of force or pressure in order to stop war. This idea has everywhere made remarkable progress. Mr. Asquith, Mr. Balfour, Lord Grey, Lord Bryce, and the German Chancellor are agreed as to the principle. "Germany," said Bethmann Hollweg, "is ready at all times to join a League of Nations, and even to place herself at the head" of such a League. President Wilson is prepared to use coercion "in the service of common order, common justice, and common peace." The International Arbitration League, in an address signed by those "stalwarts" of peace, Mr. Thomas Burt and Mr. Maddison, has approved of the proposals as "the irreducible minimum of the ever-widening desire to make the defence of public right the common concern of all nations." According to the third article of the programme of the League to Enforce Peace, "the signatory Powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war or commits acts of hostility against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted to arbitration." In technical language, while awards are not to be enforced, submission to arbitration is to be a condition precedent to hostilities; there is to be a stay, as lawyers would say, of warlike proceedings until the opinion of a court is taken. There must be much to recommend a scheme which is supported by so many men with a wide outlook and great practical experience. That there should be a League of Nations; that it might do useful work; that it is a step towards the reconstruction of international relations; that there should be a Court for the trial of "justiciable" questions; that the Hague Tribunal should be extended and developed; that along with it should be a Court of Conciliation for the settlement of questions into which enter political elements; that there should be conferences from time to time for the formulating of rules of International Law—all such constructive work may be beneficial. The question is whether the plan should be burdened from the outset with the element of force in any form.

Mr. Taft's scheme and others akin to it suggest three questions. Would they work? Ought they to work? Are we ripe for them? With much hesitation, in view of the great authority of those who have espoused these schemes, I am inclined to answer all three questions in the negative. To test the working of Mr. Taft's scheme, or the corresponding English plan, one may make three suppositions. Suppose the United States a member of the League—and it would scarcely be a League of Nations without them—and that a dispute in which the Monroe doctrine was involved arose

between them and a European Power prepared to press its claims! Would the United States submit the dispute to arbitration, and if it did, would they abide by an award, directly or by implication, adverse to that doctrine? Second supposition: A dispute between Austria and Serbia, one in which the former made exorbitant claims, on the face of them unfair; Serbia refusing to arbitrate, would England or France or Russia be instrumental in compelling Serbia to submit to arbitration, especially if the composition of the Court were suspected? Third supposition: Spain demanded the surrender of Gibraltar, or Turkey the evacuation of Egypt; either of these Powers might consent to arbitrate, and it might so manœuvre as to make England appear to be technically the aggressor; should our Government have anything to do with such an arbitration? These are only a few of the cases in which the League might fail to work. The instances might be multiplied if we took into account the possibility of joint action on its part necessitating States aiding in the coercion of their Allies.

The merit of the plan in the view of many is that it does not seek to enforce the award of any Court. But is this not a weakness? It proposes to apply pressure irrespective of the merits of the cause of the State which declines to arbitrate. As Mr. Brailsford remarks: "It seems a mockery of justice that the civilised world "should hold back two States from war, call up its ablest men to "recommend a settlement of their disputes, and then wash its hands "of the consequences if the stronger of the two (after waiting for "the prescribed term) laughs at the Council's proposals, and "proceeds to fall upon the weaker. Morally, the Power which "ignores the voice of impartial justice is as clearly the aggressor "as the Power which goes to war without waiting for it to speak."*

To many it may seem that these schemes are too simple, or too academic, to provide for the variety of contingencies or surprises in the development of national life, and that they do not guard even against obvious evils which might wreck them. Thus they would not prevent the mobilising of troops and the increase of armaments while arbitration proceedings were on foot, and they do not provide for hostilities begun by nations not members of the League. Ought such a scheme to work? Much would depend upon the composition of the Court which it is proposed to set up. If there was the certainty that the Court would be absolutely impartial, that the interest of small States would be protected, that it would be sympathetic with the aspirations of struggling nationalities, that it would welcome changes instead of generally resisting them, it might be a beneficial institution. But of this there is no certainty. We live in a Europe in which are races bent upon achieving a better

* *A League of Nations*, page 300.

future for themselves, in which are raised voices unheard for centuries demanding changes, which sober-minded men warmly advocate.

Many, indeed most, of the advocates of a League of Nations do not desire to maintain the political *status quo*; they look forward to rapid growth; they favour sweeping political changes. "In some "practical considerations" put forward as "the basis for a just "peace" (a fair specimen of many proposals), I find such suggestions as these:—

1. (b) Restoration of territories invaded by both sides subject to any readjustment under 2 (a). This to involve the restoration to Germany of her Colonial territories or an equivalent.

2. Reasonable satisfaction of (a) Demands for the application of the principle of nationality in Europe, by readjustment of frontiers, autonomy, or other solution; (b) demands of the Central Powers and other European States for increased economic opportunity in economically undeveloped countries.

3. Widest possible application of the principle of the "open door." "The principle of nationality should be satisfied as far as possible throughout Europe, in Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, the Trentino, the South Slav district, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and elsewhere. . . . In some cases autonomy within a larger State is likely to prove more satisfactory than independence from the point of view of the nation itself no less than of European peace. A wide extension of the principle of neutralisation through neutral States or zones may prove the happiest solution in other cases."

I take next, as another example of the schemes suggested by advocates of the League, Mr. Brailsford's "draft sketch" of the constitution of the League of Nations:—

"The signatory Powers will define in a declaration, to be embodied in the constitution of the League, their resolve to accord to all racial minorities in their European territories full liberty for the use of their language, the development of their culture, and the exercise of their religion."*

One writer declares the business of the Allies to be:—

"To settle upon natural and therefore permanent lines the questions which have for so long rendered the peace of Europe precarious, and to lay the foundations of a community of nations which may ensure to all alike security and peace."†

Many of those who are in favour of the schemes which I have ventured to criticise desire not only to make provision for the development of nationalities, so far imperfectly recognised; they would frame a "new public law of Europe," and by that they

* "A League of Nations," page 323.

† "The Great Settlement," by C. Ernest Fayle, p. 285.

mean much more than alterations in international law. The meaning of that phrase has varied from age to age. I cannot say when it originated. I have not been able to trace it much further back than the eighteenth century. The statesmen and political writers of that time had a conception of Europe as a political whole and not as so many isolated units; a conception, I am inclined to think, much clearer than exists to-day. At first it referred to certain treaties designed to maintain the balance of power, which was always in danger and which necessitated constant shifting of combinations. Generally speaking, there were two groups: Austria, half of Germany (Bavaria, &c.), England, Russia, and Holland; Prussia, the other half of Germany, France, Spain, and Sweden. But these combinations were constantly changing. Each country had its "system" or "policy," and treaties were changed or broken according to the requirements of such system or policy. In the days of the Holy Alliance the "public law of Europe" meant measures designed to repress revolutionary principles. For English statesmen it long meant the maintenance of the Ottoman and Austrian Empires. "The political independence "and liberty of Europe," said Palmerston, "are bound up, "in my opinion, with the maintenance and integrity of Austria "as a great European Power." Guizot, discerning, as he thought, the progressive formation of European public law, gave a wider scope to its meaning; it postulated peace as the normal condition of things, and non-intervention by every State except when its security was at stake.* In his speech last May, President Wilson gave a new and much wider scope to the public law of the world. First, "every nation has a right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live." Secondly, "the small States of the world have a right to enjoy the same "respect for their security and for their territorial integrity "that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon." And, thirdly, "the world has a right to be free from every disturbance "of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard "of the rights of peoples and nations." A League with such a message or mission as the above would come to send a sword.

These are a few specimens of the multitude of subversive schemes in the air. Two things seem clear: that the questions which they raise must come before such a League, and that when they come there must be profound division of opinion among its members. It is incredible that the representatives in an International Court of great States would welcome the application of principles from which they had nothing to gain and much to fear. "*Répos, répos*," was the motto of the Holy Alliance, and

* *Mémoires*, IV., 4.

something like it might be the ruling desire of a League of Nations in which the preponderant opinion would be that of great States menaced by aspiring nationalities.

Perhaps the gravest objection to the scheme of an armed League is that it might prove an obstacle to disarmament. To be effective such a League must have at its disposal force, military and naval, sufficient to overcome or overpower any recalcitrant member and its probable allies. What police would be required to meet the contingency of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey being again united? And how plausibly, under cover of merely keeping up its quota to a police force, might an aggressive State raise and train a powerful army! Countries at present with small armies and fleets, China for example, might, if they joined the League, be called upon to increase them. Unaccompanied by disarmament a League with force as part of its programme might prove a questionable blessing. "Without disarmament," said Lord Shaw, in his address to the League of Nations Society, "the very nation "which goes back upon its word may have armed itself to the teeth, "and your machine for keeping it in order may witness the double "disruption—a breach of the alliance and the launching of the "enormous armies of the offending Power to shatter the very "machine that it has helped to create, and the international force "to which it was bound to contribute."

As to the third question put above, I venture to doubt whether we are ripe for an armed League of Nations. It presupposes an approach to unity far from being yet attained. It might come with "a federation of Europe." But such a federation is still, and is likely long to be, little more than a phrase. There is not the similarity of aims and traditions and consciousness of identical interests in the individual units necessary for the construction of a federation, or probably of a strong coherent League of Nations. With hatred and feuds among them, with many interests at variance, a League might for a time hide, but it would not destroy, the existence within it of discordant elements, which would fly apart at any slight shock. There could be only the harmony of inactivity.

The third remedy—simultaneous measures of real disarmament all round—for disarmament by one or two Powers might be madness—seems to me the only one likely to be efficacious. Only when nations generally are not ready for war will peace be secure; real disarmament will be the first visible sign of permanent peace; and any project which would bar the way to or retard disarmament, or which would have the effect of "shackling the new system with "the old evil,"* stands condemned. About a century and a-half ago

* The phrase is by Dr. Hodgkin in his remarks on "Uncompromising Idealism" in "Peace and War."

Kant propounded three essentials of a lasting peace; no standing armies, no public debts, Republican forms of Government (meaning thereby Constitutional Government). These conditions in the precise form in which Kant proposed them may be to-day impracticable. But the general fulfilment of the first of them in its spirit seems to me necessary if peace is to be permanent. How that is to be attained—if, indeed, it is attainable for many years to come—the programme of the League of Nations does not tell.

At the best most of these schemes mean so much more new machinery; and however skilfully contrived, machinery in the matters under consideration, I am inclined to think, counts for little, if there comes not with it an altered mood among nations. Resolutions formed, not at public meetings, but silently at thousands of firesides where men and women brood over places empty and losses irreparable, the unuttered determinations which transform character, are more powerful than any ambitious programmes. Covetousness and lust of power or commercial rivalry, together with the exaltation of the State into a region outside and above morality, were at work before the war, and the mere existence of a League will not put an end to them. False ideals led the world into the war; true ideals may show the way out.

Reconstruction there should and will be; but that does not necessarily imply the use of force. It may mean publicity as to international relations in ways and on a scale before unknown. It may mean in every Parliament a Foreign Affairs Committee in close and constant touch with the Government and consulted at every stage in negotiations. There are far fewer secret treaties than there were; but the preliminaries which commit Governments to alliances and *ententes* may be as much wrapped in obscurity as they ever were. This may be changed. Reconstruction may involve new forms of treaties. Instead of purporting to be in force for all time, so that the only way out of them is by sophistry about change of circumstances, or by open disregard of them, or by war, they may be (as is already the case with commercial treaties) entered into for definite periods. Instead of containing many ambiguous phrases, such as "collective guarantee," about the significance of which there is no agreement, they may be expressed in the terms in which private persons make important contracts. Reconstruction may also involve a change in the conception of congresses or conferences at which great issues are discussed. Their composition, diplomatic history shows, has greatly changed from age to age; and it may well be that at the congresses of no distant future will be present, not merely diplomatists and officials, but representatives of interests which they might overlook, under-value, or misunderstand. Reconstruction may mean not only disarmament in the narrow

sense, but an effective system of international supervision so as to prevent secret arming or the menacing accumulation of war material. In the process of reconstruction in this sense a League of Nations without force as part of its programme, but with the memories of this war to stimulate it, may do a great work. And why lose hope if reconstruction seems to linger? For the first time in 1907 were there real systematic efforts by States to insure an enquiry before the outbreak of hostilities, or to frame rules for the guidance of belligerents. Is it reasonable to despair because it is found that foul crimes have been committed, and because, under the strain of a war of unparalleled magnitude and intensity, the novel restrictions which it was sought to impose upon belligerents have been cast to the winds by some of them? It has taken very many centuries to put down private warfare. The task is not everywhere completed, though Louis XI. and Richelieu were engaged upon it in France and the Edwards in England. And yet there are murmurs and surprise that in a few years—in far less than a single generation—an infinitely greater and more difficult task as to international relations is not accomplished.

JOHN MACDONELL.

GERMANY AFTER THE WAR.

FOR there will be a Germany to think of after the war—a Germany not, perhaps, for a long time as great as before it, but soon as strong, and possibly stronger. Those who believe that the peace settlement will, so to speak, knock Germany out of the ring are, I am convinced, cherishing a fatuous and dangerous illusion. The extent of her population, its fecundity, virility, and still more its force of character and intense national consciousness, not to speak of the clear indications of its history, stamp any such assumption as ridiculous. If this is so, the position which Germany will take and the influence which she will exert in the world in the future are questions of the utmost moment for this country, the Allies, and civilisation at large. To ignore them or to minimise their importance would be an act of culpable folly and levity.

The German nation has professed surprise and pain at the spectacle which the war has offered of the civilised world substantially united against it, and just as emphatically in accord with the Allied Powers and the aims and objects with which these Powers are identified. Such a coalition of sentiment and sympathy, implying the moral isolation of a people which had come to regard itself as the light of the world, is unique in the history of the past century, and can only be attributable to profoundly moving causes. Some of the neutral nations may have special reasons of their own for giving so clear an indication of an anti-German bias, but no one who has followed the trend of world opinion can have failed to draw the conclusion that while these countries were first brought into line with the Allies by indignation at the callous manner in which Germany violated treaties and devastated Belgium, they have been united not less by a wholesome detestation of two outstanding, interdependent facts in the national life of modern Germany, her persistent, restless, and aggressive militarism, and the political system in which this militarism is rooted. For the two evils cannot be separated.

That the Germans, too, are now fully conscious of the unfavourable light in which these blots on the national escutcheon place them, and of their practical disadvantages for foreign relationships in the future, is proved by the singular attempts which are being made by many of their number flatly to deny their existence. To people with a prejudice for old-fashioned ideas of candour and

veracity, it has been something of a moral shock to observe how even well-known German parliamentarians and publicists, who for long years have been engaged in a fruitless struggle for progress and amelioration in constitutional life, have taken a leading part in these endeavours to darken counsel and make things seem what they emphatically are not. Having followed German politics day by day for well-nigh thirty years, I may perhaps claim the right to say that most of these defenders of indefensible political conditions are inviting the world to accept statements which they do not themselves believe. It would be an easy task to confront some of them with public utterances of their own, of quite recent date, passionately affirming the very reverse of all they are now saying. It is one of the most remarkable facts in modern political history that, while within the memory of the present generation almost every other constitutional country in Europe has opened its doors and windows still wider to the fresh air of political free-thought, Germany has been content to live in the old stifling atmosphere of semi-absolutism, of absolutism disporting itself, as Rudolf von Gneist said, "under constitutional reforms." France, Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, for example, have further democratised their parliamentary systems, and Russia and Turkey have at least joined the fraternity of constitutional States; while in the distant "unchanging East" ancient despotisms like those of Japan, China, and Persia have been discarded or overthrown. Nevertheless, the constitutional arrangements of the German Empire, as hastily and faultily framed in 1867 and 1871, have never once been modified, while those of Prussia have undergone no change since the day, now nearly seventy years ago, when a constitution which bitterly disappointed the nation's expectations was offered to it, to take or to leave, by a Sovereign who hated all such tokens of popular desire to share with him the divine responsibility of kingship, and to the end of his life strove to override and render ineffectual the concessions which he had made unwillingly and repented ever afterwards.

Essentially the German system of government, whether in Empire or State, is one-man government. For the first twenty-three years of the Empire's existence—dating its birth from 1867, when by the formation of the North German Confederation the first half of the edifice of imperial unity was built—the one man was an autocratic Minister of powerful character and gigantic will, and for the following years he has been the Emperor himself; but whether in the earlier period or the later a single central figure has dominated the political stage, and in the crowd of minor actors and supernumeraries, as they have passed into and out of view, the world at large has seldom taken more than a fugitive interest. "Hamlet"

with the Prince of Denmark left out would be a dreary performance, but "Hamlet" with everyone else left out save the melancholy Prince would be a still drearier. That has been the fate of Germany's political drama ever since her constitutional life began. Many of her political leaders have made national reputations as Ministers and statesmen, but excluding the five Chancellors who have served the Empire since 1867 there is hardly one who enjoys an international celebrity in virtue of his political activity alone. The effect of this system is that it robs politics of human interest, represses individuality, enfeebles public spirit, demoralises party life, narrows the scope for individual talent, and by discouraging emulation breeds mediocrity.

Turning to the Diets and their powers, what do we see? These bodies appear to resemble the parliaments of democratic countries, but the resemblance is only in external things. They have no voice whatever in the appointment and removal of the Ministers, who are not even required to be members of the legislature. For practical purposes German Ministers of State are simply the highest of permanent officials in the most exclusive, undemocratic, and domineering bureaucracies in the world. The Diets co-operate with the Governments in legislation on equal terms, but the effect is that no measure can pass and no resolution have effect unless the Sovereign is pleased to give his personal assent. It falls to the Executives alone to direct policy, both home and foreign, in accordance with the will of the Crown. A leading German statesman not long ago described the national Diets as so many debating societies, which have an unlimited right to talk, but can do little or no practical, independent work. If irreconcilable conflicts occur between Government and Parliament, it is the Parliament that has to go; the Government remains. There is a dissolution and a general election, and the whole machinery of the bureaucracy is set in motion in the endeavour to secure the return of a more tractable legislature. There is something strange, and strangely wrong, in the political system of the land of Kant and Fichte, of Lessing and Schiller, of Stein and Humboldt, the land of universities and schools, when it is still possible for its Emperor to say, and say with truth, "One only shall be master in the Empire, and it is I," "There is one will in the Empire, and it is my will," and to pervert Hardenberg's sagacious admonition to that ruler's great-grandfather, "*Salus publica suprema lex esto*" into "*Suprema lex regis voluntas*."

No German politician of authority has in recent years been more unwearying and unsparing in his indictment, both with voice and pen, of the German political system and the condition of impotence to which it dooms the nation and its legislators than the eloquent

Progressive leader, Dr. Friedrich Naumann, the author of *Mittel-Europa*. As late as January in the year of war 1914, Naumann said in the Imperial Diet :—

“ The man who compared this House to a hall of echoes is not far wrong. To those who are accustomed to do practical work in life, it appears a mere waste of time to devote themselves to this difficult and monotonous mechanism.” He added : “ We on the Left are altogether in favour of the parliamentary *régime*, by which we mean that the Reichstag cannot for ever remain in a position of subordination. Why does the Reichstag sit at all, why does it pass resolutions, if behind it is a waste-paper basket into which these resolutions are thrown? The problem before us is to change the impotence of the Reichstag for some sort of power.”

The occasion of these utterances was one of those periodical discussions of its own uselessness in which the Diet is wont to engage. One of the ablest and most moderate of the younger Socialist leaders, Dr. Frank, said on the same occasion :—

“ Many millions of us feel it to be a burning shame that, while Germans achieve great things in commerce and industry, in politics they are deprived of rights.”

But the strongest condemnation of this system is the intimate relationship in which it stands to the militarism of which Prussia is the special nursery and home, yet which is no longer confined altogether to that State. The earlier suspicion of the Allied and neutral nations, that this militarism is largely the outgrowth of political conditions, has since the outbreak of war deepened into a firm conviction. Here, again, the awakening of the public conscience both to the gravity and the cause of the militarist peril has created much uneasiness and searching of hearts in Germany, and the same men who are declaring that the political system under which they live is faultless are assuring the world that in arraiging the German military system, it is likewise labouring under a great hallucination. They challenge Germany's critics to say what they mean by “ militarism,” and would have neutral nations in particular believe that no such thing exists. It is not difficult to reply to the challenge, for German evidence on the subject is available in abundance.

When we are asked what we mean by militarism, it is only necessary to reply that we mean by it exactly what Germans themselves meant down to the eve of the war : the claim of the army and the army administration to be above the nation, its legislature, and its laws—a claim first asserted during the Prussian Constitutional Conflict of 1862-1866, and, because asserted successfully then, persisted in ever since—and the intolerable pretensions to

which this privileged position gives rise. We mean what the Progressive deputy Schrader meant when he said in the Imperial Diet in March, 1909, that "The unrestricted power of the Crown "over the army implies that a relic of the absolutist State still "remains"; what the deputy Stücklein meant when he said on the same occasion that "Germany had brought over all Europe the "evil of rivalry in armaments"; and what the deputy Scheidemann had in mind when in the course of a debate upon a cruel sentence of a court-martial (it had sentenced to five years' penal servitude some reservists who had been embroiled in a drunken tavern affray), he declared only a year before the war (June 28th, 1913), "We wage "a resolute fight against militarism and the entire military "system."

We mean the attitude represented by the German delegates to the Peace Conferences at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, who declared that if Germany could help it there should be no disarmament, no tribunal of arbitration, no pacific methods for averting the appeal to brute force in the settlement of international disputes; and that no power on earth should prevent Germany from fighting if and when she would. As if to *viser* this ultimatum to the pacifist party, and make it clear to all the world that it still held good, the present Imperial Chancellor stated in 1911: "As far as Germany is "concerned there will be no disarmament, no arbitration, and no "naval agreement with England."

We mean by militarism the violence and illegality which ran riot at Zabern in December, 1913, and which drew from Dr. Naumann, in his memorable oration of January 23rd following, the severest indictment of the Prussian military spirit and system that has ever left the lips of a responsible German statesman. The German publicists and journalists who are to-day assuring neutral nations that there is no such thing as militarism in their country will do well to look up the reports of the Zabern debates in the Imperial Diet during the last month of 1913 and the first month of 1914. There they will find—what, indeed, they well know—how deputies of every colour and shade of politics, with the one exception of the Conservatives, vied with each other in condemning the excesses of the military as a national scandal and a menace to national liberty.

"It is a fateful question which is put to the German Army," said Naumann on January 23rd, "it is the question whether force is united with intelligence and humanity. Why has Colonel von Reutter (the ringleader in the episode) become a famous man? Because he has represented the political soldier's order of ideas. For that reason he is applauded as a true soldier by all who want to break down the democratised order of society."

The Diet marked its reprobation of militarism on that occasion by

passing an emphatic vote of censure (by 293 votes against 54) upon the Government for its hardihood in defending the authors of the Zabern excesses; yet the officers implicated were not removed, and the worst offender, the colonel in command, was promptly decorated with a royal order. It was a German, not an ill-informed foreign writer, who at that time described the Zabern episode as revealing "the military spirit in conflict with the civilian spirit, "Prussianism in conflict with the entire sentiment of the rest of "Germany, military conceptions in conflict with civilian conceptions of honour" (*Das Freie Wort*, February, 1914).

No one in Germany doubts that the evils of militarism are primarily due to the entire absence of any parliamentary control over the army and the military organisation generally. Under the Imperial constitution this control is vested in the Emperor personally. The Minister of War is his Minister; the administration of both army and navy, from first to last, is his business only; the Diet votes the estimates, but it is he who spends the money; he alone concludes alliances and (with few exceptions) treaties with foreign States; and while it is true that to the declaration of war the assent of the Federal Council is needed, that only means that on such a solemn occasion he consults the other Sovereigns, for the Diet and the nation are not consulted at all.

The institution of a genuine system of parliamentary government would naturally involve effective control by the Diet over the military system and the military administration; that is, the Minister of War would be as much subject to the will of the legislature, and through it of the nation, as in either Great Britain or France. The best safeguards of peace which the wisdom of diplomacy may devise will prove futile unless this necessary change is made. On the other hand, let the German nation enter at last into full possession of its long-withheld political rights, and an incubus will be removed from Europe and thus from the whole world. There are probably few people who, knowing Germany by long study and intimate contact, and not merely from the crowd of war-books, so many of which enshrine shallow judgments and false and ungenerous generalisations, would not readily endorse the words of the late Belgian Minister to Berlin, Baron Beyens—words the more magnanimous because of their source:—

"I feel convinced that the Germans, delivered from the shackles of their present constitution, and governed no longer by officials, but by responsible Ministers, owing their position to popular suffrage, would return to their better nature, to an ideal of progress on peaceful lines."

It is sometimes said that the maintenance of the present political system is necessary in order to counteract the dangerous

assumptions of Social Democracy. Those who argue thus forget that Social Democracy was to a large extent created, and has been made powerful, by the very political conditions which are now held to be the only reliable safeguard against it. Of all the failures of Bismarck's policy—and only blind adulation and a one-sided estimate of his greatness as a statesman can gainsay them—his struggle with democratic movements was the most conspicuous. When he became a Minister Socialism hardly existed, for Lassalle's Collectivism was little more than a large scheme of industrial co-operation with State assistance, and, moreover, his political agitation remained to the last in monarchical channels. It was Bismarck who gave an impetus to the movement which cut the working-classes adrift from the bourgeoisie as a political estate apart, and drove them into the hands of the International. He chose to challenge Liberalism, and he did it on the worst possible issue, that of constitutional right, and though he was able to claim an apparent victory the effect of his success was to force the labour wing of the Liberal party into a separate organisation which in time became the most formidable force in German politics. Out of Germany, no student of politics doubts that the most fertile cause of Social Democracy has been the denial to the German nation of that elementary right of citizenship, as understood in free countries, the right of self-government.

Prince Hohenlohe once spoke of Socialism as "the dream of the poor man." If that is so, the true cure for the economic heresies of Social Democracy is obviously to make the poor man well-to-do; but it is hardly less true that the remedy for the extremer political demands of Social Democracy lies in the removal, as far as may be practicable, of the consciousness of political inequality and impotence from which the working-classes suffer. Prince Bülow writes in his book, *Imperial Germany*, that there can never be any parley with Social Democracy until it has made peace with the monarchy. A wiser statesman would have reversed this order of ideas and have done his utmost to persuade and assist the monarchy to commend itself, by the pursuance of a policy of clemency, toleration, and equity, to some millions of enfranchised and intelligent citizens, whose most urgent demand is that they shall be regarded as equal before the law and be given the rights of free men. So long as it has been bidden to regard itself as outside society, what could Social Democracy do but fight against a social order thus self-proclaimed as its enemy? Let it be given a real stake in the State, and its extravagances will fall away; whether it succeed in transforming society or be itself transformed by society, it will then work for peaceful ends by peaceful means.

No country has had a more wholesome experience of the moderating influence of free institutions upon national character and political movements than Great Britain, and its testimony may well be commended for Germany's encouragement. When at the Congress of Vienna over a hundred years ago the German Princes were quarrelling about their "sovereignty" and sovereign rights, claiming powers which they had never possessed before in the dissolved Empire, and grudging to the nation the liberty at home which was the just reward of its recent patriotic sacrifices, one solitary voice rebuked their blindness, fear, and greed. It was the spokesman of the British Crown, represented in that august but faint-hearted assembly by the Kingdom of Hanover, and these were his memorable words (August 21st, 1814):—

"His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Great Britain and Hanover cannot agree that quite unlimited and purely despotic rights in relation to their subjects pertain to the German Princes. . . . As for all this clinging to the expression 'sovereignty,' the King of Great Britain is just as indisputably Sovereign as any other Prince in Europe, yet *his throne is not weakened but rather strengthened by the freedom of his people.*"

Those golden words of counsel and warning, given to Germany by a country whose ruler and people had fought out their battles over the eternal problem of political life, *suum cuique*, and made perpetual peace, were disregarded, and terrible was the retribution. Goaded into disloyalty by intolerance and repression, when the revolution of 1848 broke out the German peoples rose against their rulers in just resentment; many thrones were shaken and overturned, and many Princes fled ignominiously before perils which their consciences told them were due to their own short-sightedness and folly. At that time of ferment it was monarchies which enjoyed free constitutions, like Great Britain and Belgium, which proved the real *rochers de bronze*. Not only Louis Philippe, but the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, and the Prince of Prussia himself, sought refuge in England. Sitting in his quiet London embassy, the Chevalier Bunsen admired the demeanour of the loyal populace, but was prepared for it, for in political thought he was far more English than Prussian. But Count Beust, his Saxon colleague, tells in his *Memoirs* how, after travelling through various parts of Germany at that time, and witnessing everywhere ferment and tumult, and the violent removal of old landmarks, he returned to London, and to his great amazement found everything there as he had left it—the population tranquil and unmoved, no signs anywhere of popular disaffection, and the Royal Family going in and out amongst the people in

perfect security. Was ever a stronger tribute paid to the steadfast loyalty of a free, emancipated people?

All later developments of popular rights have only served to confirm the moral of 1848. I well remember a conversation, thirty years ago, with Rudolf von Gneist, the well-known author of *English Self-Government*, upon the constitutional changes which had then just taken place in the United Kingdom. Old Liberal though he was, who had fought Bismarck in the constitutional conflict twenty years before, the famous jurisconsult assured me that he was deeply apprehensive of the results of the recent reforms, and warned me in impressive and almost resentful language—for his attachment to this country and his reverence for its institutions were sincere and deep—that England was advancing in political experiment far too fast for safety, and would in a few years be a Republic. Perhaps the audacity of youth excused the reply which I laughingly returned, though events were to justify it. “Herr ‘Professor,’” I said, “you understand the English constitution, but ‘not the English nation.’” The old man reflected for a moment, then said, quietly: “Perhaps.” What do we see to-day? The old sentiments of loyalty and patriotism quickened and deepened by an unexampled fervour; the British races drawn, by their own free will, closer than ever before to the monarchy; their ruler never so assured as now by a thousand signs, in the midst of war’s distractions and alarms, that his throne is “not weakened, but ‘rather strengthened, by the freedom of his people.’”

“But for Prussia we should have a democratic Germany,” said August Bebel on one occasion, voicing the conviction not only of the Social Democrats but of political parties generally. Now, as throughout the past century, the most formidable obstacle to any resolute forward movement in German constitutional life is the obstinate, unchanging antagonism of Prussian feudal Conservatism to any change that would in the least threaten its position or diminish its privileges. Dominating the Prussian Diet, it claims that it shall be supreme in the Imperial Diet as well, setting the pace of imperial legislation as it sets that of Prussian, dictating Imperial policy both at home and abroad; in a word, controlling the affairs of the nation from first to last. In his *Imperial Germany* Prince Bülow says, with unconscious irony, that no other country has or needs a Conservative party like that of Prussia. It may be added that no other country would tolerate it.

Because, however, Prussia blocks the way it is plain that the responsibility for the decision which must soon be taken rests with William II. in a double sense, as head of both the monarchy and the Empire. “The time has now come,” wrote Dr. Naumann several years ago, “to negotiate upon the impersonalising of

"the throne. Government shall be in the name of the King and Emperor, but not by him. Government shall be exercised at the commission of the Emperor by the trusted confidants of the parliamentary majority. That means for the Emperor a great renunciation. From absolutism to the English system! That is the goal of German development." Will the Emperor and the other Sovereigns be ready to make that renunciation for the good of the monarchy and the Empire? The risks lie rather in refusal than compliance. Never was there a time when it was so obviously their duty and interest to introduce, as Hardenberg wrote in 1807, "democratic principles in a monarchical State," and so bring about "a revolution in a good sense." High hopes and confident expectations are being indulged by their peoples, and to ignore and thwart them now, when the German nation stands before tasks of reorganisation and recuperation far exceeding in magnitude those which had to be faced a century ago, would be an act of ingratitude and folly which would bring a heavy retribution.

Perhaps it may be said that a question of constitutional reform cannot be urgent when war is being waged, and that it may properly be deferred until the larger issues have been decided. Without discussing the relative importance of the questions which have been opened by the war and which will have to be determined by the peace settlement—though I for one place in the very first rank Germany's political system and the militarism which thrives upon it—the German nation and its Sovereigns will do well to reflect upon the serious handicap which will weigh upon them if they enter the Congress-room at Brussels, Berlin, or wherever else the peace plenipotentiaries may meet, without at least having given to the world such pledges as would make the discussion of this question superfluous. Let them reflect, also, that their country is to-day isolated in the world. No nation can afford, least of all in modern times, to ignore that wise saying of M. Thiers, uttered at a time when France was striving to re-establish herself in the confidence and respect of Europe:—

"Man needs the esteem of his fellows, and nations have need of the esteem of other nations. A day comes, too, when we need support, moral support at least, and one only finds it if one has deserved it."

By her action at the commencement of the war, and still more by her "methods of frightfulness" since—methods which have created not fear, but only disgust and abhorrence, and steeled in the Allies the will to final victory—Germany has alienated from her side the conscience of mankind, and convinced the world that

there is in her conception of warfare, as nurtured by militarism, something not only evil but devilish and accursed. She has much lost ground to make up in national repute, much to atone for, much for which in the near future she will perchance long to crave the priceless boon of oblivion. She will get back her trade, and will again become a great industrial country—that comfort is certainly hers. To-day, it is true, the warring nations still address each other in the spirit and language of anger, violence, and defiance, and inevitably so, for we are still in the midst of the hellish conflict, and the blood throbs to the roar of cannon and the roll of drums. Yet whatever the Chauvinists on both sides may think, we may be sure that the fundamental conditions of the settlement when it comes—the conditions which will, as we all hope and pray, make peace durable, will depend as much upon the force of reason and goodwill as upon the power of the sword. Yes, Germany will trade with the Allies again, and they with her; the old economic and material ties will inevitably be renewed, and political relationships be restored, for the compulsion of circumstances will make short work of Paris Economic Conferences. True, the politicians will continue to talk of universal boycotts, but in their hearts they know that such things are impossible, that even if they were not the peoples would not pay the price, and that in the last resort expediency and interest will prove too strong for moral indignation and unholy passion. But international intercourse means far more than commerce and diplomacy, and between such formal ties and the community of social, intellectual, and moral ideals upon which the true concert of the nations is based there is a great gulf fixed. Germany is no longer a member of that intimate fellowship of mind and spirit; she has not been ostracised, but has ostracised herself, and so long as her rulers and statesmen persist in flaunting before the world the political and military ideals which mankind believes, and believes justly, to have brought about the present conflict, their country will seek in vain for readmission. If the *Kultur* of which we have heard so much requires that Germany shall continue to be an alien amongst the nations, an alien she will remain, but as with her rests the choice so with her rests the responsibility.

WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON.

THE SPEAKER'S CONFERENCE ON ELECTORAL REFORM.

SINCE the war began the movement towards the full recognition of women's citizenship has gone through various phases.

THE FIRST PHASE, if I may judge from my own feelings, was one of despair. I knew, of course, how necessarily exacting and absorbing was the business of war, especially of war against the most powerful military force in the world. As Lord Rosebery says in his *Life of Pitt*: "War is a hideous, engrossing fact; it cannot be paltered with. Too much or too little . . . is treason against it; it must have all; every nerve, every muscle, every fibre." How, then, I reasoned, can any thought or energy be given to those women's questions that had been for so many years the chief pre-occupation of many of us? It was a shortsighted view. The all-absorbing, all-devouring needs of war included a demand for the best powers and capacities of women as well as the best powers and capacities of men. No single citizen, man or woman, must be wasted or employed in trivialities; all must be doing the best sort of work for the nation which nature had made them capable of.

THE SECOND PHASE.—What this meant for the future development of industrial and political freedom for women first dawned upon us about the middle of 1915; and when we began to read of trade-union restrictions on women's work being suspended, and of women, especially in engineering, doing work not only with automatic machines with which it is impossible to make mistakes, but performing delicate operations calling for great skill and high intelligence; of women successfully coping with practical difficulties in their work by devices of their own invention, doing work (to quote the *Engineer*, August 20th, 1915) "of which any mechanic might be proud"; we said to each other, "This means industrial freedom for women." As the weeks passed on and grew into months and years, more and more evidence accumulated of women's keen desire to help their country, and of their undoubted capacity to do so efficiently. It thus became evident that in relegating the female half of the population to mere routine work requiring no skill was a gross waste of an important national asset. This was, strictly speaking, a war discovery, although, of course, it was as true in peace as in

war; but everyone could see that while we might afford this wastefulness in peace we could not possibly afford it in war. The industrial emancipation of half the population was thus accomplished as a direct fruit of the necessities of war. It is not the first time that good has grown out of evil. Just as the Black Death in the fourteenth century destroyed serfdom and villeinage among men in England, so the war has destroyed the industrial serfdom of women in the twentieth. This freedom I, for one, am firmly convinced can never again be taken away. It has already had, and will continue to have, a great influence in securing for women political freedom.

THE THIRD PHASE.—For it was the entry of women into the skilled industries that broke down much hoary, ingrained, and obstinate anti-suffragism. Mr. Asquith, for instance, foresaw, as everyone must foresee, the probability of grave industrial difficulties and complications after the war. There will be close upon a million women newly entered into industrial work; there will be very large numbers of men coming back when the Army begins to be demobilised; there will also be the rapid shutting down of munition factories. In the midst of these difficulties and of the clash of conflicting interests that will have to be dealt with by Parliament after the war, everyone can see that the entire exclusion of women from all share of controlling the decisions of the Government and the House of Commons would be an injustice to them, and might inflict grave material injury on the general productive capacity of the country. Speaking in the House of Commons on August 14th, 1916, Mr. Asquith announced his change of view on the Suffrage question, and said:—

“ Have not the women a special claim to be heard on the many questions which will arise directly affecting their interests, and possibly meaning for them large displacements of labour? I cannot think that the House will deny that, and I say quite frankly that I cannot deny that claim.”

One main interest attaching to this statement was that it went far to make the old Liberal Party a Suffrage party. Mr. Asquith, ever since he had been Prime Minister, had prevented his party from taking the stand for political liberty for women which was so thoroughly in accord with their professed principles and past record. This now, it may be hoped, is a state of paralysis which has passed away for ever. The day before Mr. Asquith spoke another notable conversion was announced to the public, and Mr. Garvin, the editor of the *Observer*, owned in a remarkable article that he had been wrong in his former opposition to Women's Suffrage,

and had completely changed his views. One sentence from his article may be quoted:—

“ The State needs the women’s aid, and they have proved their capacity to give it. The time has come to give a new meaning to Democracy; to make it a real thing, the true voice of the nation, and not of a part more or less arbitrarily and often foolishly selected. Once for all, let us simplify the whole thing. Let the right to vote be given to every man and woman who has attained years of responsibility; let us say twenty-five, for then they have arrived at an age to put away childish things. The nation, by its bearing in two years of war, has earned this right to be trusted with its own destinies.”

August 13th and 14th will long be remembered in the Suffragist calendar as days when first a notable Conservative and then a notable Liberal abandoned former opposition to our cause.

THE FOURTH PHASE.—Then came the appointment of the Speaker’s Conference on Parliamentary Reform. This was a suggestion from Mr. Walter Long in the course of the debate on the special Register Bill. He said:—

“ I believe . . . that such a Conference of earnest men, holding strong views, bitterly opposed to each other, if they were face to face with these difficulties, when we are all longing with a great longing to see something of a better prospect for our country in the future, would produce an agreed system for all three questions upon which the great mass of opinion of the people of this country could come together. . . . I venture to say to the House it is our duty, one and all . . . to set ourselves to find a solution which may be a lasting settlement of a very old and difficult problem.”

Mr. Asquith approved the suggestion, and the Speaker was appointed not only to be the Chairman of the Conference, but to select its members. He adopted the plan of inviting members of both Houses of Parliament and of all parties as nearly as possible proportionate in numbers to the strength of the pre-war parties in the House of Commons. On the subject of Women’s Suffrage he adopted a different plan, and one less favourable to our cause, for he endeavoured to get equal numbers of Suffragists and anti-Suffragists, although the House of Commons had on several occasions passed the second reading of Women’s Suffrage Bills by large majorities, and every House, ever since that of 1886, had contained a majority of members pledged to Women’s Suffrage. Moreover, the Speaker invited some very fanatical opponents of Women’s Suffrage to join the Conference. Therefore from the first an agreed resolution upon it was an impossibility. Let it not be supposed that I make any charge, expressed or implied. Every

member of the Conference whom I have met has spoken in terms of the highest appreciation of the Speaker's great courtesy, fairness, and tact all through their twenty-six sittings. But while they arrived at agreed resolutions on Registration, Basis of the Franchise for Men, Redistribution, the Local Government Register, and Votes for Sailors and Soldiers, on Women's Suffrage unanimity was impossible. But—

“ the Conference decided by a majority ” (rumour says a large majority) “ that some measure of Woman Suffrage should be conferred. A majority of the Conference was also of the opinion that if Parliament should decide to accept the principle, the most practical form would be to confer the vote in the terms of the following resolution :—

“ Any woman on the Local Government Register who has attained a specified age, and the wife of any man who is on that Register if she has attained that age, shall be entitled to be registered and to vote as a Parliamentary elector.

“ Various ages were discussed, of which thirty and thirty-five received most favour.

“ The Conference further resolved that if Parliament decides to enfranchise women a woman of the specified age who is a graduate of any University having Parliamentary representation shall be entitled to vote as a University elector.”

Now it is obvious that as practically all the Suffrage societies desire the vote for women on the same terms on which it is given to men, this proposal, if adopted by Parliament, would fall short of a complete realisation of their aims; for the Conference went very far in the direction of manhood suffrage for men, but only contemplated what may justly be called household suffrage for women. Nevertheless, aware as we all were of its drawbacks, I have no hesitation in saying that in the Suffrage world generally the publication of the Report of the Speaker's Conference was hailed with joy as marking an immensely important step in the progress of our cause.

At a conference held on February 17th, at which practically all the Suffrage societies were represented, as well as a very large proportion of the important political societies which have Women's Suffrage for one of their objects, it was found, after prolonged discussion, that they were prepared to adopt a unanimous resolution urging the Government to introduce, without delay, legislation based upon the general lines of the Speaker's Conference Report, and containing Women's Suffrage as an integral part of the Government Bill. This was an important step, and there can, I think, be little doubt that many of those who voted for the resolution did so not because they thought the compromise proposals of the Speaker's Conference the best in the world, but

because knowledge of the whole circumstances convinced them that proposals more perfect in themselves would have a considerably less good chance of being carried into effect at the present time. It was a choice between "the best" and the "best possible now."

The Speaker's Conference had arrived at a series of compromises on nearly every subject submitted to it; one side had given up something here in order to get a nearer approach to what they wanted there, and the Conference finally arrived at practical solutions on which all could agree. It is only on some such basis as this that legislation dealing with matters which were hotly debated in pre-war times could reasonably be expected. With regard to our own question, legislation on contentious business having been by general consent ruled out during the war, a bill which both sides can fairly describe as a "reasonable compromise," gives the only chance of getting women's names on the Parliamentary register before the next General Election.

Signs of a disposition on the part of anti-Suffragists to take this line are not wanting. Many men who were foremost in denying women's claim to representation are prepared now to accept what the Speaker's Conference proposes. They have not got what they want; but neither have we who have worked for fifty years to get women enfranchised on the same terms as men. They have got part of what they want because they have secured what they consider a powerful safeguard against "the monstrous regiment of women" through the reduction of the number of women voters to about half the number of men voters. We have secured a part of what we want by the breaking down, once and for all, of the sex disability. So there appears no reason why the lion should not lie down with the lamb, and the sucking child put his hand on the cockatrice's den.

The great fear which many anti-Suffragists entertain of the consequences resulting from the presence of a majority of women in the electorate is, as we believe, entirely illusory. The working-classes are not, as women are, merely 3 or 4 per cent. more numerous than the other classes; they are probably in the proportion of nine or ten to one. Yet much good and no harm whatever has resulted from their enfranchisement. Their very numbers give them an overwhelming claim to be represented. The terror in the case of the comparatively slight excess of women over men is based on the double fallacy, to quote Sir John Simon: (1) "that a woman never agrees with a man"; and (2) "that a woman never disagrees with another woman." Nevertheless, the idea of women out-voting men is a very real terror in some quarters, and can probably only disappear as the result of experience. In Norway, after six years' experience of manhood suffrage for men

and a taxpaying suffrage for women (imposed solely with the object of reducing the number of women voters), the whole country became convinced that the respective numbers of men and women on the register were not a matter of vital importance, and Liberals, Conservatives, and Socialists united to give the Suffrage to women upon the same terms as to men.

The present situation as regards Women's Suffrage is the most critical, and also the most hopeful, which it has ever occupied. The old opposition has largely vanished; the citizenship of women and the essential services they render to the State in war and in peace are widely recognised. Expressions from financiers, statesmen, and military authorities are now constantly heard to the effect that "the women have saved the situation." The last thing women wish to do is to claim any credit for their national work, or to ask for the Suffrage as a reward. They have worked for their country just in the same spirit in which the great mass of men have worked for it, moved by the same impulse, and knowing that no effort or sacrifice should be counted in the great work of saving their country from destruction. The war has convinced former anti-Suffragists that in war as in peace the State is dependent on the joint work of men and women—not demanding from all the same services, but from each the best which each can give. The old anti-Suffrage fallacy that in war the State depended on men alone is not only dead, but buried, under the burning experiences of the last two and a-half years.

There is a very strong feeling among Suffragists that we should accept legislation on the general lines of the Speaker's Conference, not with mere acquiescence, but with joy. There will probably always be in every large body of persons some who will take the line of "all or nothing," but these are, I believe, so few that they will not affect the general result. By urging the Government to introduce at the earliest suitable moment legislation based on the Speaker's Conference Report, we carry practically the whole Suffrage movement with us. We have not for a moment deceived ourselves or endeavoured to deceive others into the belief that this compromise is wholly satisfactory to us. Especially we, no doubt, all desire the creation of a single and simple qualification applicable to men and women alike. But such an aim as this is totally unattainable during the war, for it would mean a far larger addition to the existing register than would be sanctioned under present conditions. The old register for the whole United Kingdom contained just over 8,000,000 voters. The new scheme would add, according to Mr. Dickinson, a very active member of the Conference, a little more than 2,000,000 men, making a total of between 10,000,000 and 11,000,000; to these some 6,000,000 women

will be added, or a little less than half the adult female population. The whole electorate would therefore be raised to something like 16,000,000 or 17,000,000, of whom 6,000,000 would be women. This is a very large and important addition, and as electoral reform has always proceeded in this country by gradual steps, I think we should all recognise that to press for more is not only unreasonable, but is likely to destroy the chance of any legislation at all at the present time. At the Adult Suffrage meeting at Kingsway Hall on February 10th, the tone of moderation which characterised all the speakers was most marked: from the Chairman downwards they all made it quite clear that without departing from their principles by a single inch, they would do nothing to jeopardise the transformation of the Suffrage part of the Report of the Speaker's Conference into an Act of Parliament. They certainly thought the age-limit proposed for women unduly high. There is a general consensus of opinion on this point, and there appears to be a general agreement that this is a detail which could be changed by the House of Commons without risk to the edifice of which it is a part. But let us all be very chary of pressing for amendments. When thirty-three men have laboured for months on difficult and complicated political problems which parties and groups have quarrelled over for years, and have arrived at a series of compromises upon them, it would be one of the easiest things in the world, by taking out a brick here or adding a plank there, to destroy the balance of the whole structure and bring it tumbling about our ears. There is, however, one great source of strength and confidence as far as women are concerned in the present situation, and that is the conviction expressed in all quarters that legislation on the subject of the Parliamentary franchise is now impossible unless it includes women. This, however, does not protect us from another danger, and that is that nothing may be done at all. This would have been almost a certainty if Mr. Asquith had remained Prime Minister. But the energy and driving force of Mr. Lloyd George make the chances of legislation very much more favourable. His courage is boundless; to call a political problem insoluble is to challenge him to solve it; and it will certainly add a lustre to his Premiership if he is able to find a settlement of the old and difficult problem of women's votes which has been before the country for so many years.

MILLCENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

THE SPEAKER'S CONFERENCE ON ELECTORAL REFORM.

THE Report of the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform, issued just two and a-half years after the outbreak of war, is a repudiation of the idea with which we started—viz., that all questions of home politics, especially those of acute party differences, must be now laid aside, and could be picked up again when peace should come. For here is a question, as complicated and partisan as possible, which people say must be taken in hand at once. It is also a welcome proof that in a matter of wide popular interest, hotly debated by the many, negotiation by a few in private may lead to a solution which discussion in public has failed to reach. Sweeping changes are now recommended and will be widely accepted. This is due, perhaps, to the nation's readiness to be led where clear and courageous leadership steps forward, and next to the tact and grasp of Mr. Speaker, who initiated the Conference, selected its members, presided over its deliberations, and drafted its report. Mr. Speaker's skill in handling men and affairs has been supported by the spirit of accommodation and the good sense of the members of the Conference, whose party predilections have been overcome by the national need of gaining a practical, fair, and clear system of popular representation.

Three facts may be borne in mind in considering the report. The first is that the Reform Schemes of 1867 and 1885 were alike the outcome of party compromise. In 1885 the acute political crisis over extending household suffrage to the counties ended when leaders of the two great parties made a deal, which withdrew the Lords' veto on the Franchise Bill; and to-day, again, a solution comes by agreement. The second fact is that a fair compromise lies before us; the Radical demand for manhood suffrage and no plural voting has been granted almost completely; the Conservative doctrine of retaining our traditional methods is recognised in permitting dual (but not plural) voting, in the new lease of life given to University representation, and in other ways. The third fact is that quite new (non-party) principles have been adopted, chiefly in a considerable application of minority representation, in female suffrage, and in placing on public funds a large share of the costs now borne by candidates.

The actual recommendations of the report fall under nine headings.

(1) *Registration of Electors.* Our existing system is costly, complicated, and uncertain. It demands many forms, enquiries, lists, notices, courts, appeals, &c. It satisfies no one. Including the administrative (official) charges and the sums spent by candidates and political associations, the total cost of making the Parliamentary voting lists was estimated some years ago at £850,000 per annum. This is over 2s. per voter on the lists! On a franchise simple and residential will be based a far less costly system of registration. In future, lists are to be prepared twice annually of those in residence for six months prior to January 15th and July 15th. Residence, not rated occupation, and six months, not a year, are to qualify. Appeals will go to the County Court, not to Revising Barristers. Special registration officers, clerks of Borough and County Councils, are to be appointed. The vital change here is *residence*; formerly, where grown-up sons lived with a father at home, the father as ratepayer was alone placed on the register; the sons might or might not become electors through the difficult door of the lodger's vote. Now simple residence will qualify all adult male inmates of a household.

(2) *Reform of the Franchise.* The franchise is now to be based on residence for six months. An additional franchise is to be the occupation of business premises of £10 value; this will probably be of local and unequal importance. There is also the University franchise for all male graduates. It will be open for a man to be registered as an elector as having residences or business premises in several constituencies, or even as a graduate in several Universities. But at a General Election he can only give his vote in two constituencies, however many qualifications he may have. Thus plural voting is not entirely abolished; it is limited to a dual vote, but it allows the pluralist the choice to vote in any two constituencies for which he may be registered.

How great the change is in taking residence instead of rated occupation as the basis of the franchise is shown by the fact that it will increase the electorate from eight to eleven millions. (This assumes that only males are in question.) There are on the present registers 8,357,648 names, of whom at least 350,000 are plural entries, while the adult male population at the last census (1911) was 11,375,000. It is safe, then, to say that for every eight male voters there will in future be eleven, and that three millions will be enfranchised.

(3) *Redistribution of Seats.* The sweeping changes here recommended will only be exactly understood when Parliament embodies the proposals in a Bill and the Boundary Commissioners have

mapped out the new constituencies. But the principles are clearly stated. The ruling fact is that the gross inequalities in the sizes of present constituencies are an injustice to be removed. Durham City, with 15,000 inhabitants, has now the same voting power in Parliament as Romford with 300,000 inhabitants. "One vote, "one value," meaning that votes in the Commons should bear a fair relation to votes in the country, is obviously a just principle. The report takes 70,000 population as the average population which each M.P. should represent, and makes this the unit of representation. Yet it is obviously impossible to cut up the whole country into constituencies of equal population. Topographical, historical, and administrative conditions must be respected. So the report lays down general rules for redistribution. These provide that (a) existing county and borough boundaries are to be observed as far as possible; (b) counties and boroughs are not to lose their present representation where the defect in the population is 20,000 or less from the 70,000 standard; (c) a county or borough shall receive additional representation for each 70,000 of its population entitling it to increased representation. Other proposals are set out for combining boroughs and grouping them for the purposes of proportional representation, for making new constituencies, &c.

All this will mean great changes. Wales has a population of 2,000,000; over half this population lives in Glamorganshire. Wales is entitled to thirty members, sixteen in Glamorgan, including Cardiff, Swansea, and Merthyr Tydvil. The counties of Merioneth and Radnor, each with under 50,000, would cease to have separate representation; the same would apply to the district boroughs of Carmarthen, Carnarvon (Mr. Lloyd George's constituency containing only 32,000 inhabitants), Denbigh, Flint, and Montgomery. These would have to be merged in County Divisions, grouped or otherwise treated.

In Scotland even more drastic changes would follow. Sixteen Scottish counties are at present each short of 50,000 inhabitants, entitling them to remain unchanged constituencies: Berwick, Bute, Haddington, Kincardineshire, Kirkcudbright, Orkney and Shetland, Peebles and Selkirk, Perth (both East and West), Roxburgh, Sutherland, and Wigtown. On the other hand, Lanark and Glasgow deserve increased representation.

In England, the counties which stand to gain more Members are: Essex, Middlesex, Surrey, London, Lancashire (South-West), Yorkshire (West Riding), all industrial or populous districts showing great increases since 1885. Agricultural counties must suffer a corresponding decrease; especially Cumberland, Devon, Lincoln, Norfolk, Shropshire, Somerset, and Suffolk. Even more striking is the number of English boroughs which, having less

than 50,000 inhabitants, will lose separate representation. These, numbering twenty-eight, are Bedford, Boston, Bury St. Edmunds, Canterbury, Carlisle, Chester, Colchester, Dover, Durham, Gloucester, Grantham, Gravesend, Hereford, King's Lynn, Maidstone, Falmouth, Peterborough, Pontefract, Rochester, Salisbury, Scarborough, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Stalybridge, the Strand, Taunton, Wakefield, and Whitehaven. Where these can be merged with county divisions contiguous they will give their names to the areas and retain their historic traditions. Similarly the following large boroughs with two members are to lose one of their members: Bath, Derby, Devonport, Halifax, Ipswich, Northampton, Norwich, Plymouth, Preston, and Stockport. But these cases may be modified by the proposed flexible arrangements for combining boroughs (Report, para. 19).

As for Ireland, the report makes no recommendation, the supposition being that the Home Rule Act will operate and thus change Irish representation at Westminster. It is evident that the Conference wishes us prepared for very sweeping changes in the constituencies of the United Kingdom.

(4) *University Representation.* Unexpectedly novel proposals deal with Universities in the report. They will be regarded as a fair concession to Conservative opinion. For Liberals have generally demanded the extinction of this "fancy franchise." Lord Bryce, when in 1884 he was both a Radical M.P. and an Oxford professor, moved on the last Franchise Bill to abolish University representation, and nearly succeeded! It is now proposed to reform and enlarge it. The Conference makes four recommendations: (a) Oxford and Cambridge are each to retain two Members, but the electors, who are to be all graduates [not only M.A.'s, members of Convocation as now], will vote only for one candidate; thus different interests and minorities may be represented. (b) The Universities of Durham, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Bristol, and the University of Wales are to be grouped with London, in one constituency with three Members, to be elected by the single transferable vote; thus diversified, or minority, representation will be secured. (c) The four Scottish Universities are to be similarly grouped with three Members, similarly elected. Thus four new or additional seats will be allocated to the existing University representation.

(5) *Methods of Election.* Far-reaching changes are recommended in this section of the report. The chief one is that Proportional Representation, which may perhaps be known in future parlance as "P.R.," is to be introduced for boroughs entitled by population to three or more Members—that is, which have 190,000 inhabitants or more. In England these include Birmingham, Bradford,

Bristol, Hull, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Nottingham, Salford, Sheffield, West Ham, and Wolverhampton, and the larger London boroughs; and the whole of London will by grouping come under the same system. In Scotland, Glasgow and Edinburgh would come under Proportional Representation. And by paragraph 16 of the report, such other constituencies of like size as may be formed by grouping contiguous boroughs. Where Proportional Representation is thus introduced, the large constituencies (why not call them at once "P.R. constituencies"?) are to have not less than three nor more than six members, elected by the single transferable vote. This means that each voter can mark 1, 2, 3, and so on, opposite the names of the candidates in the order of his preference; when the votes are counted, on any candidate receiving more than sufficient to carry his election (that is, than the *quota*), his surplus votes are transferred to the candidate or candidates indicated as the voters' next choice. This method is for the voter simplicity itself; he has simply to number 1, 2, 3 opposite the names as he prefers them. For the officials who count the votes, experience shows that with proper instructions neither much delay nor any difficulty occurs in announcing a scientific result. The arguments for "P.R." are familiar: That it gives a fairer reflection of the popular will, accords to minorities a fair weight rather than all the power to a bare majority; that it gives to candidates of notable ability, past record, and public qualifications a better chance, and less advantage to local or personal popularity or wealth; that it moderates both the abrupt cleavage of party and violent revulsions in popular sentiment; and that it gives adequate opportunities for divergencies within a party. The main arguments used against "P.R." may be reduced to three: That it may result in a Parliament without any party strong enough, apart from coalition, to carry on the Government—a condition which has actually obtained in the House of Commons since 1910, and is likely to continue; that the labour and cost falling on candidates would be intolerable—an objection which is fairly met by the form in which the report proposes it; and that by-elections cause difficulties, especially when a minority Member vacates his seat—this last point is one which is not met by the report, but is not in any case fatal.

In being thus recommended, unanimously, by the Speaker's Conference, "P.R." has gained a hearing. Its advocates are to be congratulated. France, just before the war, was on the eve of adopting it for her Parliamentary system; its acceptance by the French will soon come. Which of the two great Allied democracies of Europe will adopt it first?

Sweeping reductions in the costs of elections will be effected,

if the proposals of the report take effect. None of the recommendations will be more generally welcomed than those directed against election extravagances. The proposal to have all elections on one day at a General Election, with all nominations eight days before, will shorten and define the period of election, and tend to many economies. The Returning Officer's charges, now fixed on an extravagant scale and paid by the candidates, will be paid by the State on a moderate scale. The amounts spent by candidates on the ordinary electioneering must be greatly reduced, and much less than the previous average will have to go out on committee rooms, agents, placards, bill-posting, &c. The extravagances into which general custom and rival candidates had unwillingly driven one another will vanish. The new scale is now recommended at 7d. per voter for counties, and 5d. per voter for boroughs. At present the limit of expenditure for a constituency of 14,000 electors is £1,430 in counties and £740 in boroughs; the new scale, in a 14,000 electorate constituency, works out at £416 for counties and £291 for boroughs.

These figures are significant, because, assuming that no women are enfranchised, 14,000 is likely to be the average electorate of the new constituencies. It may be assumed, too, that candidates will in almost every case obtain a return of the £150 which each must deposit on nomination, to be returned to him if he gets one-eighth of the votes cast. If so, the average amount which a candidate may not exceed on the costs of his election will be under £420 in a county constituency and in a borough under £300. Of course, if women voters are added to the electorates the costs will be correspondingly increased. But what a welcome reduction to candidates is here! At the last General Election the average expenses of candidates who went through contests were over £800. In the huge constituency of Romford the winning candidate spent £4,522! A further reduction of the expenses limit is imposed where in constituencies returning more than two members there is a joint candidate, and in P.R. constituencies.

The changes recommended in this section of the Report will powerfully relax the old party system, which the war has temporarily, and perhaps permanently, weakened. The Whips' Offices and the party funds will be less important in the selection and election of candidates. Perhaps, too, the type of member in the House of Commons who regards the Whips with independence rather than implicit obedience will be more common.

(6) *Local Government Register.* The registers of voters for local representative bodies are to be reformed in a similar way to the Parliamentary registers. They will be made up twice yearly, the qualification being ownership or tenancy for six months prior

to January 15th or July 15th. Male and female electors will be enrolled on identical conditions, but a husband and wife are not to be jointly qualified to vote in respect of the same premises. This means an important change in one respect, that owners as such become entitled to be local electors; previously the owner of a whole street could not vote in a borough election unless he were otherwise qualified.

(7) *Soldiers and Sailors.* The residences of persons serving in the forces are to be specially ascertained by the Registration Officers, and their names placed on the lists if they are actually resident for one month prior to January 15th or July 15th. This will facilitate the rapid enfranchisement of men as they return from the war.

(8) *Woman Suffrage.* A majority of the Conference was in favour of extending the franchise to women at the age of thirty or thirty-five. This is a very moderate policy, which will satisfy only a few of the ardent women suffragists. But if the supporters of Woman Suffrage concentrate on this modicum of the suffrage they will gain a victory which may lead to a more extended enfranchisement of women before long.

(9) *Miscellaneous.* Four recommendations are given under this head. (1) Liability to support a lunatic in an asylum is not to disqualify the person liable for maintenance. This mitigates the present Poor Law Relief disqualification. (2) Medical Poor Law Relief for less than thirty days is also not to disqualify a voter in future. (3) The Alternative Vote, a form of the single transferable vote, is to apply to contests in single-member constituencies when there are more than two candidates at an election. This method, preferable to the Second Ballot, has been tested and approved in the Colonies. (4) The Postal Vote, in use in Australia, is to be introduced for voters unable to go to the poll on the day of election. This would satisfy a demand often put forward on behalf of sailors, commercial travellers, and others.

It is to be remembered that some important points are not named in the report. For instance, how long is to elapse between the closing of the qualifying period on January 15th and July 15th, and the coming into force of the lists? Will one month, or two, or three be allowed to intervene? Then there are large questions connected with our representative system, chief of them the Referendum, which is clearly outside the terms of reference. Another is whether provision should be made for periodic redistribution in order to adjust increases or decreases of the population in the constituencies. Certain other questions, which from time to time have been discussed, are the rights of illiterate voters, the closing of public-houses on the day of polling, the use of conveyances, the hours of

polling, &c. On the whole these are of minor importance. The report is comprehensive in a remarkable degree, and its unanimity on almost all points (save Woman Suffrage) gives to its recommendations great authority.

Surely Ministers, even in these days of new and overwhelming duties, will find time to consider and introduce legislation based on these recommendations. A General Election on the existing register and any new register based on the existing law would be next to impossible, and certain to give rise to grave offence. With our party prejudices set aside, and our political ideas in the melting pot, Parliament may be expected to put through this business. If these recommendations thus soon pass into law, the electorate will be increased by millions who deserve full citizenship, much energy and expense now wasted in electioneering will be saved, many anomalies will be abolished, more openings will be made for independence and ability in public life, and perhaps the party system may be made more healthy by having to rely less on money and management, but more on qualities of leadership and conviction.

JOSEPH KING.

THE INDIAN SERVICES REPORT.

MISFORTUNE has been the lot of the Report on the Public Services of India. In the first place, just as it was reaching its final form, and substantial amendments were being made to its original draft, Mr. Gokhale, whose signature would have carried so much weight in India, died, and the Commission shared with India itself a loss and a grief of which it was only too conscious. I shrink from saying what his decision would have been ultimately, but he came and saw me frequently during the last days he spent in this country, and though then dissatisfied on some points almost exclusively concerned with the minimum proportions of Indians assigned to some of the Services, he was in complete agreement with the scheme we had devised for Indian candidates for the Indian Civil Service, and as the Commission subsequently made alterations which went some way to meet his views, I am of opinion that he would have added his signature to ours, and would have contented himself by appending memoranda of his own, indicating detailed points of disagreement.*

But the greatest misfortune was the war, which has completely changed the grouping and the character of immediate Indian political problems. The Report will now run the risk of being read as a post-war, whereas it is a pre-war (except for the Medical Service) document. The whole of the evidence was taken before the earthquake of the war had shaken the Empire and had thrown up in India great Imperial problems to overshadow administrative ones. Read, as it ought to be, in its proper historical setting, and carried out as it ought to be with a whole-hearted desire to be generous, the Report should mark a long step forward in Indian administration.

Excepting in one or two tiny corners which, like ladies in purdah, were kept sacred against our prying eyes, every public service in India came under review—from Bengal pilots to Lieutenant-Governors; from boiler inspectors to district magistrates; from veterinary surgeons to forest officers; from Post Office servants to salt revenue collectors; and the problems we had to try and solve swept over the widest ground—the age and training of candidates; the comparative merits of residential and non-residential Universities, and of Greek, French, and Sanscrit as tests of Indian interests and of administrative capacity; the development of our home forests as training schools; the ability of Indians to govern themselves;

* The suggestion made by Mr. Abdur Rahim in his Minority Report that Mr. Gokhale might have signed with him is not borne out by Mr. Gokhale's last conversation with me, but it is indecent to dispute about the unknown and undecided action of a dead man.

methods of promotion and scales of pay; the proportion of Indians which should be in the various services; and so on. Complex as many of the problems were, and resting as they do on deep-seated differences of a political character, a Commission so varied in political views, in experience, and in race agreed so completely in conclusions that, with one exception, the members accepted the main Report and expressed their dissent from each other only on some details. That of itself ought to bespeak for the Report a most energetic backing from the India Office and the Government of India.*

The government of India is a bureaucracy (I do not use the word in any offensive sense) which is being undermined on its political side by Legislative Councils now containing some semblance of representative authority, though as yet confined in their powers by severe constitutional limitations. On its administrative side it is still scarcely touched, for although one Indian sits upon the Viceroy's Council, and, at the time of our Report a little over one-twentieth of the annual recruitment was going to Indians who were successful in the London competitions, practically all the posts which dominate Indian administration are held by Europeans. Ever since Western education gave Western political ideas to the Indian mind, the educated Indian has been casting critical eyes upon this bureaucracy. Sovereigns, Viceroys, Secretaries of State, and the House of Commons for three-quarters of a century have been telling him that no bar of race or colour obstructs his way into that bureaucracy, but he tells you sadly in the somewhat grandiloquent way which our literary teaching has taught him, that hope deferred makes the heart sick, and he produces tabulated statements of salaries and posts to show you that proclamations and professions given to the ear have not been fulfilled in the act. I do not think that anyone who heard the evidence brought before us will doubt his conclusions. We have not denied his claims, but we have not met them. We created a great subordinate service, called the Provincial Service, and we have given it to him as a monopoly, but the Imperial Service, which he is so fond of calling "the blue ribbon," remains European. It is this Imperial Service—the Indian Civil Service—recruited only in England, which fills the Secretariats and the Executive Councils which govern India.

This Service is the guarantee of a British administration. Let it become inferior, or corrupt, or inefficient, and India returns to chaos. Of it we think when we speak of "securing the British connection," or of "governing in the British spirit." It is the pivot of our position. Naturally it has acquired a Freemasonry of its own, an *esprit de corps*, and one sometimes hears it spoken of

* It ought also to be noted that one member of the Commission is now the Governor-designate of Bengal, that another has joined the Council of the Secretary of State, whilst a third is now a member of the Government.

as "a caste." If we trust the Indians they must be there; if we do not trust them we ought to say so without equivocation, and tell them they are not yet to get there. To say we trust them, and at the same time to create effective barriers formed out of their circumstances is the very worst policy we could adopt—unless it be to admit a few and then treat them unfairly and not regard them as equals when they are there. This was the biggest difficulty in high politics which the Commission had to consider.

Various means have been adopted to meet the difficulty. Indians of good family were once nominated to this service, but they failed. Their education was faulty, and nomination and selection will always break down when the posts to be filled are as important as these.* So that method of putting Indians into the Imperial Service was dropped. Then, certain offices belonging to the superior Service were listed, and to them men who had served in the Provincial Service could be promoted. But such men did not thus pass into the higher cadre, and, being promoted comparatively late in life with subordinate habits formed, though they did their work faithfully, the experiment was not a success. Whoever goes into the higher service should enter it young, and his habits should be formed in it.

But when the ground has been cleared so far, we are met with an assumption which, if true, is of the greatest importance. Hitherto it has been taken for granted that an education at a British University is necessary for service in the higher branches of Indian administration, and, in consequence, Indian candidates have had to come here to prepare for the examination. That has been the British view, but it has not been accepted by Indians. Hence the long controversy over simultaneous examinations arose. This has hardly been examined on its merits. Half a century ago liberal opinions regarding Indian administration were more prevalent than they have been latterly, and this scheme was very nearly adopted, but with the growth of the modern ideas of Imperialism it fell into disfavour. The "English door" was regarded as a safeguard against an Indian flood, and the cry was raised that examinations for the public service were dominating Indian education too much, that to add this would damage that education still further, and a whole series of similar arguments was discovered down to that which reminded us that, as the sun did not rise on Calcutta or Bombay at the same time as it did on London, simultaneous examinations were impossible, and that, if there were some hours difference in holding them, the questions would be cabled to India, where they would be handed to a crowd of dishonest competitors who would enter the examination room

* We report in favour of nomination to most of the minor services, but I do not believe that that method can last very long, and open competition will have to be resorted to.

with the answers firmly committed to memory.* Obviously this class of objections belonged to the category of "trumped up." Oxford has never found that the Indian Civil Service competition destroyed its standards of learning; indeed, it has always been very anxious to keep a grip upon those appointments for its students; and the frauds of Indian examinations, as we found out on enquiry, have been grossly exaggerated.

Regarding the real point, experience has abundantly shown that the bringing of Indians to this country to be educated is by no means an unmixed blessing to anyone concerned. It imposes in too many cases a mere western veneer on an oriental ground, it produces a mental and spiritual chaos, it uproots from one culture without rooting in another, and it produces a life of hesitating imitation rather than one of strengthened native capacity and originality. On the balance of gain and loss, India has gained little by the British education of Indian civilians, and as Indian education improves and the atmosphere of Indian life becomes more bracing, that little gain steadily disappears and a loss takes its place.

From a political point of view the assumption is bad. An India governed by men of a Eurasian mentality is denationalised, and it is a great loss to Indian culture that the educated rulers have ceased to be truly Indians. Nationality and race, especially as in India where they have a rich background of history and culture, should be conserved and not destroyed. The world robbed of India would be so much the poorer. Therefore, so far from pursuing this old policy, we should deliberately begin a new method and encourage Indians, native to the soil, to enter the higher administrative offices. In the Native States, Diwans who have never set foot on England, or who, if they have, have come here as visitors, have governed with successful sagacity and have shown the same qualities as the best Englishmen. At any rate, in so far as that experience has been unfortunate it has not been so unfortunate as to lead one to the conclusion that it would be fatal if it were followed in British India. In some respects it might modify present standards of efficiency, but we are too apt to assume that there is but one kind of efficiency, and that our own.

The ground having been cleared so far by the axe of sound political principle and of experience, the only question remaining was that of how the change could best be made. One dominating consideration was the difference between Indian and English education for youths of certain ages. The British youth of nineteen is not doing the same class work as the Indian youth of nineteen, and I am not at all sure but that it would be a mistake to equalise forcibly and suddenly things in this respect. Other

* Such evidence was actually submitted to us.

expedients than the simple one of simultaneous examinations had, therefore, to be considered, and I believe the scheme devised by the Commission—and with this Mr. Gokhale agreed—is the best, at any rate for the time being. A certain proportion of the annual vacancies, we recommend, should be filled by an examination in India which will accommodate itself to the standards of education in India attained by youths of the requisite age. This is indeed a variant of the proposal for simultaneous examinations which was acceptable to leaders of the educated Indians themselves, and as I have heard that there is some disposition amongst Indians to quarrel with it, they ought to be reminded of this. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, in one of his innumerable appeals in favour of Indians, put forward this scheme to the East Indian Association as being satisfactory.*

“The Secretary of State for India has only to decide as to what proportion of natives it would be desirable to introduce into the Civil Service, and then to send out instructions to the Local Governments to institute examinations of the same character and under the same rules that are followed here under which examination the candidates could be selected. . . . The simple question for the Secretary of State to decide being what proportion of the appointments should be competed for in India,” &c.

That is how the Commission proposes to meet this claim, and when the Indians are chosen they are to be sent to Britain to complete their educational training so that there may be some uniformity in the training of the cadre. If this proposal is carried out it ought to remove one of the most long standing grievances under which educated Indians labour, and it also ought to be the beginning of a new conception of what is desirable in Indian government. It will not be suitable for ever, but it is the wisest and the only practical step for the moment, and it is in the right direction.

It is joined up with another matter of vital importance—the choice and training of British candidates. Many reasons have combined to deprive the Indian Civil Service of its commanding position amongst the prizes which education offers to our youth, and when the examination for it was combined with that of the Home Service, men undoubtedly took an Indian appointment because they failed to get one at home, and went out to India without feeling any call to go there. They went out unhappy and in the mood of exiles. They went into a service that had many grievances, and they multiplied them from their own unhappiness. So India began to get a bad name at the Universities. I think I am right in saying that the Commission was much impressed by the existence of these evil influences, and was keenly alive to the disaster to which they were tending and might reach if they were

* *Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji*, p. 479.

not checked. One way suggested to us of avoiding that disaster we shunned. We were told that certain services should be rigidly closed to Indians, that the members of these services should be endowed with imperial privileges, and that they should be recruited only from the *élite* of British families who send sons to Eton and Oxford. On that road destruction lies. Such a policy is impossible.

For generations Indian administrators were recruited largely from families with Indian traditions. At the same time there was an Indian idealism that attracted some of our best youths, especially from Ireland and Scotland. But the competitive examination, owing to the way it has been worked, has had a levelling effect, and the papers set have been of a kind to invite cramming and to give no opportunity to detect and sift bookmen from men of independent judgment who have an interest in India. Other changes have made it difficult for the old type of Irishman and Scotsman to compete successfully, and the English Universities, not by any means to the advantage of the Service, have been specially favoured.

It is an interest in India that is the great requisite. Even in these duller times when dead files and routine consume so much of the life of the Indian civilian, and when the bureaucracy is being hedged in by the thorn fence of public opinion and constitutional procedure, the attractiveness of India has not gone if it were only understood. A Radice or a Meston can still find in the Indian Civil Service a wide field, fertile of interest and satisfaction, and anyone with imagination and sympathy will discover in the political, social, and religious problems of India a work upon which a life can be nobly and fully spent, and win a reward in respect and power undiminished in its preciousness, though the days of the Nabob are over and the time of absolute personal authority belongs to the past. The young Briton of political tastes and of Imperial vision, seeking for that work which he may do and gain greatness in the doing of it, can still turn to India and find there scope for his ability.

The question is, how to discover such men and how to open up their minds to the call. On the whole we found no marked deterioration in the quality of the men now going out, but we did discover warning signs. We were agreed that India should mean something more than an office and a routine of work to the young man who went there, and we decided that a new method of selection and training was necessary. We therefore propose that the Indian civilian should be selected when he has finished the secondary stage of his education, when the world of idea is just opening out inviting him to a pilgrimage in it, when he is impressionable to new thoughts and is ready to listen to the call of a cause. At the end of a University career the mind has come in contact with other attractions, and some of the Universities impart a pride in the

English way of looking at things, which is an awkward possession for the man who is to go and administer the affairs of a foreign people. The Briton who is to be a successful Indian administrator, who is to go out, not as part of a fixed governing caste, but as the guide and friend of a people steadily advancing towards self-government, must respect the civilisation and the culture in which his life's work is to be done and must be able to respond sympathetically to its alien customs and emotions. He must go to India with some admiration in his heart for the soul of the people. We therefore propose to bring him in contact with the best that India has, by training him in an Oriental school of studies, where he will be taught the classical Indian languages and philosophies, where he will know something more of Indian religion than in its debased forms, where he will be informed of Indian life, economics, law, and politics. Thus equipped he will go out at about the same age as he now does—but a totally different man. The Haileybury training was one extreme, the present haphazard system is another. Our proposal catches up the advantages of both.

This intention rules all our recommendations regarding the thirty odd services upon which we have reported. My only vital disagreement with my colleagues was upon education. The present method of sending untried University men to high educational posts in India is condemned both by experience and common sense. Indian education is producing a mental chaos which is seen not only in evil political propaganda, but also in College strikes. The student resents what is being done, and though the Commission's recommendations would remove some of the difficulties, I think the whole problem has to be faced with thoroughness and courage and with minds completely detached from English University assumptions and prejudices. The English University is the most insular of all educational institutions, and at this late hour is only beginning to emerge from its indifference to national education, and is just feeling the influence of the great educated democracy outside. It has not yet reached any decided conception of what its service to national education is to be, and is still in the erroneous frame of mind that by merely extending the length of its arm it can aid the nation. If the English University is to control the staffs, the methods and the organisation of Indian education, the last stage of that education will be worse than the first. As quickly as may be, the Indian Education Service should be staffed by Indians. Lord Hardinge's appointment of Sir Sankaran Nair to the Education Department, and not to that of Law, was instinctively right, as so many of Lord Hardinge's actions were. Law has been an allurement to the Indian, his mobile mind delights in its twisting and mazy paths. But education is more natural to him, and with some encouragement he will pursue it. Moreover, no race

can be educated by another. It can be given the implements of education—knowledge; it can be taught to pass examinations; but until its own hands hold up to it the lamp of instruction the beams will be but dim that enter its mind. No one who has visited, as I have done, schools like those at Bolpur and Hardwar conducted by Indians, and the corresponding high schools conducted by Englishmen, can have any doubt of how the one is natural and creative, and the other unnatural and imitative. If the Government of India will only hold an impartial enquiry into the whole system of Indian education, the result will be unpleasant, but enlightening. The greater part of the shortcomings of Indian education which are so commonly used to prove the inferiority of the Indian mind are not native to India at all, but are the direct results of our educational blunders.

About one important subject I am greatly disappointed. When I began my work on the Commission I entertained the hope that we might be able to recommend economies in the cost of Indian administration, and we have actually recommended, as regards the salaries of the Indian Civil Service alone, an additional annual cost of about £73,000; for the Imperial and Provincial Services together, about £150,000; and for the whole of the services we investigated, £280,000. And to that must be added the more uncertain costs of our proposals regarding pensions, leave, and other privileges. The truth is that what at one time were the fictitiously high standards of pay created by the Government for public service owing to the foreign nature of that service, have become a fixed custom, and Indians vie with Englishmen in asking increases of pay and in showing good reason why they are reasonable. The expenditure of the Indian official has gone up, his mode of life has become more expensive, the cost of living in India has increased. With sadness of heart I looked back on Sir William Hunter's declaration that a native agency would be cheap, and upon the argument of the Indian National Congress that Indian officials would reduce the cost of Indian Government. That hope has gone so far as the higher branches of government are concerned. Only a voice here and there, crying in the wilderness behind us, like Moti Lal Ghose, reminded me of that old hope. The Government of India, if it becomes Indian from top to bottom to-morrow, will remain expensive. The stars in their courses are fighting against economy, and only after many months did I yield to what I have been compelled to regard as the inevitable. India must put up with it. Its financial problems are not to be solved by economies in salaries, but by such changes in the levying of national income, and such readjustments in the charges which ought to be borne by itself and the Empire, as will do greater justice than is now meted out to it. But that lies far beyond the bounds of our reference,

and the sheer necessity of doing justice to the service compelled us to propose additions to India's financial burden.

One word of warning must be uttered. The demands which the Indians have made that they should have more influence not only on, but in, the Bureaucracy, are fraught with the danger that, by taking the ablest Indians into the Bureaucracy, the Bureaucracy may be strengthened at the expense of the Legislatures. If this were to happen a great evil would be done. From the very nature of the reference we had to report in favour of the strengthening of the Bureaucracy by making it abler and more acceptable to Indian public opinion. That public opinion, however, must guard itself. Its proper expression is not through a Civil Service but through Legislative Councils which will control the Civil Service. If it cannot do that, no Commission and no enlightened or benevolent autocracy can help it. India must accept the apparently cold, but in reality kindly, policy of throwing it back upon itself. Some of the proposals to protect the Indian by giving him an assured proportion of places in this service and in that I signed reluctantly and with the mental reservation that the schemes were only temporarily necessary. The idea is neither good in itself nor really helpful to India. India through the growth of its own legislative and administrative authority, and by the cultivation of its own native capacity, must look after itself. Spoon feeding will not help it permanently. That is the answer not only to some of the proposals made by that wide and comprehensive opinion called "Indian," but to the claims put up by communities like the Mahomedan and the Anglo-Indian in their own special interests. We can only hope to put India, and all the communities contained therein, in the position of self-help and leave it and them to work out their own salvation without let or hindrance. Therefore if some of our Indian friends are disappointed with some of the recommendations and with the absence of others, let them consider their disappointment in relation to this sound rule.

It now remains for the Government to act. The Commission strove by a process of give and take to produce a report that would be unanimous so that no excuse would be given to London or Delhi for postponement and inactivity. Nothing has done India more harm than the passive resistance which the Government has shown to reports such as this, and it is the duty of the British public to see that in days to come Indians cannot say of this as they have said so generally of the last, known as the Aitchinson Report: "It seemed to open the door for us, but the Government "used it for the further subordination of Indians in the service of "their country."

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

LORD CROMER BEHIND THE SCENES.

THE greatest of Napoleon's generals, as the Duke of Wellington accounted him, Masséna, really, according to Lord Beaconsfield, Manasseh*—or may it not have been the latter-day Duc de Richelieu?—spoke of “the seven great Powers in Europe: France, England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, the House of Rothschild, and Baring Brothers.” About this last family a few words are necessary to explain the position in it of its most distinguished member, Lord Cromer, removed by death at the close of last January. Baring Brothers had the start in London of the Rothschilds by the best part of a century. Their name was introduced to England by John, son of Franz Baring, a Lutheran minister at Bremen, an eighteenth-century immigrant to England. This John Baring left his native place to push his fortunes elsewhere; soon after reaching British soil, in 1717, he found himself at Exeter or its immediate neighbourhood. There he prospered so well in various branches of the wool trade as from a clerk to become a partner, and eventually the head of a highly lucrative concern. Naturalised in 1723 on his profits as a merchant, he settled down to the life of a country gentleman. He began his new part on a modest scale on some land and beneath a roof bought by him at Larkbear, near Exeter. That little place, therefore, may be considered the germ of the Grange, Ashburton, whose hospitalities were to fill so large a space in the social annals of the nineteenth century. Dying in 1743, John Baring left two sons. The elder, his namesake (1730-1816), remained on the paternal Devonshire estate, while the other, Francis (1740-1810), went to London, to find its streets paved with gold. The banking house (which may include, but means a good deal more than a bank) founded by him not only became a European centre of international finance, but soon brought him to the notice and high in the favour of William Pitt, from whom, in 1793, he received a baronetcy.

In addition to a great financial institution, the eighteenth-century Sir Francis Baring founded one of the new political families whose growth formed a feature of the period, which, represented by the Whig Whitbreads, had already risen to power in the State.

* *Coningsby*, page 251, Hughenden Edition.

Having served on the Court of Directors at the India House, Baring found a seat in the House of Commons. While occupying it he became one among the most popular and cosmopolitan hosts of his time. During the last stages of the Napoleonic Wars he was constantly passing to and fro between London and Paris. He never failed of a welcome on both sides of the Channel for the variety and accuracy of the news he might be expected to bring. He learned quite as much as he imparted, kept his fingers on the pulse of every money market, and interpreted with something that almost seemed infallibility the pecuniary as well as political signs of the times. He had prospered at Westminster not less than in the City; but it was as "the first merchant in the world" that he received Erskine's congratulations on purchasing Stratton Park, once the property of the Earls of Southampton and of Lord William Russell. There Sir Francis Baring passed some of his pleasantest and not least distinguished years; for when he died in 1810, at the age of seventy, he had achieved the reputation of a model landlord and the most enlightened expert in the business of his county. On his death the baronetcy went, of course, to his eldest son, Thomas. The two younger sons, Alexander and Henry, formed with the head of the house the trio placed by Masséna among the great European Powers.

The eldest of these was succeeded (1848) in his title, estates, and the share of the city business by Sir Francis Thornhill Baring, who in the same year (1866) entered the peerage as Baron Northbrook and passed out of life. His son received a further step in the peerage, becoming in 1876 first Earl of Northbrook, with the second title of Viscount Baring, and is thus the father of the present possessor of the family earldom.

As for the honours received by others sprung from the same stock, the second son of Sir Francis, Alexander Baring, not only equalled, but sometimes even surpassed, the social and political notoriety his father and in a less degree his elder brother had enjoyed before him. A staunch Whig, he missed no chance of proclaiming as loudly as Lord Brougham himself his conviction that the charges against the Prince Regent's wife were false, and he started as well as liberally subscribed to a fund for the unfortunate Queen Caroline's support. In the House of Commons he gave his party valuable help in financial discussions, and especially in their criticism of Sir Robert Peel's schemes. Two years before Queen Victoria's accession he received his reward by being created Lord Ashburton. The title had been first worn by the Rockingham-Whig lawyer Dunning, who still lives in political history for his famous motion (in 1780) that "the power of the crown "has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

Belonging by birth to that part of Devonshire in which Ashburton lay, Dunning had taken his title from the little town afterwards to be associated with some of the most memorable country-house gatherings of the Victorian Age. The host of these occasions, the second Lord Ashburton, was called by so widely versed a judge of men and letters, Lord Houghton, "the noblest and purest-minded man I have ever known." His wife, the consummate *châtelaine* of the Grange, who did so much towards smoothing Carlyle's rugged face and temper, seemed to that philosopher the greatest lady of rank conceivable, with the soul of a princess and captainess had there been any career possible to her but that fashionable one. Shining as a conversationalist herself, she had equally the gift of inspiring good talk around her. It was at the Grange that the future peer, then Monckton Milnes, disappointed at not having received the offer of a ministerial place from Peel, drew from Carlyle the remark: "No, no; Peel knows what he is about; there is only one post fit for you, and that is the perpetual Presidentship of the Heaven and Hell Amalgamation Society." To a different category belonged other winged words flying irresponsibly over the Grange dinner-table, across the walnuts and the wine. As, for instance, Lord Panmure's dictum about Macaulay's great work, "It is not a history at all, only a collection of pot-house gossip." All too soon the curtain was to drop on these amusing or brilliant Grange scenes. In 1858 Lady Ashburton felt unwell. The Court physician, Sir Charles Locock, summoned post-haste from London, diagnosed dropsy. After this the Grange parties on the grand scale ceased, and the few intimates who occasionally visited him saw Ashburton "walking alone with a grave, sad smile that was very pathetic." For death he had to wait six years after his wife had gone (1864).

Sir Francis Baring's third son Henry enjoyed much of the social and political consequence which had now for some generations been a family heritage. Those privileges, over and above their share in the family wealth, descended to his two sons, Edward Charles (1828-1897), subsequently the first Lord Revelstoke, and Evelyn (1841-1917), the first and late Lord Cromer. Both brothers also had part in a still more precious legacy bequeathed by their mother. This lady, Henry's second wife, and Admiral William Windham's daughter, was endowed with social and intellectual gifts, giving a rare distinction and attraction to her Norfolk home, and afterwards adding a new charm to a brilliant section of the polite world in Paris during the Orleanist period, when the fusion of the most highly cultivated and moneyed sets on both sides of the Channel gave the English and French capitals the appearance of being not different cities, but two sections in one and the same metropolis of

wit, beauty, and wealth. There was another family tradition than these that appealed strongly to Henry Baring's second son, the first Earl Cromer. From childhood he had been accustomed to read and hear of the vast resources at his relatives' command being employed on objects which influenced the course of history and decided the fate of the nations. From those to whom the incident had been a personal memory he had heard during his boyhood how at the close of the Revolutionary wars his house had supplied the immense loan which freed France from foreign occupation, and secured her a fair start on the career of peaceful and prosperous industry.

An unexpected future was to bring Evelyn Baring the opportunity of performing for the land of the Pharaohs a service of recreation not less fruitful in great results than that by which his ancestors had helped back the country of the Gaul to its place among the nations of the earth, even as the best part of a century later the great house of which Lord Cromer was a scion was to be prevented from falling by the timely intervention of its brother financial magnates. During the first half of November, 1890, Baring Brothers found that their investments in certain South American securities had passed the limit of prudence. The Argentine collapse operated as a fatal straw. The value of the securities went down with a run; disaster was only averted by some of the greatest banks, with the Bank of England at their head, forming a guarantee fund of £17,000,000. The Bank of France promptly supplied a large amount of gold, with the result that the crisis was ended and the Baring Brothers were saved. On November 24th the reconstructed house came into existence, Baring Brothers & Co. was registered as a limited company, with a capital of a million, the firm reserving the power to repurchase the business within five years for 120 per cent. on paid-up capital. Long before Evelyn Baring's transformation into Lord Cromer signs were not wanting that the Near East generally, and Egypt in particular, were his eventual destiny. He had not become a captain in the Royal Artillery before receiving a little piece of official promotion which was appreciably to influence his intellectual developments and tastes. As aide-de-camp to Sir Henry Storks in the Ionian Islands he found himself at the impressionable age of twenty in a region of classical associations and mentally stimulating memories. He had gone from a private school to the Woolwich Academy; from the latter he had taken with him the rudiments of military training as well as of thoroughly trained mathematical aptitudes. His Latin and Greek, however, were on the peace establishment. Modern Greek he quickly mastered; it then struck him that, being in or near to one of Homer's traditional birth-

places, he might pay his respects to the father of poetry by acquiring enough of the ancient tongue to read the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* in the original. Thus began his Hellenist education. Time did not permit of its being advanced or continuously maintained. Some years later, as he approached middle age, the Greek studies, with the addition of Latin, were resumed. His energies in that direction received a further impetus from a visit, in his Tunbridge Wells retirement, to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, whom he found amusing himself by an attempt to render English nursery rhymes into Greek iambics. In thus making himself scholar enough when of mature years to read the classical masterpieces with enjoyment if not entirely with ease, Baring resembled one of his older contemporaries, a professional man of letters, James Hannay, who between the time he left the Navy and settled down to newspaper work had picked up enough of the tongues in which Cicero and Horace wrote to give himself a great deal of pleasure.

Evelyn Baring's official apprenticeship scarcely began in earnest before he became First Secretary to the Jamaica Enquiry in 1865, secondly, in 1872-6, Private Secretary to his cousin, the second Baron Northbrook, afterwards first Earl when Indian Viceroy. For everything in connection with that relative the future Lord Cromer always had a feeling not far removed from admiration since the time when, as a boy, he heard, on a visit to the House of Commons, Sir Francis Thornhill Baring (afterwards first Baron Northbrook and father of the Viceroy) move an address assuring Queen Victoria of her Parliament's warm support in the Crimean War. Through that relative's son, the Viceroy of India, he was first brought into touch with the scene of his future triumphs. For the Gladstone Government after his return from Calcutta decided (August 5th, 1884) to send the second Baron Northbrook to Egypt as High Commissioner to enquire into its finances and condition. Soon after his arrival at Cairo, the Egyptian Government, with the British approval, suspended for six weeks the funding of the sums assigned for the redemption of the public debt and applied them to the pressing needs of the administration. The situation subsequently developed was to be dealt with by the High Commissioner's kinsman, and to do even more than place Lord Cromer in the front rank of those Imperial administrators whom it has been the special privilege of England to produce for the benefit of mankind.

The details of Lord Cromer's Egyptian career, financial and political, as well as the exact stages, the facts, figures, and methods, of his conversion of a small corner of the earth from a hell of oppression into a paradise of content, belong to history. Eight years before Lord Northbrook's mission, the future Earl of

Cromer's acquaintance with Egypt had begun, in the capacity of Commissioner of Public Debt. Three years later (1879), the ex-Khedive, Ismail Pasha's, career of wild confusion led to his deposition by Lord Salisbury; and it might almost be said Evelyn Baring reigned in his stead. In other words, the Anglo-French dual control had established itself, with the French diplomatist Monsieur de Blignières as the representative for France and Evelyn Baring as his English colleague. In 1880 his Egyptian work was intermitted by a summons to India as the Financial Member of the Viceregal Council. Before this, in his cousin Lord Northbrook's day, his strong, swift judgment and thoroughness of universal supervision had won him the sobriquet of the "Vice-Viceroy." While for the second time he was making good his claim to that character in Calcutta, there occurred in Egypt the events which gave Sir Evelyn Baring, as he had now become, the great opportunity of his life, and recalled him, in 1883, from the Ganges to the Nile. No branch of Egyptian affairs had escaped getting into the hopeless tangle which followed the Arabi revolt and the Mahdist rising. Sir Evelyn Baring now held the position of Agent and Consul-General, combined with the rank of a Minister Plenipotentiary. These titular distinctions invested him with a practical supremacy over the whole country, and enabled him to take the responsibility of reforming the inveterate abuses of every department. Difficulties and dangers more subtle and intangible than these had at the same time to be dealt with. Cairo, Alexandria, and other more or less Gallicised social and financial centres were the habitual scene of secret, sometimes of more or less open, machinations against British ascendancy, the hotbeds of cosmopolitan intrigue and competition among bogus capitalists to obtain contracts for the execution of schemes, occasionally plausible, but quite as often wildly impracticable, or mere snares for unwary investors.

From time to time, too, he was confronted by little outbreaks of a peculiarly troublesome opposition. Ismail Pasha, whose Khedivate had been brought to a close by Lord Salisbury in 1879, justly passed with the most practised judges of the race for the cleverest Oriental of his time. Of restoration to his old position he never, of course, had the ghost of a chance. He was, however, quite as sanguine as he was astute, and persuaded himself that some turn of luck or unexpected shifting of the cards might almost at any moment re-establish him in the Abdin palace. That self-delusion was systematically encouraged by the cosmopolitan parasites among whom during the years of exile in Paris, London, and Rome, he held his mock state. Levantine adventurers of every race, mongrel demi-reps of every creed and colour, a sprinkling of needy Britons,

the outside hangers-on of newspaper offices or the Inns of Court—these constituted the grotesque *entourage* of his petty court. Whatever the representations of their connection with *la haute finance* or *la haute politique*, Ismail may more than have suspected that these men had no power of serving him. Some, however, of them had access to persons of title, Cabinet ministers, newspaper editors, or the chiefs of contracting firms. At any rate, who should say that it might not be worth his while to buy them at a bargain on the chance of their influencing the opinion, official or popular, of European capitals in his favour? Altogether it was very much like a series of scenes from an Offenbach burlesque. When “His Highness,” as they called him, came by his own again, what would he not do for his loyal adherents, the men who had vied with each other in putting their hands into his pockets, who had refused to desert him during the dark days of banishment from his country, and the ladies of family, his own favourite expression. The courtier who had been warned off Newmarket Heath and to whom Tattersall’s had been closed was to be made Master of the horse, with one of the finest palaces in the Boulak suburb and a retiring pension of some indefinite thousands! The sharp magazinist who occasionally got a paper into some public print and who, in his earlier days, had perhaps been a school inspector was, as education minister, also to be suitably housed on the sacred river. Meanwhile, most of these gentlemen contrived to get from their patron something more or less substantial on account. Not always or most frequently in cash, but in the precious stones which his highness always carried with him—a pearl scarf-pin for the gentleman or a diamond bracelet for his wife.

Not that Ismail entirely failed to obtain something in the nature of a *quid pro quo*. Some really good houses opened their doors to him in country or town. To some of those who formed his personal suite, he eventually owed (January, 1888) the settlement of his claims on the Egyptian Treasury. He thus received the palaces on the Nile formerly belonging to him, his property at Stamboul, a commutation of his civil allowances at fourteen years’ purchase, and £100,000 in cash. His legal adviser, Sir W. T. Marriott, Judge-Advocate-General, faced in the House of Commons a motion of censure for the part he had taken, and came off successfully by 218 to 126 votes. The mere prospect commonly counted on of such a decision had seemed to Ismail an omen of greater success; and towards the close of the ’eighties his secret agents, a very miscellaneous set, were on the look-out for him in Cairo, on the chance of something turning up. These gentlemen were generally controlled by a remarkably clever, plausible, and subtle Parisianised Levantine and a certain military Pasha of venerable appearance,

majestic moustache, and British descent. Hanging on to these were several tourist adventurers who had received Ismail's poor little bounties in England, were now prattling in the Cairo hotels and bazaars about his probable recall by the British Government, about their own influence with the powers that be, and their reasonable hope of converting official opinion to their views. Sir Evelyn Baring was now temporarily reinforced in Egypt by Sir Henry Drummond Wolff. The two, having talked the matter over, decided that an extinguisher must be put on the ex-Khedive's emissaries of every kind. Some of these, carefully disguised not seldom as English clergymen wintering on the Nile for their health, occasionally obtained an audience of Sir Evelyn Baring, with the view rather of being able to tell their employer or his representatives that they had done something than with the notion of securing any definite result. That, however, did not lessen the mischief of the unrest which the crude intrigues were working in the native mind. Presently these industrious but exceedingly inexpert conspirators began to find that not only the Consul-General, but his *adlatus*, Wolff, had become unapproachable. The manager and the waiters, too, at Shepherd's Hotel or the Queen's, where Ismail had secured him free quarters, were less attentive than formerly. Shortly afterwards he heard from London that his speedy presence at home was, in his own interests, to be desired. Either the doctor had sudden reasons for anxiety about his wife's health, his banker or lawyer wished to discuss personally business which could not be transacted by letter, or a little suburban property he had would go to rack and ruin if his immediate attention were not forthcoming on the spot. Nubar Pasha, a shrewd and honest official, was then among the heads of the Egyptian Government, and occasionally witnessed Baring's interviews with visitors of the sort just described. "Sir Baring's eye," he once said to the present writer, "can penetrate through any disguise; and his strong swift mind at once seizes as if by magic the motive underlying the presence and talk of the most cautious visitor. If nature had not intended him for a great administrator, chance would have made him the supreme organiser of a model detective police."

The attitude in which he most impressed not only the Western but the Eastern world was that taken by him at a later date, and belongs to the period of the war between America and Spain. Spanish cruisers had begun taking in coal at Port Said; they had already enough on board to pass through the canal. Lord Cromer objected, and said that the shipment of coal must cease. Spain refused or protested, with the support of all the Continental Powers. The British official re-issued his orders in a more emphatic form :

“ Remove that coal from the bunkers at once ! ” The Sultan in the last century might as well have demurred to executing the great Eltchi’s orders at Constantinople, as the Spanish authorities, some fifty years later, to give effect to Cromer’s peremptory demand. And, indeed, the overmastering strength in resolve and execution, characteristic of both men alike, may be traced back as effect to one and the same cause.

“ Aristocracy,” it has been said, “ though rich in vigour, “ unless reinforced from outside, is poor in ideas.” The first Lord Cromer, like the first and only Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, belonged by birth to that aristocracy of wealth which is a very different thing from the plutocracy. By various affinities and associations, he had, like Stratford Canning, contracted some of the best qualities distinctive of the Whig nobility in their prime. He had all the literary aptitudes and accomplishments of the Russells, and was as sound and shrewd a judge of writing and conversation as that recent Duke of Bedford himself, who was Benjamin Jowett’s intimate, but who owed less to Jowett than it was once the Balliol fashion to believe. His connection as writer, perhaps as occasional adviser, with the *Spectator* was not less of a landmark in the latter-day evolution of that great journal than of his own course; and it showed that, had he after his final return to England given to his library and pen the energies condensed into his occasional appearances in the House of Lords, his Chairmanship of the Dardanelles Commission might have proved compatible with a place in the literary formation of public opinion comparable with that once occupied by Delane.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND THE WAR.

STRANGE to say, the world was somewhat astonished at the action of Germany's greatest party in August, 1914. There was real reason for that astonishment, for eight days before war broke out the German Socialists had denounced Austria as the aggressor, and her ultimatum to Serbia as the possible provocation of a world-war. Yet, on August 4th, 1914, the 110 Socialist members of the Reichstag voted unanimously in favour of the war credit. They alleged that they were supporting a war of defence brutally forced upon Germany, but it is noteworthy that no word of condemnation, or even criticism, escaped from them when the Chancellor announced in the same sitting that Belgium had already been invaded—a curious beginning for a war of defence.

Later disclosures, however, have shown that the party was not of one mind. On the day preceding the Reichstag sitting the party had held a secret conference, when fourteen members had voted against the resolution to support the war. One of the fourteen, Herr Haase, was actually chosen to be the party spokesman before Germany's assembled legislators. He has since confessed that he was not in agreement with the statement which party discipline compelled him to make—in a word, party discipline forced him to betray his conscience. In the first months of the war, symptoms of discord began to appear in the Socialist Press, and when the second war credit was voted, on December 2nd, 1914, the number of Socialists opposed to it had risen to seventeen, on which occasion Dr. Liebknecht voted against it. In March, 1915, there were thirty-two dissentients. But as yet no open breach had occurred within the party, although the leaven of disruption was at work. Karl Kautzky was busy in the *Neue Zeit* expounding the right of the minority to separate, independent action. These teachings bore fruit in December, 1915, when the following declaration was made by Herr Geyer in the Reichstag on the 21st of that month:—

“ For myself, and on behalf of nineteen colleagues, I have to declare that the military dictatorship which ruthlessly suppresses all endeavours for peace, and seeks to smother every free expression of opinion, makes it impossible for us to discuss our attitude

to the war credit outside this house. Just as we oppose the conquest plans of other Governments, so we are determined to oppose the ominous scheme of our own annexation-politicians, who are also a hindrance to the opening of peace negotiations. The Imperial Chancellor was requested by the Social-Democratic Party to make a peace offer, as the Central Powers were in a most favourable military situation, and could have taken the first step towards peace. The Chancellor, however, bluntly refused, and this horrible war goes on. Every day brings new and unutterable sorrow. A policy which does not exert all its powers to end this nameless misery, a policy which in its entire activities is utterly opposed to the interests of the masses, cannot command our support any longer. Our desire to give the evident longing for peace in all countries a mighty impulse, our own will for peace, and our antagonism to all plans of conquest, do not permit us to vote for the war credit. We vote against it."

On the same day the party condemned this separate action, and on January 8th, 1916, the party in a full council passed a vote of censure on the dissidents. The breach was destined to widen, in spite of the fact that this small minority was exposed to every kind of attack against which they could not defend themselves because of the censorship and of the discipline prevailing in the party to which they still belonged. The Socialist Press, consisting of seventy-seven daily newspapers and a number of fortnightly and monthly publications was divided into two camps, the one upholding the "policy of August 4th" (that supported by the majority of the Reichstag Socialists), and the other favouring the minority, which demanded a return to the pre-war policy—*diesem System keinen Mann und keinen Groschen* ("We will not vote a "man or a farthing for this system.") It is obvious that the majority whose ideas and aims practically coincide with those of the German Government enjoyed considerable advantages in the polemic. The minority, or at any rate those in sympathy with them, resorted to anonymous tactics, and during the early months of 1916 large numbers of anonymous pamphlets were circulated throughout the German Empire bearing such titles as "End the "Winter Campaign," "Europe's Proletarians," "The War and "the Proletariat," "Annexation Madness." Some of them are regrettable in tone, as witness this passage taken from one entitled "The Policy of Dogs":—

"David, Landsberg, and Scheidemann have surpassed the public prosecutor, and put the police president to shame. Woe unto us Socialists if these fellows had administered Bismarck's anti-Socialist law. They would have sent the Socialist members of the Reichstag and the editors of the newspapers to penal servitude. They would have hanged August Bebel, and Liebknecht the Elder on the public gallows. He is a dog who licks the boots of the rulers which have kicked him for several decades. He is a

dog who wags his tail with the muzzle of military law over his face. He is a dog who abjures the entire past of his party and everything which has been sacred to them for a generation and spits upon it all at the order of the Government. Therefore, David, Landsberg, and their set are dogs, and when the day of reckoning comes, the German working classes will give them the kicks they deserve."

The crisis came on March 24th, 1916, when a supplementary vote was asked for by the Chancellor to cover the expenditure for April, May, and June. It was supported by the Socialist majority and negatived by the minority. Concerning the incident a Socialist war writer gives this account:—*

"Before the Reichstag debate, the party held a private meeting, in which Herr Haase endeavoured to make his attitude clear. A majority of the party decided against him, but Herr Haase did not betray by a single word his intention to oppose the vote in the Reichstag. Therefore his breach of party discipline was at the same time a breach of faith. The dissidents had been censured in January, so nothing remained but to declare that Haase and the members who had supported him were excluded from further common action within the party."

The vote of exclusion was carried by fifty-eight to thirty-three; twelve members were absent, and four did not vote. Under the leadership of Herr Haase, the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* was at once founded. Its policy comprises: (a) Not a man or a farthing to the existing system; (b) the opening of immediate peace negotiations in order to end the war. While the majority, led by Herr Scheidemann, support the Government policy with few exceptions, their expressed attitude to the war is: "Continue it till the enemy 'begs for peace.'" When the Chancellor declared in the Reichstag that Germany's sons were fighting for the Fatherland and not for foreign soil, Herr Scheidemann said in his speech:—

"Gentlemen, the man must be a political fool who imagines that a whole continent can stand in flames and millions of men be killed, but that after all these terrible happenings not a single frontier post may be moved. (Long-continued applause.) No frontier post which some mouldy old diplomat or other had placed there!" (Stenographic reports of the Reichstag, page 890.)

A resolution introduced by Herr Bernstein against Germany's submarine war was rejected by Herr Scheidemann, who declared, amidst storms of applause: "We must defend ourselves with the 'U-boats, too, so that our women and children do not fall victims 'to starvation.'"

* Berger: *Fraktionsspaltung und Parteikrisis in der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie.* (*The Split and the Crisis in German Social Democracy.*) (München-Gladbach, 1916;)

Dr. Liebknecht's exclusion from the party was a matter by itself. Indeed, he and Herr Rühle had acted as Independents since December, 1914. The writer already quoted (Dr. Berger) quotes the stenographic report of one of the Reichstag scenes before Dr. Liebknecht disappeared into a German prison :—

“ At last, on April 8th, Dr. Liebknecht succeeded in making himself heard in the Reichstag, and this is what he said : ‘ Gentlemen, the principal work of the State Secretary, whose salary we are asked to vote, was his activity for the War Loan during the past year. I intend to devote a little criticism to these activities. (Laughter.) The new loan has brought fourteen hundred million marks less than the preceding one, but still a grand total of 10.7 milliards. What methods were employed to attain this success? Gentlemen, last autumn the Imperial Exchequer issued some propaganda pamphlets, which placed the methods by which the English Government was financing the war in a very unfavourable light. Anyone who read these pamphlets critically saw at once that the charges made against the English Government covered exactly the same methods employed by the German Government—a fact which, of course, was not allowed to be stated in public or in the Press. (Excitement in the House.) In regard to our loans, it has been said that it is a system of in-breeding, and in regard to the possibility of obtaining loans on a former loan in order to invest the capital thus obtained in another new war loan, is a sort of *perpetuum mobile*. In a certain sense the loans may be compared to a merry-go-round. To a large extent it means simply the centralisation of public wealth in the Exchequer. (A great disturbance, followed with cries of “ Treason ! ”) I have the right to criticise. The truth must be spoken, and you shall not hinder me. (Long-continued uproar. The President had to intervene, and then the speaker continued.) Gentlemen, you represent Capital! I am a Social-Democrat and represent international proletarians.’ (Uproar.) ”

The remainder of his speech was punctuated frequently by repeated outbursts of anger. Dr. Müller, of Meiningen, went to the tribune, snatched Dr. Liebknecht's notes from his hands, and threw them on the floor. Dr. Liebknecht left the tribune for a moment to pick them up, but on returning to continue his speech the President stopped him because, according to German procedure, he had sacrificed his right to continue the speech by leaving the tribune.

Herr Konrad Hanisch gives an interesting account of the present position in his work, *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie in und nach dem Weltkriege* (*German Social-Democracy In and After the World War*). He says it is impossible to obtain a clear picture of the position of the party because of the strangling influence of martial law, and further, a large number of the members are with the colours. According to him, the minority finds its greatest

support in Berlin, on the Lower Rhine, in Thuringia, Saxony, and Northern Bavaria. The majority has held its ground in the rest of the Empire, with strongholds at Hanover, Westphalia, and Hamburg. The same writer points out that if many of the Socialists appealed to their constituents, they would lose their seats. A final attempt to close the breach between the two sections was made in September, 1916, when a *Reichskonferenz* met at Berlin. There were 300 delegates, and the session, which lasted for several days, was private. The minority attended, but on the first day their speaker, Herr Ledebour, said they were taking part in the discussions so as not to miss an opportunity of open discussion. He criticised the composition of the conference, and announced that the minority would not vote. Herr Haase spoke of the Socialist *volte face* on August 4th, 1914, as a betrayal of Socialist principles, otherwise their action would not have caused universal surprise. Dr. David introduced the following resolution :—

“(1) It is a duty to defend one’s country—the present war is is a war of defence.

“(2) The Socialists are determined to continue the struggle till the enemy is prepared to make a peace which guarantees Germany’s political independence, territorial integrity, and free economic development.

“(3) We condemn unreservedly the actions of those who say the war is one of German aggression—such persons only strengthen the hands of the enemy.

“(4) The ideal of a permanent world-peace is still the guiding star of our policy.

“(5) We shall work for the revival of the International Socialist after the war.”

It was carried by 251 to 5, the minority, of course, not voting. The *Vorwärts*, which at that time was still independent, said bluntly that the conference had been packed. Nothing has happened up till the beginning of this year to reconcile the two Socialist sections. A visit by Herren Scheidemann and Ebert to the Dutch Socialist leaders in December caused them to be suspected of working secretly in conjunction with the Chancellor. The German peace proposal increased the suspicion. The Pan-German *Deutsche Tageszeitung* stated that Herr Scheidemann, in a speech at Hamburg, had pleaded for a peace based on the *status quo ante*, each nation paying its own costs.

The minority Socialists criticised Germany’s Peace Note because no terms were stated, while the Brunswick party organ declared the offer to be a swindle. It is interesting to note that four mass meetings, organised by Leipzig Socialists to support peace, were prohibited by the police on December 22nd.

Apparently the Auxiliary Service Law (civilian conscription)

met with little or no Socialist opposition. The representatives of 4,000,000 organised workers gave it their unqualified support at a meeting in Berlin on December 12th.

An attempt will next be made to summarise Social-Democratic opinion on various questions arising out of the war, beginning with their views on the causes of the war. Dr. David, in *Die Sozial-Demokratie im Weltkrieg* (*Social-Democracy in the World-War*), 1915, writes (page 46):—

“The German Reichstag has not the constitutional right to vote for or against a war. The decision for peace or war is in the hands of the Kaiser. By refusing to vote the war credit, we could not have undone the declaration of war or hindered the progress of military events.”

He considers that the war is a struggle for the world's “feeding places,” and three of the main factors leading to the war have been (a) the future of Constantinople and the Near East, (b) England's despotism in the world's markets, (c) the severance of Serbia from European markets by Austria in recent years. In his analysis of the diplomacy leading up to the war, Dr. David condemns the ultimatum to Serbia. He says:—

“If a prize had been offered for the man who could turn a just cause into an injustice in the eyes of the world by his own stupidity, then the author of this ultimatum deserves the prize, for the ultimatum was a declaration of war against Serbia, a fact which it is impossible to minimise.”

He proceeds to point out that Germany committed an error in placing herself unreservedly behind Austria, and in giving the latter a free hand:—

“Thus the German Government repeated the tactics of 1909 (Herzegovina question), but this time they were wrong. Yet it cannot be disputed that the German Government afterwards brought pressure to bear at Vienna to make good their mistake.”

In defending his party for voting the war credit, he writes:—

“We knew what a Russian victory would mean for the German people and for Germany's working-men's movement. It was our sacred duty to prevent it by all the means in our power, and coming generations will appreciate these services to world-history by the German nation. If we could not prevent the war, then it was our duty to do everything to prevent defeat.”

Another writer, Dr. Lensch, discusses the party's declaration at the outbreak of war: “We have always said we would not leave the “Fatherland in the lurch in the hour of danger.” He denies the

"always said," and readers who have followed the development of German Social-Democracy will remember that for forty years they had consistently voted against every credit for military purposes, excepting the special taxes imposed on the richer classes in 1913 for the increase of the German Army. Dr. Lensch writes:—

"These words in the mouth of a party which for a generation and a-half has voted against military credits, are, to say the least, an amazing statement. When, then, has the party 'always said' that it would refuse military credits in peace-time, and grant them in war? If that had ever been said, then the annual refusal of these votes would have been laughed at, and rightly so. With such a policy, German Social-Democracy would never have gained the authority and position of respect among the internationals which it enjoyed. We should not have been taken seriously, and should have met with distrust on all sides."

This writer is one of the strongest supporters of the German Government, but he admits that the party's action in supporting the war was illogical in view of its history, but morally right in all other respects. This touches upon the fundamental question of national defence, a subject which has inspired the German Party to issue an official statement on the subject,* which contains numerous quotations from the speeches of the party leaders and congress resolutions during the last forty years. Special emphasis is laid upon Bebel's plea for a citizen army, and the statement in the party handbook, 1906-7, which runs:—

"The Social-Democrats recognise that, under present conditions, the nations cannot be left helpless, therefore they demand that every man capable of bearing arms shall have the right to carry a weapon, and in case the Fatherland is attacked, it shall be his duty to defend it. The party demands that all males from the age of ten shall receive military training. No Social-Democrat doubts that the German soldier, irrespective of rank, will do his full duty in war."

The "majority" Socialists, in defence of their attitude to the war and military service, claim that their opposition to militarism before the war was merely intended as a criticism of the existing system. They are in favour of every man being a soldier, but they oppose Germany's Army system, the ill-treatment of the common soldier, and the methods of taxation by which Army expenditure is met. The minority, on the other hand, consider the pre-war opposition to militarism as a genuine, whole-hearted rejection of war and everything connected with it. One Socialist confesses:—

* *Sozial Demokratie und nationale Verteidigung* (*Social Democracy and National Defence*). (Vorwärts Publishing House, 1916.)

"Up to a short time ago, the German Socialist had a peculiar conception of militarism. The German military State was to him nothing but a State which oppressed its subjects from the cradle to the grave; our sons were sworn at and mal-treated in the 'gay uniform,' and on the slightest show of resentment condemned to imprisonment; in a word, slowly tortured to death. There is not a little that is true in this description. In fact, we often saw that our soldiers were unworthily treated, and that the iron discipline and the popinjay exteriors of the Army made German militarism unpopular. Yet all this lies in the nature of the thing, and cannot be rooted out; but many soldiers learnt in the Army the discipline and orderliness which were missing from their home life. The Spartan mode of life, the compulsion of exact service exercised an influence, and later they returned to civilian life accustomed to an orderly mode of life, and remembered—at least many of them—with pleasure their time spent in the Army. It is not my intention to sing a song of praise about all that which was customary in the German Army—in fact, I must admit that the proper training and educating factor was very often neglected. Let it suffice to say that we have now learned the high value of German militarism."*

On the question of National and International, there is again a fundamental split in German Socialistic thought, some proclaiming that the International is dead, others hoping for its resurrection. Dr. Lensch asks: "What did the Internationalists in other lands do in 1914 to prevent their own countries from attacking Germany?" He is particularly aggrieved with the French Socialists for believing the reports of German atrocities in Belgium, especially with M. Jules Guesde and M. Marcel Sembat, who, as French Ministers, have roused his ire by helping to spread those reports in their official capacity. Concerning the English Socialistic Party, he is of the opinion that they are worse than the French, in that they identified themselves with the ruling classes, took over their catch-phrases in order to hammer them into the heads of the masses, and carried on a regular agitation in favour of the war, conducting it with the intensity of an election campaign. "Any slander," he says, "any stupidity was good enough for them wherewith to besmirch the enemy." On the whole, most of their writers favour nationalism, and each section of the human family developing its own national idea, although Dr. David writes: "The existence of the nation cannot be regarded as an end in itself. There are aims beyond its limits which every nation must serve."†

* Radloff: *Vaterland und Sozialdemokratie (Fatherland and Social Democracy)*. (München, 1915.)

† Dr. E. David: *Die Sozialdemokratie im Weltkrieg (Social Democracy in the World War)*. (Berlin, 1915.)

Another opinion is :—

“ We are returning by a new spiral of the great historical spirals back to the healthy German national feeling of the old Democrat, Ludwig Uhland, to the national spirit of Georg Herwegh * and Ferdinand Freiligrath. In this war we have become conscious of the fact that the German State idea has justified itself, from both the military and organising points of view, in spite of its political infirmities and beauty spots. We have renounced our dislike for the German State—a dislike which had dominated us, consciously or unconsciously, for several decades—because we cannot honestly defend that dislike any longer. We have become aware of the enormous forces embodied in the State. Because its activities often displeased us, we had become accustomed to look upon the State, together with the whole of its social institutions, as being inwardly decayed and rotten. The war has thoroughly cured us of that error too.”†

On no point has the change in German Socialists' thought been so complete as in their attitude to England and all which this country stands for. German Socialists had led us to believe that they considered English forms of liberty to be the highest ideal which they could wish for their country, and their literature was permeated with what seemed to be sincere respect for what is popularly called “ British freedom.” The war has changed all this, or perhaps, better expressed, it has brought to light the fact that the supposed respect was not based upon very solid foundations.

England stands for individualism, Germany for collectivism, and with one accord German Socialists plump for the latter. Dr. Lensch, who appears to be one of the most ardent apostles of German-Imperial-Collectivism, writes :—

“ The outstanding feature of this war is the absence of great political personalities, a lack evident in the camp of both friend and foe. While great leaders of armies have come to the fore, no towering political leader has as yet appeared behind the front. It is as if the spirit of world-history wished to make evident that this is the end of individualism in the world's history. At a time when armies are counted by millions, and whole nations wage war, when the battle is fought not only by the man in uniform, but by the wives and children at home, the importance of the individual diminishes before the totality and its organisation.”

He argues at length that the world-war is Germany's revolution, and proceeds :—

* Herwegh composed a poem in 1841 calling upon the German people to conquer the seas. The poem was, at first, published anonymously. It contains a line almost identical with “ Our Future is on the Water.”—T. F. A. S.

† *Haenisch*, p. 131.

"It is along these lines that the German Revolution is developing in the present war, and thus distinguishes itself from the French Revolution and the English Great Rebellion. The fundamental idea of both those movements was Individualism, and it was no mere chance that striking individualities stood in their forefront—Napoleon in the one, and Cromwell in the other. At the head of the German Revolution stands Bethmann-Hollweg, and it is only necessary to name these three names in a breath to realise the changed conditions! Yet, although Napoleon failed to shake England's world supremacy, Bethmann-Hollweg has accomplished that end.

"Wherein lies the difference? The French Emperor was not in the position to fight England from the plane of a higher social system. France's social system at that time was of the same type as England's—*i.e.*, based on individualism. Modern Germany, on the other hand, represents a higher and more progressive social principle, that of social organisation, and although the system is still in its infancy, it has proved itself so vastly superior to obsolete individualism that England's world-power has been shaken to its foundations. The importance of the individual is diminishing, in proportion as that of social organisation increases. The individual principle attained its highest ideal in England and France, where, in fact, it broke up the community into so many atoms. Now, it is the historical task of the working classes to change the trend of history into the opposite direction, for the atomised system threatens them with economic misery and political helplessness. It is fitting, too, that this change should become most apparent in Germany, the misery of whose economic past had crippled the country, prohibiting the complete victory of individualism, as in England. Our State was compelled by toil and trouble to make good the blessings which England and France enjoyed through the mere force of circumstances. But it was exactly that economic poverty which developed in Germany the principle which supplies it now with vitalising powers capable of waging a world-war against the greatest land and sea Powers which our planet has ever seen—*i.e.*, the principle of organisation. What was once looked upon as a curse has become our greatest blessing. The social system based on the individual stands to-day on its last legs. A new epoch, and with it a new social ideal, has dawned. Germany is the herald of the new day."*

The same author prophesies England's downfall. He writes:—

"What other meaning has the present war than the overthrow of England's aristocratic hegemony over the world? In this struggle the whole English people feels united, as the world's ruling class."

Concerning the English State Dr. Lensch says:—

"State administration remained a secondary affair in the hands of the aristocracy. That was the meaning of the world-famous

* Lensch: *Die Sozialdemokratie, ihr Ende und ihr Glück.*

'self-government.' So that the development of an efficient professional class of officials was prevented down to the threshold of recent days, and that is the real reason for the characteristic weakness of England's State as such. It is through and through an aristocratic system whose foundations are gnawed by corruption. Great Britain is an aristocratic republic. When Germany began to build a fleet that seemed to be an attack on the divine order of things. This is no exaggeration, for the average Englishman is permeated with the idea of the divine mission of his people to world-domination. To him the spread of Englandism is not only an act of political prudence, but also a religious duty and a real service to non-English humanity."*

Dr. Lensch explains the forces unfolded by Germany in the present war, as follows:—

"But the most important, however, is the organisation of the national forces on the foundations of three great democratic institutions—viz., compulsory school attendance, conscription, and universal suffrage. All three served the purpose of bringing out the inherent powers of the nation and by organising them to multiply them. The effect of these three democratic factors in the unfolding of the forces in the nation, have been gigantic, in the political, cultural, and economic sense."†

Dr. David, in the work already cited, discusses the same problem, arriving at the conclusion that individualism means the betrayal of the common weal to the interests of the classes who at present possess the most opportunities and privileges. These classes have the machinery of Government in their hands, and on account of their favoured position are enabled to produce a stronger and higher type of individual. He considers individualism to be all in favour of the super-man. In another war book Dr. Lensch writes:—

"England's world-famous freedom is based on the enslaving of the world. That which previous generations loved and admired in England, her wealth, freedom, and greatness, were merely the antithesis of their own poverty, slavery, and wretchedness. We recognise to-day that the one was only possible through the other. The contrasts between rich and poor which usually exist only between the different classes within a country were exemplified between nations. In a certain sense, England represents the world's wealthy and ruling class. Before the war, England was going rapidly downward, a process which international Socialism had every reason to welcome."‡

The same writer discusses what would be the result of an Entente and of a Germanic victory. His conclusions are:—§

* *Ibid.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ Lensch: *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und der Weltkrieg.*

§ *Ibid.*

ENTENTE VICTORY.

(1) The proletarian war of liberation against Capitalism would cease for some decades.

(2) The dismemberment of Germany.

(3) Continuance of hatred between France and Germany.

(4) Endless development of national armaments with the increased danger of war, and the consequent reactionary effect on the internal development of the nations.

(5) The establishment of class rule.

GERMANIC VICTORY.

(1) Rapid development of Social Democracy in Anglo-Saxon countries, followed by a general improvement in the material conditions of the working classes.

(2) Just as the German Empire grew out of the 1870 war so Greater Germany would result from this war with the settlement of the Central European question.

(3) Reconciliation between France and Germany.

(4) Army reforms in the direction of general universal service.

(5) The overthrow of England's world domination, the destruction of Czarism, and the victory of Marxism, which would mean the awakening of true Socialism in the hearts of English workmen and the opening of their minds to the intellectual training of the Socialist idea.

It is necessary to add that to him England stands for the Entente Powers. He writes:—

“No party would suffer more by an English victory than International Social Democracy. The downfall of England's world-supremacy lies completely in the line of historical progress and economic development. If the war brings about England's downfall, then the sacrifices in blood and treasure will not have been in vain. A huge stone of obstruction will have been hurled from the path of human progress and proletarian liberty.”*

THOMAS F. A. SMITH.

* *Ibid.*

THE NEED OF A CHURCH THEORY FOR CHURCH UNITY.*

THERE has recently arisen a movement of the greatest moment among the Free Churches, having for its object their federation into one Free Church of England. This would be the counterpart of the unity which is embodied in the Anglican Church with its parties, but which is there hampered by an ancient connection with the State on the one hand, and a monopolist view of the episcopate on the other. The movement is one of federation and not fusion; and it deserves the greatest sympathy from all who yet believe in a Church, but find current denominationalism to go stale.

But for such an enterprise there is one signal and central requisite—a positive and effective theory of a Church. The object sought is not the kind of thing that can be won by sheer insistence. The inertia and the corporate egoism that have to be overcome may, indeed, by that urgency even be hardened. Nor is it to be done by a sagacious appeal to the fears of the Free Churches concerned. They are told, with insight and prudence, that they are losing public influence to such an extent that if something of the kind does not happen, they will subside and die out. They are losing moral influence and impact, they are told, and told truly; and they are summoned to pull themselves together and recover it by a mass formation. The several Churches are urged to repair a loss of moral weight with the public by increasing their weight in bulk. Now here is where the defect appears in the scheme proposed. More appeal is made to their fear than to their faith. That is to say, the movement lacks the inspiration of a positive idea of the Church, a formative core of ecclesiastical principle, and a dynamic of theological belief. It is an ideal without a shaping idea, like warm intuition without moral intellect. It is but a movement; it has not

* Some points here raised are more compressed than their unfamiliarity may require. I hope to expand this article and include it in a volume, which Messrs. Longman will publish in a month or two, on *The Church and the Sacraments*. I may add that, in regard to the New Testament, I have set out what I think the dominant idea rather than traced its genetic growth there.

enough in it of the nature of a reformation and its faith. If the appeal does rise above fear, it may not rise above a general Christian sympathy or fraternity. But we must go farther than either fear or fraternity. Though this federation does not aim at making a new Church, it is a Church matter; it is not a matter of mere religious fellowships. It is the unity of the Church it deals with, not at once of Christendom; for which large goal Church unity is the prerequisite. It is not fraternities that are to join, nor sects, but Churches. And it can only be done by a Church principle of a positive and constructive kind.

Now that powerful principle can only flow from the thing that made the Church at the first; and, since the conscience is the real focus of human unity, from the moral message in that thing. Like the spiritual unity of the Churches altogether, it can but come from the reconciling nature of a Gospel founded on moral redemption (no peace without victory), from its nature as social on its universal scale, and from a new insight into its inevitable church-making principle. What we have to do with in the New Testament is the localising of a corporate salvation, not the incorporation of a local. The Church is the counterpart of a redemption primarily collective. Hence no one can be saved by a denomination as such, but only by what Church there is in it. As denominations settle in and grow egoist they lose their converting and saving power. So the appeal must be made to faith much more than to fear, or even to sympathy. Sympathy does not contain a principle, even piety does not, and faith does. And the Churches that rest on a subjective sanctity rather than on a real principle must be lukewarm to unity outside themselves and their organisation. Again, to talk of unity being merely a matter of brotherly love is not to gauge the problem. The unity of the Churches can only rest on the unity—*i.e.*, the theology of the Gospel that created them. An individual, or a fraternity, or a sect, can live on a vague and kindly sympathy, but a Church cannot. It must have a common theology, not of the universe, but of positive faith; a theology of the Gospel and its redemption; not an architectural dogmatic, but an evangelical dynamic as a condition both of certainty and of liberty. A mere tradition, a denominational ethos, will not give it working unity, any more than a mere sympathy will. A vague Christocentricity will not. The mere rallying figure of Christ standing as a hospitable and impressive person at a point of history will not, however vividly He is conceived, nor will the mere continuity of a Church through the course of history. For the unity of the Churches there must be, first, a formative theory, a principle of the Church; and, second, one that is forced upon us, or inspired into us, by the positive nature of the creative Gospel of the Church's life.

Cohesive affinities do their part, but they are not enough. There must be a focal principle, evangelical and preachable.*

Now, in some of the Churches involved in this proposal there is more than the absence of such a theory as I mean; there is, in parts of them, an aversion to it; there is even a contempt for it. It is treated as a luxury when it is not taken as a lunacy. There is, in the woeful empiricism of current religion, a dislike to admit either a theory or the need of it. The whole mystic movement is individualist, and tends against a Church with an objective source, or creative authority in it. There is a tendency to treat the theology of the matter at worst as a nuisance, and at best as collateral and not creative, as valuable old furniture, but the house could be run without it on the hire system of the idealist firms. There is a disposition to rely on general sympathies and grandiose ideas, or on platforms, committees, and propaganda; when the chief need is the education of Church members and ministers in their own creative truths; which education is at the moment such that more bewilderment than welcome is often caused when the doctrine of a Church is pressed quite in earnest. The Church needs to pay more attention to itself than to the world—as a condition of acting on the world. We can get on, it is said, without theories of the State; what need for theories of the Church? Now, could anything better show how politics has squatted on the ground of religion, imposed its notions and methods on the Christian tradition, and thrust in its own utilitarian ideas? The State is divine, but on another plane,

* Here an analogy may be useful from the political region, from political history, from the growth of the immense modern power of nationality (for the Church is the spiritual and universal nation). The great period for that growth has been the century since Waterloo. Long before that, since the close of the Middle Ages, the *thing* had been growing, and growing largely by the resistance of the minor nations to the attempts at world empire by Spain, by the Sweden of Gustavus Adolphus, by the France of Louis the Fourteenth, and the France of Napoleon. But it was unsteady and precarious. It was a matter of aspiration and spasmodic effort, because it was based either on vague affinities or external pressures of an empirical kind. There was no *doctrine* of nationality. It was not a thing that could be preached by anything like a universal apostolate. It was not a public principle. But out of the whole revolutionary period there came the doctrine of nationality resting on the rights of man, the rights of the governed. It now began to be preached as a theory and a creed of a kindling kind. Mazzini came, and the great German historians and thinkers of the early period that admired and copied the national freedom of England, and led up to the revolutions of 1848. They dreamed of a family of free nations. The blight of the movement in Germany has been the fatal substitution of mere racialism for nationality, which has grown ever since that date when the revolutionaries were violently suppressed. But on both sides the driving power has been a creed, a doctrine, a principle. "The years from 1820 to 1878 are, in a peculiar and special degree, the nationalist period in European history, the period in which the doctrine of nationality was preached as fervently as a religion, and became the dominant factor in the moulding of events." (Ramsay Muir.) It must be so also with the unity of that great spiritual nation, the new Israel—the Church. The great Churches that influence nations are those which have a distinct and powerful idea of the Church, and have it not as an academic theory, but as a driving and shaping doctrine. And so it must be with every effort to realise the unity of the Church as the reflection of the Kingdom of God and as the spiritual nation impressing the kingdoms of the world. See Mr. Ramsay Muir's valuable *Nationalism and Internationalism*.

and its methods are alien to the Church. The State is not founded on a revealed fact, act, or principle; but the Church is founded on all three. They create it. The State can do whatever seems expedient; the Church can be and do only what its Gospel inspires, prescribes, or allows. The State needs no theory for its action, because it has no charter. It goes sounding on its dim way, and steering according to the report. But the Church must be guided by its compass of conscience and charter of principle, given in the creating act of holy grace.

The Free Churches will not unite, it is doubtful if they will even federate, until they are more of Churches with an objective faith, and less of groups or denominations with subjective affinities. Nothing but a Church theory, with the whole imperative of the Gospel behind it, can overcome denominational egoism enough for the purpose.

A theology and a Church stand or fall together. There must be a doctrinal unity, not detailed but solid and central, the badge of a Church though not the pledge of each member. It is the decay or the vagrancy (not to say volatility) of theological faith in the ranks of the Free Churches that is the real source of weakness which is alarming some of the wisest minds. I know that the layman finds it hard to ascribe such effect to anything he does not understand (though he always may). It is pure nonsense to many of him to be told that it was the Athanasian Creed that saved the life of Christianity for Europe at a historic crisis, that Calvinism made democracy, or that the Church ever owes its well-being and public effect to anything beyond what the simple soul can seize and be saved. That is an error quite parallel to the idea that a nation can live on exactly the same ethic as makes the cottager an honest man. But if these doctrines are true, Christian people should have the will to believe them and the courage to own them. It is truth that makes liberty, not liberty truth—in a Church at least. If they are not true, we are in quest of another religion. The Churches cannot unite until they are more of Churches (it would not otherwise be Church Union); and they will not be more of Churches until they are more of believers (without at the same time being less of sympathisers); and they will not be more of believers till they believe more, treat theology with some of the respect it is fashionable to feel for economics, and view the ministry of the Gospel as more momentous than entering Parliament. They need more of the mind of Christ, in something else than the sympathetic sense of that phrase, in the sense of Christian truth and conviction, in the sense in which Paul meant it when in 1 Corinthians, 2.16, he said he thought the thoughts of

Christ, if their Churches are not to subside into mere friendly groups. The state of education has more to do than most see or allow with the state of religion and of the Churches. *Mentis ardor lux doctrinæ.*

The Church's one foundation is a theological one, though not a systematic. It is the Word of the Gospel. A real reconciliation of hearts is founded on a real atonement of the conscience. We miss the point if we say no more than that the foundation is Jesus Christ as head. That is not sufficiently dynamic. It leaves His personality too inert. What is it in Him that makes Him head? What is it in the nature of His headship that makes His company a real society, His society a real Kingdom, and His historic following a Church? Is He but the chief of a clan He inherits, the centre of a group He attracts; or is He King of a realm He creates? Are we but disciples of His person or are we confessors of His redemption? If He is a King, really and not poetically, as before Pilate He said He was, in virtue of what is He King? For this is the social, the Church-creating element in Him; otherwise the Church is a mere means and expedient for the kingdom, it is not the kingdom itself in the making; and to make the Church but a means is to bemean it. To answer that question is to go well into theology. The social thing is not His divine person alone, as the most capacious and sympathetic of all the living homes of the soul. That might but set us each in a quiet resting-place in Him, to dwell in the House of the Lord for ever, where the Lamb is the temple, and each has a niche in Him as the Father's Son in whom there are many mansions. But that is not the fullness of Christ. It would not make Him our Lord as our Redeemer; He would be Redeemer among other things. His redemption would be but incidental to His kingship. A real king is one who does things—does royal things royally, but does things. He does not simply contain us and bless us; He rescues, and acquires, and makes us. The perfection of personality is action. The King of Kings is He who does the one moral thing needful for the whole world. He is the personal source of the moral redemption of Humanity. Truly we dwell in Him, but in His final crucial victory; we are not merely placed in His generous spacious person. We are not merely in Him, we are absolutely His. Christ is King in virtue of an act into which all His divine person goes for the whole race, and by which alone we reach the deep interior of His person—in virtue of something done, and not merely said or shown, an act universal and eternal, which leaves us with no right in ourselves but what comes from His redemption. It is this act, corporate and universal, that creates the Church, and insists throughout history on its unity.

II.

I should like to come to closer quarters with my subject and point out certain features in the Church's creative Gospel and its history which make unity imperative, and not desirable only. They are principles whose insight makes a Church strong, whose action we cannot arrest by any stupidity (much as we might retard), and whose neglect dooms to impotence and extinction any sect or denomination that ignores them.

I. The unity of the Church rests on a basis not subjective but objective. It does not stand on Christian sympathies and affinities, but on divine deed and purpose. It rests upon God's grace and gospel, not on fraternal love—which God will see to if we see to His grace and trust it more than our love.

II. The great Church is primarily the result of an act of God. It is a divine creation, and not a voluntary association. It is not of man nor of the will of man. It was called and created by a divine act of the Holy, which is continued by the Church of moral action, and not in a sacrament. The sacraments are not Christ's one legacy. They are not the kind of act in which the Church rises and rests. Its unity was created by the one Gospel, and not by the several sacraments, which are but modes of the published Word. It is that Gospel of moral redemption in the cross that is the one gift of grace, and the one source of the spirit; which spirit was not a second and superior gift. The one act of Gospel as the heart and source of the Church is thus against Catholicism with its sacramental basis, as well as against Quakerism with its pneumatic and sympathetic. Both throw to the rear the centrality and cruciality of the cross—the critical act of the moral world there.

III. The Act of God's grace provokes in us a response in kind. Our answer to it is also an act, also an act which covers and draws on the whole life—the whole man in action answering the whole Christ in action, the whole God. It is an act of final self-committal to Christ. But to Christ not simply as the Founder of the Church, but as its Creator and its Life; to Christ with whom the Church is united and not simply connected; in whom it is integrated by an act and not simply accommodated by a sympathy; to Christ who has always within Him the whole Church by having the power which created and creates it; to Christ as a corporate and effectual person; to Christ whose life, death, and glory, whose grace and love the Church but writes large in history. Therefore, *the same act which sets us in Christ sets us also in the society of Christ*. It does so *ipso facto*, and not by a mere consequence or sequel more or less optional. To be in Christ is in the same act to be in the Church. The soul's act of communion with

Christ is also an act of committal to His community; so that Churchless faith is but partial faith. Anything we do in the way of joining the Church by a confession of faith is only making explicit in the statement what is already implicit in the fact. The act of faith which saves us from self would only have a negative meaning if it did not save us at the same moment into a society which is a centre of service and sympathy.

IV. Historically, the Church was one before it was many. The society created by the one God, the one Saviour, the one salvation was one as it left the divine hand. That fact is the charter of its historic unity. To the one God, the one Gospel, the one Christ there can but answer the one Church. That unity was not put together by organisation. The Church is not an organisation, but an organism. It was born one. Unity cannot rest on polity. The unity is not a matter of structure but of life, not of fabric but of faith. It is not an aggregate but a creation. It was not produced by the coagulation of local units. These units themselves began as expressions or outcrops of the one body, the one people, created by God; otherwise the unity would be the workmanship of man's hands, and the Church would rest on a mere voluntarism. It would be a contractual thing, a matter of covenant, a thing of which the ecclesiastics would be the engineers and not the ministers. It is upon this point that I would enlarge as a matter of historic fact.

III.

There are in the New Testament but two ideas of the Church, and these two are ultimately one. They are the local community, and the totality of believers in heaven and on earth—the totality of those who are in Christ.

And it is to the local body that we must first attend. My point is that the local Church was not an isolated community, but a community whose isolation was modified in several ways, and really destroyed. The local Church in the New Testament was so far from being isolated that it was a community *plus* Christ, *plus* the Apostles, *plus* all Christians.

Leaving aside for the present the first two of these, let us attend to the last. The local Church was a community which was not self-contained, but which included, spiritually, all Christians elsewhere. In a word the local Church was but the outcrop there of the total and continuous Church, one everywhere. The total Church was not made up by adding the local Churches together, but the local Church was made a Church by representing there and then the total Church. It was just where the total Church looked out and

functioned at one point. That is the divine ideal and norm by which all organisation and federation must work.

The ecclesia was the gathering of a *people*; Hort, completed by others, like Harnack (corrected by Sohni) makes this quite clear. It was not in the nature of a club, guild, or association. Hatch's line has not been adopted. It was the New Testament Israel, the Israel of God in Christ, the New Testament *people* of God, God's *vis-à-vis* for the new age, as Israel was for the old. It was the New Covenant people, resting, not on their act of association, but on a divine call and corporate creation. It was actual Christendom. It was the assembly of all Christians with God and before God. The local gathering, therefore, was not a Church, but *the* Church, seen as God sees it Who sees all in one and the end in the beginning. It was the totality of Christians living, dead, and dispersed, flowing spiritually to a certain spot, and emerging there in its indiscerptible unity.

But if that be so, how is it that the word can be used in the New Testament of local Churches at all? Yea, we read even of the Church in the house of So-and-so. How is it, indeed, that it is oftenest used in that local way?

The answer is that the word does not primarily describe the empirical meeting or society. For that purpose *συναγωγὴ* might be used, as in the Apocalypse, or in James. It has a dogmatic meaning rather than a social. It means not the group there, but the one community of faith everywhere which crops out and energises there. Its reality is for faith and not sight. It is not a social unit, but a facet of one solidary entity. It rests on Matthew 18, 20. Where Christ is there is Christendom, there is the people of Christ. They are all in Him, and therefore where He comes He brings all Christendom. And he comes to two or three. With these, therefore, there is the whole Church. *Ubi tres, ibi ecclesia*, it was said. What did that mean? Not that three believing people made up a Church, but that where there are such a three, there is *the* Church, that three with Christ draw thither spiritually the whole Church. To common sense, of course, that is nonsense. But the New Testament is not a common-sense book. It is a paradoxical and miraculous book. And faith saw in each community, not a distinct and self-contained Church, but the whole Church, the people of God, the new spiritual Israel—as our Ambassador's house abroad is part of England, yea, is all England, if need and crisis bring all England to that spot. The whole Church, as it were, rushes to the spot touched by the presence of Christ, and makes the place of His feet glorious. "Never, believe me, appear the "Immortals Bare and alone." So the community is a Church, not because it is local, but in spite of being local. For Origen

and Tertullian, in the gathered community Christ is present, and the angels, and the martyrs, and the faithful, living and dead. And this is the only idea that gives real meaning to that magnificent passage, Hebrews 12, 22 : " Ye are come unto the city of the living " God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, " to the total assembly and Church of the first-born which are " written in Heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits " of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the New " Covenant."

It was therefore one Church in many manifestations. It was not many Churches in one convention. The total Church was spiritually prior to the local (as, for Jesus, the Kingdom fully come in Him preceded the kingdom coming in history); and it was spiritually entered by the same act that believed in Christ, that believed in Him as no individual but as a corporate and redeeming personality, a personality with all the Church latent in Him as He was latent in every Church. The Church in the town, or in the house of So-and-so, means the total Church as emerging there, looking out there, taking effect there. The Church in the great sense is not composite, but organic. Its life is given to its members, not compiled from them. The Churches, no less than their souls, are members one of another.

If these principles be true they are of obligation. And the one promising way at the moment for the Free Churches to give effect to them, and escape episcopism, priestism, denominationalism, and Brownism is the way of federation. The next step, if any, God will open to us when we have taken this.

P. T. FORSYTH.

THE GENESIS OF NATIONAL GUILDS.

IF, in the months before the war, our statesmen were anxious and preoccupied, so also were our industrial leaders. The Labour World was in eruption, boding ill for future industrial peace. The strikes of 1913 and 1914—the miners, the railway and the transport workers—presented new and perplexing aspects. For not only did they mark a reversion from the political methods that had prevailed for a decade, but they showed a larger cohesion and a wider view of the ultimate purpose of unified organisation. Nor is it without significance that these strikes were followed by the triple alliance between the three unions concerned. The national unity induced by the war has obscured these industrial issues; they still smoulder under the surface. Schemes of reconstruction that ignore this fact are doomed to disillusion.

To appreciate the situation in 1914, it is necessary to glance back over the preceding years. In the late 'eighties and early 'nineties, the Trades Union Congress was a respectable and highly conservative body, composed almost exclusively of skilled workmen. It was content to maintain the *status quo* as between itself and the employers; it seemed equally content to let the unskilled workers fight their own battle in their own way. Its leaders, of whom Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., and Mr. Pickard, M.P., were the most powerful and representative, were in their small way prosperous and content, anxious not to be disturbed in their little kingdom. Three events rudely shattered their quietude: the Dock Strike, which called into industrial and political consciousness a large army of unskilled workers; the Taff Vale judgment, which upset the basis of Trade Union organisation; the advent of the Independent Labour Party, which spread rapidly through Yorkshire and Lancashire, and speedily transformed the ideas and purposes of a large section of the skilled trade-unionists. The dock strike compelled the Trade Union Congress to take under its wing the unions of unskilled labourers that had sprung into existence as an outcome of the strike. This, however, was but the culmination of the economic development of automatic machinery, which had given to a host of unskilled workers a footing in industry not easily to be distinguished from their skilled brethren. Certainly the

engineers had learnt their lesson, the Pallion forge dispute, so disastrous and exhausting, being fresh in their memory. But the real upheaval came in the combined effects of the Taff Vale judgment and the Socialist propaganda. The Socialists, particularly the Independent Labour Party, urged from a thousand platforms that the strike was an effete weapon; that organised labour must exert its political power to achieve its objects. "Not the strike but the ballot!" In this way, Labour plunged into its political adventure. Whilst the strike was, in fact, never abandoned and occasionally resorted to, the nervous energy of Labour was spent upon politics. It was sincerely believed that Parliament, in its majesty, would give to the wage-earner what he had failed to obtain by union negotiations or by strikes.

The arrival in the 1906 Parliament of a phalanx of forty Labour members, independent in form, if not in fact, of the "orthodox" party whips, seemed a portent, and was regarded with an unquiet sense of foreboding by many "old Parliamentary hands." For the first session or two, the new party got very much what it demanded. Indeed, it is probable that, had it put its claims higher, they would have been conceded. In all the industrial constituencies of England and Scotland there was an ominous ferment not lightly to be disregarded by politicians, whose first thought is the security of their seats. It really seemed as though a new landmark had been reached in our political history. But apart from the fact that the new party had been badly led, no political leader of genius or even of ordinary competence having been evolved, industrial developments were only too swiftly proving that economic power inevitably shapes and moulds political power. Feeble though the Labour Party had proved itself to be in political acumen, singularly lacking though it was in courage (the greatest quality in politics), the fatal criticism had finally to be levelled against it that even as it sat in Parliament, acquiring Parliamentary habits, as though fey to the soil, profits were mounting by leaps and bounds, and the purchasing capacity of wages was shrinking. The *Board of Trade Report on Wages*, issued in 1913, may be said to mark the decline of the political Labour Party. This report disclosed the precise incidence of the prosperous period, 1906-1910. Nominally, wages in those years rose 6 per cent., but real wages showed a decline of 9 per cent. In the Labour constituencies, combined rent and retail prices rose from 10 per cent. in Barrow, Dundee, and Glasgow, to 16 per cent. in Blackburn, Bolton, and Stockport. (Incidentally, it is worth noting that whilst rents increased 1.8 per cent., prices advanced 13.7 per cent.) It had become painfully clear that political action, from the wage-earner's point of view, was a failure, or worse.

Economists are agreed that wages is the price paid for labour as a commodity. I do not think that amongst political economists there is a single dissentient voice to that proposition. The human side of labour may in our social life call for sympathetic consideration; in the strict economic sense it is a commodity, the value of which fluctuates with demand and supply. From this conclusion there is no escape, for rent, interest, and profits can only be paid on the margin secured by the *entrepreneur*, who buys labour for x , and sells it in its congealed form for $x + y$. That is the foundation of our existing social and industrial system. It was not always so. If we examine old bills and accounts of the mediæval period, it is interesting and suggestive to observe that the wage-bill was always rendered as distinct, and without addition to the contractor's total account. He made his profit (if it could be so called) out of the materials plus his own labour. I have never seen any moral comments upon the point, but I am inclined to the view that to have made a profit, at least in that barefaced way, would have been regarded as dishonest. It is, however, a distinction without much practical difference, for wages, then as now, were based upon the cost of subsistence. But the difference at least had this significance: it separated and distinguished the human element from the non-human commodities for which the lord of the manor ultimately paid. In these days, when pure economics tends to be submerged in a rather inchoate sociology, the strict economic meaning of wages is apt to be obscured. The sociologist thinks of the man, with small satisfaction to himself or his argument; the economist thinks of the labour. It puzzled Marshall, who is always apt to take a wider view than his subject strictly warrants:—

“The next of those characteristics of the action of demand and supply peculiar to labour, which we have to study, lies in the fact that, when a person sells his services, he has to present himself where they are delivered. It matters nothing to the seller of bricks whether they are to be used in building a palace or a sewer; but it matters a great deal to the seller of labour, who undertakes to perform a task of given difficulty, whether or no the place in which it is to be done is a wholesome and a pleasant one, and whether or not his associates will be such as he cares to have. In those yearly hirelings which still remain in some parts of England, the labourer enquires what sort of a temper his new employer has, quite as carefully as what rate of wages he pays.”

Marshall's point bears, in part, upon the problem of the mobility of labour, but it also asks the really vital question, how far we can distinguish the man from his labour. As stated, it may seem remote from practical affairs; it is, in fact, highly pertinent, for it raises the living issue of Labour's *status*. Because the worker must go and be where his labour is sold, because his labour is all that he

possesses, how far is he removed, in his life and person, from the economic valuation of his labour as a commodity? But, strictly considered, the fundamental fact, common to every kind of wage, is the absolute sale of the labour commodity, which thereby passes from the seller to the buyer, and becomes the buyer's exclusive property. This absolute sale conveys to the buyer absolute possession and control of the products of the purchased labour, and estops the seller of the labour commodity from any claim upon the surplus value created, or any claim upon the conduct of the industry. The wage-earner's one function is to supply labour power at the market price. That once accomplished, he is economically of no further consideration.

The National Guildsman's answer is, *sans phrase*, to throw the labour commodity theory into the discard. He contends that labour is something more than a commodity, because the human element enters into it; that it is, in fact, a "dominant," if I may detach a Mendelian term; that any scheme of values, any *tableau économique*, based on that theory, cannot stand the modern analysis, and must sooner or later fall to pieces. We are in good company. In a recent letter to the *Times*, that distinguished lawyer, Lord Wrenbury, also rejects the theory. Noting the want of harmony between Capital and Labour (he has previously argued that the labourer, in his own way, is a capitalist) and seeking for the explanation, he remarks: "Principally because while both "employer and employed contribute to production, the thing "produced belongs to the employer to the exclusion of the "employed. This fact lies at the root of all industrial discontent." His conclusion is that "that man will have solved the problem who "finds the way to give the employed upon commercial principles a "share and interest in the thing produced." The logic of this pronouncement carries us a stage beyond profit-sharing; it involves partnership. Profit-sharing is to reap a profit on the purchase and sale of the labour commodity and its products, and then to distribute some part of it amongst the employees. It certainly does not postulate "a share and interest in the thing produced." If I have a share and interest in the productions of some company or firm, I am undoubtedly, in some degree, a partner. I do not, of course, wish to strain Lord Wrenbury's meaning. I gather that he does, in fact, favour some form of profit-sharing, but undoubtedly the definite concession of a share and interest to Labour constitutes a partnership. In my opinion, it is a partnership that is inevitable.

Lord Wrenbury, if he can carry the capitalist forces with him, has inscribed a new charter of labour. I hope he will not be shocked when I tell him that, so far as he goes, he is in harmony with that new school of economic thought which finds expression in a call

for National Guilds. The practical question arises, however, how to crystallise his dictum into action. It cannot be a partnership as between the employers and the individual employees, for that way lies stagnation. The employees, having secured "their share and interest in the thing produced," would become a little close corporation. Having regard to the fluctuations of employment, "the mobility of labour," the partnership must be between the employers and some representative body of the employees—the trade-union, in short. And why not? The trade-unions cannot remain in their present indeterminate position. Either they must be destroyed or brought into closer organic relations with industry. I may remind employers that all previous attempts to smash the unions have failed. They cannot be destroyed; they are too deeply rooted in our industrial life. Lord Wrenbury could do no greater service than to draw up a treaty of industrial peace between organised capital and organised labour, conferring upon labour that "share and interest in the thing produced," which he recognises to be at the root of all industrial discontent. I would merely venture to warn him that we have intellectually travelled beyond that system of arbitrarily supplementing wages known as profit-sharing; that, in any event, it is incompatible with the existing industrial system. The logic of his argument leads to partnership; so also does the logic of events.

If, then, we look beyond the dislocations of war, and have regard only for those industrial conditions that persist, two new factors emerge: the imperative need for a change in the wage-earner's *status*: and a definite recognition of partnership. The first is, of course, involved in the second. But more also; for the spiritual and psychological results flowing from a new and higher *status* of the wage-earners would, I trust, finally remove all fears that the servile state is upon us. It is, however, when we come to discuss partnership that our troubles begin.

Hitherto, I have referred only to the manual labourers, using the word Labour in its generally accepted sense. We must not, however, disregard the claims of the middle and lower-middle sections of the community—the brain workers, as they prefer to be called. They, in their own way, contribute to the production and distribution of wealth. Yet, indeterminate though the position of the trade-unions undoubtedly is, how much more indeterminate is that vast mass of industrial and commercial society, the "salaried," daily and hourly engaged in a struggle to which the gloomy pen of George Gissing did but faint justice? The manual worker, hardened by spells of unemployment, by strikes and lock-outs, by ever recurring changes in the methods and channels of production, has acquired a certain cheerful stoicism; but who, as yet, has

plumbed the miseries, the carking cares and fears, the thwarted petty ambitions of the underpaid clerk, the foreman, the under-manager, the small tradesman, the commission agent, the hard-driven commercial traveller? Even if their struggle be mainly directed to the maintenance of a certain respectability, however shabby, and motivated by a rooted determination not to descend into the ranks of the wage-earners, shall we be the less sympathetic on that account? I do not doubt that economic pressure must ultimately squeeze out of existence a number of non-economic middle-class occupations (every type and grade of "tout," for example), but when all allowance has been made, this fact remains indisputable: the middle and lower classes contribute their share to the work of the nation and cannot, therefore, be equitably excluded from a "share and interest in the thing produced." Or, put in other words, the salariat and labour are equally interested in the organisation of industry and the form of remuneration to be adopted. If the middle classes were as easily classified as the proletariat, our task would be relatively simple. But the difficulty is that, regarded statistically, the great majority are nondescript. Nor has it escaped the attention of the capitalist leaders that their policy is to divide the middle classes and conquer. This is done by attacking the managerial elements, and by grading every kind of administrative post, however lowly, as higher in esteem than manual work. Nevertheless, when the lure of social superiority has played its part to the utmost, the middle-class residue remains unsatisfied, its claims are substantially rejected, gradually yet certainly it approximates in sympathy and purpose to the proletariat. The railway clerks are a case in point. They are now actively associated with the Railwaymen's Union. And there is a clerks' trade-union already in existence. The "residue" is, I suspect, the majority.

Now, assuming that organised labour has won its way through to some form of partnership (unorganised labour could never do it), it follows, I think, that a totally new relation is established between the management and the manual producers. No doubt one can foresee endless friction and irritation. Nevertheless, fundamentally, a greater and more enduring harmony is established. The friction we foresee is not the old-rooted antagonism, the veritable class-struggle, but rather the jolts inherent in the new procedure as the various parties to the new social contract are discovering and delimiting their new functions. I sometimes wonder whether the *camaraderie* of the trenches may not prove to be a considerable factor in establishing the new order with greater good-will, in a more accommodating spirit, than would have been possible under pre-war conditions.

It has been necessary to pass in review the existing social and industrial factors before I could even hint at or approach any suggestion of a new formation which would embrace the new economic conditions. From the workers' point of view, the object to be achieved is finally to secure themselves against any reversion to the commodity basis of the valuation of their labour. That valuation primarily comes from a more or less fatalistic acceptance of the law of supply and demand. If the price of labour—wages—is to be governed for ever by this unseen god, there is no redress, no change of *status*. A hopeless and unchanging servitude stares the worker in the face. And the price of labour must continue to be governed by the maintenance of a reserve of employment, quite erroneously known as the unemployed. But if partnership is to be accepted, it is evident that unemployment cannot nullify it, for unemployment is not permanent to the person. It may or may not be a permanent condition. No one worker is always unemployed. If he were, he ceases to be a worker; his case calls for pathological investigation. Again, let it be emphasised, a shortage of work, at any given moment, must not invalidate partnership. The treatment of our unemployed is the blackest page in our industrial history. We went wrong when we permitted the employers to throw upon the community the maintenance of their reserves of employment. Economically it may be stated thus: Only the bare cost of the labour commodity actually delivered enters into the cost of the finished product. The cost of the reserves of the labour commodity is a social charge. It surely is now evident that the cost of reserve labour should have been included in the cost of the finished product. The cost of the one is vitally dependent upon the cost of the other. This is no revolutionary theory. So conservative a writer as Mr. Binney Dibblee, in his valuable work, *The Laws of Supply and Demand*, is emphatic that each trade should have borne the cost of its own unemployed.

It now becomes evident that if the industrial world is to be recognised on the basis of partnership "in the thing produced," the new formation must comprehend all the industrial workers from management to apprenticeship and industry by industry. The organisation cannot be local because industry has long since ceased to be local; it cannot be sectional, because all sections necessarily dovetail into each other. It must be strong enough to provide for all its parts and members, those working and those in reserve. In short, it must be national; nothing less restricted will suffice. We have to discover what are our national industries, main and ancillary, and constitute national organisations to correspond. Management and labour must join hands; harmony must be evolved out of existing chaos. These proposed large industrial

organisations are what we would call "National Guilds." A National Guild is the combination of all the labour of every kind, administrative, executive, and productive, in any particular industry. It includes those who work with their brains and those who contribute labour power. Administrators, chemists, skilled and unskilled labour—everybody who can work—are all entitled to membership. Numerically considered, the trade unions must form the bases of these National Guilds; but they, in their turn, must merge into the greater body. It is, of course, evident that such an organisation would have a complete monopoly of its labour power. Possessing that monopoly, the commodity valuation of labour would go by the board, and with it the wage-system. We hear a good deal, in these later days, of the "abolition of the wage-system." We are too apt to ignore the real purport of the phrase. The average man dismisses it lightly: "What does it matter what you call it—wages, or pay, or salary? The important thing is, what do you bring home on Saturday, or whatever is pay-day?" But you cannot so cavalierly dismiss a phrase that shows such tenacity. The workman is not a fool; he thinks out his position in his own way and from his own standpoint. When he speaks of wage abolition, he means the abolition of the commodity valuation. If wages be the price paid for the commodity labour, then he does not want to sell his labour as a commodity, and consequently he does not want wages. On the contrary, he wants his pay or remuneration to be based on his personality. He wants his economic claim upon the community to be admitted as something human and not non-human. I venture the opinion that the recognition of this fact by capitalists and employers is the beginning of wisdom. In any event, protests against the existing wage system increase in volume, whilst the movement (partly conscious, largely unconscious) towards National Guilds, through a larger unionism, develops strength with significant speed. Here, for example, is a resolution recently passed at a meeting of Leeds engineers: "That realising that as at present organised the Trade Union movement is entirely inadequate, this conference of the rank and file demands that the executives of all unions catering for engineering and shipbuilding workers immediately get together and formulate a practicable scheme of amalgamation that shall fuse all sectional unions into one industrial union, having as its object the organisation of all workers in the industry, regardless of craft or sex; and as its ultimate aim, the control of industry for the complete abolition of the wage system." I may perhaps add that I have no personal knowledge of the circumstances. I merely quote from a weekly Labour paper.

And now, what has the statesman to say to all this? Faced with

an industrial revolution, is the State to stand by, passive, inert? Are these great producing and distributing Guilds to be permitted, unchecked, to hold up the State, and incidentally the consumer? That would indeed be the apotheosis of Syndicalism. Evidently we must enquire into the relation of the State to industry.

It may now, I think, be confidently asserted that the collectivist solution has proved a delusion. It is true that the exigencies of the war have forced us into many State Socialist ventures, which in normal times we should have rejected, not on grounds of abstract principle, but for purely practical reasons. We have discovered that bureaucracy, as now organised, is inefficient; that in the administration of our material affairs, the bureaucrat has neither the knowledge nor the skill of the independent industrialist. We are rightly proud of our Civil Service, of its high standard of honour, of its faithfulness, of its industry. Taken as a whole, it is probably the most highly cultured body of men in the world. But its culture is the culture of the schools; its training is all compact of precedent and tradition. I am often struck with its seclusion from the strain and struggle involved in the conduct of industry. "These things" are not for us," it says in effect. And it is entirely right. For this final and conclusive reason: It must concern itself with principles of citizenship as distinct from the economic function. I for one look to the time when our political problems shall be discussed in the political arena, undisturbed and unvulgarised by the selfish intervention of the "interests." Parliament must be finally so circumstanced, if it think right, to pursue a political policy at economic loss. I do not think such action would be frequent, because I believe that ethics and economics are so closely related that, almost always, what is ethically right will be found to be economically desirable. That is not, however, to affirm that the State, as such, would not constantly be confronted with practical problems of the first magnitude. Not to go outside the ambit of the present argument, let us assume that national productive and distributive guilds are an accomplished fact. What is to become of the great spending departments? Our military and naval requirements, education, public health? And what of the consumer? The State must participate in the work of the Guilds or abdicate.

S. G. HOBSON.

THE BRENNER PASS AND ITS TRAFFIC IN OLD DAYS.

THE past history of the lowest and oldest of all the great passes over the Alps presents features of interest at a time when the southern approaches to it have not only again become the scene of fierce fighting, but, whatever be the end-result of the world's war, are likely to come into the limelight of international politics when the Peace Conference tackles the problem of the *Sprachgrenze* that separates the two contending races.

We are apt to smile at the ignorance displayed by our forefathers concerning the topography of the Alps, but we should bear in mind that with all our learned Geographical Societies, busy Alpine Clubs, and skilled railway surveyors, we have not added a single useful traverse of the Alps to those discovered by skin-clad savages more than two thousand years ago. Whose foot first trod that notch in the snow-clad chain we know not; we cannot even say whether its discovery was brought about in the course of war-like raids, or by primitive attempts at trade between neighbouring tribes, or whether some hunter, following the tracks of ibex or chamois, did not come upon the depression quite by chance. Probably, too, our Alpine Columbus was blissfully ignorant of the fact that he had groped upon the one and only pass out of nearly ninety where the great chain of the main Alps can be traversed by one single rise of less than 2,600 feet. For such is the case: Innsbruck, at the northern base, is that much below the notch where one attains, at an altitude of 4,600 feet over the Adriatic, the watershed between the Po and the Danube. Its southern foot at the point where the swift Adige, a few miles north of Verona, rushes with impetuous haste into the embrace of Italy is merely 245 feet over the tideless sea into which it flows.

From the most remote antiquity, from days so far back that it is impossible to say whether the *Urbewohner* that dwelt on the slopes of the pass were Etruscans, or a Celtic race, or a Cimbric tribe, a question round which since Niebuhr's days a century's angry controversy has waged—the Brenner has been the great highway of nations, of armies beyond count, of commerce, beginning as simple barter of produce, and finally of artists and artisans and their

products. The first use of the pass of which classic literature tells us with some degree of certainty was the invasion of North Italy by the Cimbri, the formidable Teuton tribe that had been infesting the northern frontiers of Rome for some time. The herculean skin-clad savages, to the surprise of the Roman legions, came tobogganning down from the impending snow and ice-covered heights on their wooden shields, and performed such prodigious feats of valour and strength with the rudest possible weapons as led to their victory. Local legends affirm that the scene of this defeat of Rome must be sought in the gorge between Trent and Verona, while the inhabitants of the *Sette Comuni*, a region of which we have lately heard a good deal, believe that they are the descendants of the survivors who sought refuge in these remote mountains. This event showed Rome the pressing strategic need of extending the Empire's frontier from the banks of the Po to those of the Danube.

To Tiberius and Drusus, the two step-sons of Augustus, was entrusted the first move in this direction. From two sides the Roman legions entered what was then Rætia and is now Tyrol, Drusus making Trent his headquarters with the Brenner Pass as his objective. But before he could reach the watershed while marching up the Eisack, one of the headwaters of the Adige, the hardy and valiant *Breuni* and *Genauni*, two Rætian tribes that inhabited the southern slopes of the Brenner, gave battle to the invaders. Horace's well-known description of the desperate nature of the fight that waged in the narrow gorge where the overhanging rocks almost met is good evidence that Rome's legions had no light task in subduing these mountaineers, though Horace probably did not fail to make the most of the feat, for did it not redound to the glory of his great Emperor's martial genius? Red with the blood of the slain, according to Albinovanus Pedo, ran the turbulent Itargus (Isarcus), and so fiercely did the women fight, if we can believe Florus, that when other missiles failed they threw their own children into the faces of the Roman troops. The *Pons Drusi*, as was named in honour of this victory the bridge over the Eisack at the mouth of the great gorge where now stands the flourishing mediæval town of Bozen, commemorated the final conquest of Rætia. For Tiberius's forces were equally successful in the winning of the northern districts of Tyrol. It was he who founded, B.C. 15, at the northern foot of the Brenner, where the broad smiling Unter-Innthal begins, the *oppidum* of Veldidena with temples, public baths, and fortified circumvallations sufficient for the considerable garrison needed for the final subjection of the country.

For close upon five centuries the Brenner remained in the hands

of the Romans, and, incomparable road-builders as they were, the military highways they constructed not only over the main pass, but also over the two branch passes,* were marvels of their kind. But when retribution came, the great highways facilitated the barbarians' invasion of Italy as much as they had helped the planting of the Roman eagles in the dank forests of Germany. Over the Brenner swept down upon Italy the savage hordes, following each other in rapid succession: Allemans and Goths, Attila with his Huns, Odoacer with his Heruli who, in their turn, were ousted by Theoderic's Ostrogoths, one and all helping in the disintegration of the proud Roman Empire, and plunging the invaded countries into the state of grim carnage tamely called the *Völkerwanderung*.

But before we revert to these dark days let us glance at some details illustrating Roman administration. On prominent spots at suitable intervals along the high road were erected *speculæ*, or watch towers, and fortified *castellas* from whence, by semaphore or smoke-signals, important news could be rapidly communicated. For the service of the State-post, which, at the beginning, was reserved exclusively for official use, *mutationes*, where the horses were changed, and *mansiones*, where the nights were passed, came to be established. Later on, to assist the general public, guilds or associations of *jumentarii* came to be formed, who conveyed travellers on two-wheeled vehicles. Rome's fiscal arrangements were also far in advance of the period. Customs were levied for revenue purposes only. They were collected in the time of the Republic by contractors to whom the revenues were farmed out, but later on the emperors, probably in consequence of abuses of this system, employed civil servants as collectors, who were under the control of the Procurator of the district. *Rætia* and adjoining *Noricum* belonged to the customs district of *Illyricum*, and by two tablets that have come down to us we learn the names and the status of the officials at *Sublavio*, one of the three Brenner custom posts. It was T. Julius Saturninus, and his two slaves, Festinus and Fortunatus, who acted respectively as *arcarius* or treasurer and as *contrascriptor* or controller. Similar details the other tablet gives us about the post at the Plöcken Pass. The duty amounted in almost every case to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*, the officials being granted most sweeping powers to search the packages and belongings of the traveller and trader. They were

* These were the *Via Claudia Augusta*, built A.D. 46, by Claudius, the son of Drusus, over the Reschen-Scheideck, and the Monte Croce, or Plöcken Pass, over the Carnic Alps. Both join the main pass—the one at Bozen, the other where now stands the Austrian fortress Franzensfeste, which commands the Brenner Pass and the entrance to the Pusterthal, a valley that is destined to play an important rôle. Mr. W. A. Baillie-Grohman's "The Hand in the Mountains" gives a connected history of the Brenner Pass.

even entitled to open private letters, if they suspected that they contained information concerning the value of the goods. To undervalue articles of trade must have been a dangerous proceeding, for in that case the collector could seize and sell them by public auction. The principal article of trade, carried southwards, was salt, which came from the famous mines at Hall, which the Rætians had already worked (they are to-day still in active operation); next in importance were the produce of the dairy, as well as hides and alpine herbs used for medicinal purposes and for liqueurs. As Pliny tells us, many different Alpine cheeses were known to the Roman epicures, and Emperor Antoninus Pius killed himself by an over-indulgence in them. Wine was transported in wooden barrels, and some came from districts north of the pass, where it has long ceased to be grown. Also tin from Britain was transported *viâ* the Brenner to Aquileia, then the Queen of the Adriatic, though not to the same extent as to Massilia [Marseilles], if Diodorus' account of that flourishing trade be correct. The Roman inns along the Brenner road must have been primitive affairs, their cheapness being probably their one redeeming feature. The company that frequented these road-side hostelries was mostly very rough, and we can well believe Plutarch's account of the indignities to which the superior class of travellers was often exposed on the part of muleteers, cart drivers, and other boorish customers. The inns were probably called by names, and hung out signs similar to those used in other parts of the empire. Some were called by the names of animals, as, for instance: "At the Elephant" in Pompeii, or "At the Cock" at Narbonne, or "At the Snakes" or "At the Larger Eagle," others "At the Sword" or "At the Wheel."

During the period following the disintegration of the Roman Empire, when general rapine and a chaotic migration of races destroyed almost every vestige of the great military and commercial artery by which Imperial Rome had sent its dominating civilisation pulsating to the remote corners of Europe, until the beginning of Charlemagne's reign, the only important notice of travel over the Brenner which has survived is a poem by *Venantius Fortunatus*. It describes the pilgrimage he made about the middle of the sixth century, in the course of which he passed over the mountains where the *Breuni* live, along the *Byrrus* [Rienz], and the Drave into Venetia, but it is too long to be quoted. Under Charlemagne the Brenner Pass received again due attention, and for 200 years that part of the road between Bozen and Trent was called after him. After the extinction of the Italian line of the Carlovingsians, the East Frankish Emperors, Louis the German and his sons, as well as Charles the Stout and Arnulf (882, 883, 886, 894, and 896), appear

to have crossed the Brenner on their way to Italy with their armies. Between the reign of Otto the Great [+ 973] and the Interregnum [1251], no fewer than forty-six out of over eighty *Kaiserzüge* crossed the Brenner. What these vast expeditions, consisting of more or less disorderly masses of curiously mixed races, all in the panoply of war, all eager for booty, even if bent on a peaceable mission, meant for the countries through which they slowly ate and robbed their way it is not easy to picture to oneself. Four chroniclers* and a great Church dignitary, the much travelled Bishop Wolfger of Passau, the inditer of interesting diaries, throw light upon travel over the Brenner in the 300 years we have spoken of, and amongst other matters they set at rest is the vexed question at what speed these German migratory armies used to travel. We learn that between Augsburg and Verona the average speed, not counting rest days, was about twelve and a-half miles per day. Lothair in 1133 accomplished what appears to have been the record for a mediæval army—*i.e.*, almost fourteen miles per day. A much greater speed was attained when great personages travelled with a small retinue, the fastest performance of which we know in the twelfth century being that of the Bishop of Passau, who rode on two days more than thirty miles. Much faster some of the Romans travelled. Thus we know that Tiberius, when he heard that Drusus had fallen seriously ill, started from Pavia and with only a single guide crossed the Brenner, covering 200 Roman miles (183 English miles) in twenty-four hours, which sounds almost incredible.

What immeasurable hardships were encountered when crossing the avalanche-swept snowy heights of the Brenner in the depth of a hard winter the modern traveller can hardly realise. At least two of the German emperors succumbed to them; one being Otto III., the Saxon "Wonder of the World," when returning from Rome, where he had installed his tutor on the papal throne after depriving the two counter-popes, one of his head, the other of both his eyes. The other was the rugged warrior Lothair, whom the grim master claimed in a miserable shepherd's hovel near snow-swept Breitenwang one December day of 1137 as he was returning from his victorious Italian campaign. Not for nothing did the Romans erect at the highest point of a pass a shrine at which, as Livy tells us, it was the custom to return thanks for the protection so far enjoyed, and to offer up prayers for a continuance and safe return. What infinite progress between those days and the train that avoids all these dangers by passing through long tunnels! To-day, or rather two Augusts ago, the Berlin-Rome Express (suggestive

* Otto of Freisingen; Gottfried of Viterbo; Vincenz of Prague; Magister Alb of Stade.

name!) took one between luncheon and tea from Veldidena, now a suburb of Innsbruck, through the notch down the pass, stopping for a minute or two at *Pons Drusi* and at Trent. There Austria's giant howitzers are to-day belching forth death from the same rocky galleries in the *Doss de Trento* as did at various times during the last two thousand years the creaking Roman ballistæ and catapults, the cumbersome mediæval tribuchets and mangonels, and, lastly, Napoleon's muzzle-loading cannons. In infinite comfort we accomplish a journey in as few hours as in old days occupied as many weeks.

Bishop Wolfger's diaries show us that already in A.D. 1204 the traveller found shelter in inns of a sort, and even then the familiar items of tips, lights, and washing were present in one's bill. Thus at one inn our Bishop expended two Veronese soldi for *Virgile*, and the same sum *Pro Lumine*, while at Brixen, where he seems to have made a longer stay, his washing amounted to as much as twenty-five Veronese pennies. Even medicine such as purges were obtainable, the Bishop expending at Gossensass two Veronese soldi for *laxiva*, and the same amount at another place. Wine formed one of the heaviest items.

As the Bishop not only entered his usual daily travelling expenses, but also the alms he dispensed, and the kind of person to whom he extended his charity, we obtain a fairly clear picture of the company that frequented these mediæval hostelries, or claimed assistance from this Church dignitary riding over the Brenner on his mule. There were comedians of both sexes, jugglers, conjurers, vagrant priests, musicians, and, of course, also knightly *Minnesänger*. Among the latter was the most famous bard of Tyrol, Walther von der Vogelweide, of whom Longfellow has left us some delightful lines. Our Bishop, as we know from other sources, gave him a present. Like his successor *trouvère* Oswald of Wolkenstein, he had learnt to "sing and say" at various courts of Europe, where he had made love to fair ladies and strummed his harp at the feet of beautiful queens, one of whom had even woven a golden ring into the minstrel's long, curly beard, and had pierced his ears with her own fair hands for her gage, that took the shape of earrings. Returning from time to time to his mountain home, a croft still bearing his name near Klausen which overlooked the famous gorge ending at *Pons Drusi*, he crossed the Brenner many a time when starting out or returning from his troubadour rambles that took him from the Seine to the Mur, from the Po to the Trave, crossing the seas as one of Frederick II.'s crusaders, and competing at the famous Wartburg *Sängerkrieg* for the mediæval poet laureateship. Other types of mediæval globe trotters that appealed to the charity of wealthy travellers were the pilgrims wending their

weary way, sore of foot and empty of purse, either to or from some distant Italian or Spanish shrine, if not to or from Palestine itself. Then there were lay and clerical students, going or returning from some seat of learning, richer in book lore than in Veronese soldi, all of whom claimed charity from our Bishop. But for numerous hospices erected at different spots on the Brenner and its approaches, travel across the great pass would have been even more difficult and dangerous than it was. These houses of shelter owed their existence either to charitable bequests or to the activity and munificence of the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem or of other like orders; they must have been an immeasurable boon to the footsore and hungry wanderers. One of the most ancient, and to us interesting because still existing, shelter-houses was Neustift, between Franzensfeste and Brixen, near the junction of the Plöcken Pass road and the main Brenner. Founded in 1142, with a hospital attached, its annals are a mine of ancient travel lore for the student.

By the beginning of the fourteenth century the Brenner road, which since Charlemagne's reign had been a "King's Highway," in distinction to provincial road, had passed for good and all into the hands of Tyrol's sovereigns, the last attempt on the part of the Empire to assert regal rights over it, and over what was more important, the tolls being made by Rudolph of Habsburg's grandson Albert, through whom, in 1363, Tyrol fell to that dynasty. By granting the fiefs of all important castles commanding the pass and its approaches to nobles who were friendly to his cause, the energetic Duke secured a firm grip on the great high road that traversed the two main valleys of his country. During a considerable part of the Middle Ages, it is certain that commerce did more for its improvement and upkeep than imperial rescripts or military measures. The burghers of Bozen, whose commerical existence depended upon the trade over the Brenner coming their way, made early efforts to improve the road, and one of their number, named Kunter, achieved this end by constructing a road on a higher level, thereby avoiding the dreaded gorge. The charter which his grateful sovereign granted him (1314) as a reward added another to the numerous tolls already existing. Of these vexatious obstacles to commerce there were a surprising number; there were municipal, provincial, imperial, town-gate, bridge, and market tolls, which were all exacted with a blind rigorousness which would be inexplicable did we not know that they represented one of the principal and surest sources of revenue. The toll keepers were practically the bankers of the country, in whose hands collected a great part of all the current hard cash. By careful differentiation certain industries, or certain marts, or certain trade routes were protected. Thus the three principal toll places along the Brenner

at this period levied quite different tolls according to the origin or destination of the goods. At the height of the Brenner Pass merchandise from Venice paid just double what the same goods paid which came from Verona. The contrary occurred at Bozen, where, in consequence of the fact that goods could be sent from Venice by another route northwards (over the Plöcken Pass), the tolls there on transit goods were much lighter than those exacted on the same merchandise from Verona, from where the alternate route could not be reached without an immense round. Equally annoying were the market or fair ordinances passed by municipalities that compelled traders passing through their district to offer their wares in open market at rates fixed by the city fathers. But commerce between central and northern Europe and Italy and the Orient grew so fast that in spite of all hampering restrictions and trade jealousies the traffic over the Brenner assumed very considerable proportions, and by the second half of the fourteenth century there were already in operation associations that undertook the transport of goods in bulk for long distances in their own waggons. It was by their efforts that the main high road was put in a uniformly passable condition. Hitherto endless delays were caused by the fact that some sections were in such a wretched condition as to be altogether impassable for wheeled traffic, obliging the traders to use sumpter animals.

In those days, and for a couple of centuries more, no one appreciated the charm of mountain scenery, an unresponsiveness that extended also to other parts of the world. When that shrewd and observant globe-trotter Æneas Silvius, the subsequent Pope Pius II., visited Scotland, though he had much to say about its people and their customs he does not make a single remark about its topographical features. It might have been flat as the Sahara for all he says to the contrary.

Not the least interesting travellers over the Brenner in mediæval days were two members of the fair sex. The one was the notorious Duchess Margaret of Tyrol, better known by her nickname of "Pocket-mouthed Meg," the heroine of countless amorous adventures and the central figure in the most sensational divorce case of the Middle Ages. Married at the age of twelve to John, the son of Bohemia's king, the match was foredoomed to end badly. One day (November 2nd, 1341), on returning from a chamois hunt, Prince John found not only that his Bohemian courtiers had during his absence been ignominiously chased from the castle of Tyrol, near Meran, where the sovereign then resided, but its gates were locked and barred against him. While deliberating, his spouse's blunt message was shouted to him from the ramparts, that the sooner he returned to his native country the better it would be for his health.

This advice he speedily followed, with the result that the fickle Duchess took to herself a much handsomer mate, Louis, the stalwart son of the Emperor of Germany. This she could legally do only if the Pope annulled her first marriage, which, as the Emperor was his deadly foe, he altogether refused to do. But the Emperor felt himself strong enough to have the marriage concluded in spite of the Pope's dire threats of excommunication. The only difficulty was to find a Church dignitary of rank to tie the knot. At last, after great difficulties, the head of the See of Freisingen in Bavaria was found willing not only to annul the first marriage, but to perform the second ceremony in person at Meran. To do this the Bishop, with two minor prelates and a big train, had to cross the Brenner in the depth of winter. On the last stage of the perilous journey, as the cavalcade was passing over the Jauffen mountain, the Bishop's horse stumbled and fell into a chasm, with fatal results to its venerable rider. Believing the tragedy to be a direct visitation of Heaven in punishment of the wicked act he was intending to perform on the morrow, none of the remaining terrified clerical dignitaries would act in the defunct Bishop's place, and the great assemblage of princes and nobles were at their wit's end. At last the castle chaplain, in defiance of the great ban of the Church and the loud murmurings of the people, then as now staunch adherents to the Roman Catholic faith, was forced to step into the breach, insisting, however, that all sacred vessels should be first removed from the chapel!

The other fair lady, who crossed the Brenner on dozens of occasions in fair and foul weather, was also a sovereign of Tyrol, and, as she was the daughter of James I. of Scotland, her personality has special interest for us. Unfortunately, in her case, no diaries have come down to us, and only scrappy information regarding much more important events than her trips over the old pass have to satisfy our curiosity. Wedded in the year 1448, at Innsbruck, to Duke Sigismund—he subsequently was raised to the rank of Archduke—her mate was a man of fine presence, very winning manners, and as great a hunter of ibex and chamois as of the fair sex, historians telling us that he left no fewer than forty illegitimate sons. In spite of this and of the fact that she herself remained childless the union was a happy one, her court enjoying the reputation of being one of the gayest and pleasantest in Europe. Duchess Eleanor, like her eldest sister, the Dauphiness of France, was distinguished by a love of sport, gentle manners, and literary gifts—she translated *Ponthus et Sidoyne* from the French into German; she enjoyed great popularity during her thirty-one years' reign. As the court resided part of the year in the country's new capital, Innsbruck, she must have traversed the Brenner many scores of

times. Her little chateau, the *Burg*, in the centre of the picturesque old town of Meran, is to-day being preserved as a museum, much in the same condition as it was when this fair daughter of Scotland dwelt there close upon five centuries ago.

No more telling incident with which to conclude our mediæval ride over this ancient high-road could be chosen than the tragic flight over it, in the dead of the night, of the "Monarch of "Monarchs," upon whose ambitious world-realm it was first said that the sun never set. Charles V., when betrayed by that arch-traitor Maurice of Saxony, his life-long confidant, retired to Innsbruck, but was followed there by the renegade prince at the head of a formidable army, before whom the ruler of the world had to take to ignominious retreat.* On a cold spring night, in a torrent of rain, which turned into snow as the dismal party reached higher altitudes, the memorable flight across the Brenner commenced. Broken in health and spirit (Charles was suffering at the time the torments of gout in its worst form), he was carried in a litter, behind which was borne his coffin, for, like his grandfather, the Last of the Knights, who for some years before his death carried about with him "the one narrow palace whereof the building "does not ruin princes," Charles was always accompanied by that gruesome article. Behind the coffin rode Ferdinand, King of the Romans, followed by his erstwhile prisoner, the Elector John Frederick, Lucas Cranach, and the Emperor's trusted banker, the mediæval millionaire Anthony Fugger. Ferdinand's bodyguard, hastily summoned, and consisting of some five hundred horsemen from the Netherlands, closed the long train. The latter had to break off all the bridges so as to retard pursuers.

What a picture of fallen human greatness that weird party must have presented as they wended their way upwards through the gloomy defiles of the rough mountain road on that wild night. As they passed through dense pine forests by the fitful glare of torches, up and up, heavy snow covered everything with a white mantle that made it difficult to distinguish the litter conveying the live Emperor from the bier that was to be his last home.

F. BAILLIE-GROHMAN.

* Charles's affection for Maurice must have been of extraordinary depth. When he received news of the latter's assassination by Grumbach's silver bullet, Charles exclaimed: "Oh, Absalom, my son! my son! Would to God I had died for you!" This feeling can hardly have been reciprocated by Maurice, who, when he heard of Charles's escape over the Brenner, expressed his satisfaction, with the words: "It is well he has escaped, for I have no cage big enough for such a bird!"

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. AN EPISTLE TO THE LAODICEANS. By J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY	385
2. REVIEWS THE FUTURE OF LABOUR ; A NATURALIST IN BORNEO ; LADY LOGIN'S RECOLLECTIONS ; GREAT VICTORIANS ; SONGS AND LYRICS OF RUSSIA ; MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.	391
3. SHORTER REVIEWS :—"Paraguay," etc.	404
4. NOTICES OF BOOKS	407

AN EPISTLE TO THE LAODICEANS.

IN the earlier days of the war the Laodiceans had greatly troubled Dr. Philip Battle. He saw Laodiceanism on every side hampering the national effort, and most of all he saw it in the matter of religion. He was full of self-reproach, and for a time was smitten with despair, since his life was drawing to its close and he himself (so he moaned in secret) had been neither hot nor cold, but had lived out the even tenor of his way content with things as they were without any heroic effort to make things be as they might be. His own slowness at arriving at decisions, a slowness that had increased with age, he now ruthlessly attributed to himself as a Laodicean. He even went so far as to call himself Gallio, and to pretend that in the long years of quiet parochial labours he had really cared for none of these things. "We are all Laodiceans, we "British," he kept saying in his heart month after month ; until on a day a new thought struck him, and he poked his fire in his book-lined study with almost youthful energy. He had been thinking over the way in which the universities and the schools of all grades had poured out their golden youth without stint and thought of reward into the terrible war ; how practically none had held back ; how women had vied with men in purely disinterested effort ; how the sense of a unique cause had played on the imagination of the nation and had swept away all old distinctions between bond and free, between rich and poor, between political parties, between conflicting sexes, and had bound up a vast and complex nation into one iron purpose, the freedom of nations from oppression, tyranny, and wrong. "The new generation," he said to himself with almost airy cheerfulness, "are at any rate not Laodiceans. They know "what humanity needs. Yet these sailors and soldiers and these "young women of action do not seem to be religious."

This led the old divine to look once again into the question of religion from the point of view not of any particular Church or creed or organisation, or even any particular nation, but from the point of view of the particular person, of the individual soul. He began analysing his own outlook on religion as a progressive, or, as he sadly said to himself, a retrogressive, outlook from his own childhood onward, and then to compare it with the changing outlook of individuals with whom he had been closely familiar in different periods of their lives, individuals of many classes and many creeds. As he passed his own life in review, he realised with something like relief that there had been a continuity of real belief in immortality and the reasonableness and goodness of things, with no violent breach from the day when he said his prayers at his dear mother's knees three-quarters of a century ago, in an epoch when the Cambridge Evangelical movement was beginning to fade before the new vigour of the Oxford Movement, to this day. "There must be something in that; in all my sins and failings I have never really faltered on the main things. But then"—and the old man shook his head at that image of himself which he had traced through from babyhood to old age—"but then I have never known temptation as other men know it. I have never been shouldered off the path of faith by want, temptation, riches, great intellectual power, ambition, hatred, hopelessness. I think, too, that my pony has kept my liver active. A sluggish liver is responsible for much want of faith." With which grimly humorous remark the old man again poked the fire violently, and rose to resume that "Introduction to the History of the Laodiceans, with an Excursus on the Influence of this People on the Movements of Our Own Time," which he was now preparing for the University Press. It was to be a work of immense learning. On Dr. Battle's study table were no less than seven tomes open, including a parchment-bound volume by Erasmus, issued at Geneva—*Johannis Calvini Institutionis Libri Quattuor . . . Genevæ, Alfred Johannem Vignon, Petrum et Jacobum Chouet M. DC. VII.*—which the doctor treasured as one might treasure an adopted child. On the floor were piles of books, with slips of paper in them: books that had, so to speak, come to life again after resting for decades on the library shelves. Piles of notes were neatly docketed on a small side-table. Only a fortnight before the doctor had spent the inside of a week at the British Museum (where he met Dr. Warlock, but that is another though most attractive legend) and had secured some priceless information as to the geographical distribution of the Laodiceans in the seventh century of our era, some certain knowledge that the Phœnicians who settled in Cornwall contained (according to Dr. Melchior Brissius, a sixteenth-century divine of Prague in Bohemia) a

definite element of fair-haired Laodiceans, some exact information as to the percentage of both fair and dark Laodiceans of pure blood who had come to England in 1066, after the Edict of Nantes, and in the flight of the *émigrés*. Moreover, he had secured some manuscript references to the Laodiceans in certain Arabic papers that had been brought back to England from the East by Adelard of Bath in the year 1203. His own excellent library supplied him with the views of the Fathers and the Churches on the subject, and the book was, in fact, in its penultimate stage. Dr. Battle in his inner being was very anxious to live until he had received and passed the proofs, for he felt that this book was his real contribution to the literature of the war, his "bit," if this enormous pile of MSS. could be called a "bit," of war work. The Excursus was in hand, and, indeed, only needed that xviith section which dealt with "the eradication of the Laodicean taint from English schools." So Dr. Battle turned to his table with some satisfaction, and prepared for another morning of tremendous work, which would be broken for a few minutes at 11.10 by the entrance of old Mrs. Battle with a glass of hot milk, a ginger biscuit, and the second post. She realised that the *magnum opus* was a serious strain; it had called up all her husband's resources. He had become positively youthful, and was so obsessed with his subject that his daughter and the parishioners with one accord hated the very name—as, indeed, on theoretical grounds did Dr. Battle himself—of Laodicea.

On this particular day Dr. Battle's exhilaration of mind suffered with the second post a set-back that was destined to have a strange consequence. The death of Ezra, that flower of the Wiltwater School, had brought home to him in vivid fashion the sacrifices of the war. But this post made a deep inroad on his own deeps of faith. He had a friend, younger than himself by many years, who had been an undergraduate and a pupil of his in the days when Dr. Battle was one of the most dignified figures of the University. This friend was a man of extraordinary intellectual gifts, of great self-reliance, determination, and ambition, a man to whom family life and friendship meant much, but to whom religion in fact, as understood by the Churches, meant little. This man had had a brilliant career, had made a happy marriage, and had had one child, a son who bade fair to exceed his father in his father's field, and who was also in his way a Bayard of modern life. That was how the war had revealed this young man, the godson, deeply beloved and son-like in affection, of Philip Battle. He was in touch with his godfather in an infinite variety of scholarly interests, he had found time somehow to read the work on the Laodiceans, and, in fact, part of that immortal work had been under shell-fire;

he had even supplied some of the more recondite material. The second post briefly stated, in a cold note from the father, that this only child had fallen in action, in an unrecorded skirmish. Such, indeed, had been the fate that lifted Bayard of France out of the sorrows and despairs of a not dissimilar age.

Mr. Battle received the blow in silence. Automatically he put together his papers, sorted them, numbered the sheets, and in a comparatively short time had them all in order. His brain seemed numbed, but he could do this. Then he wrote a short note of condolence to his friend, and dispatched it. For the rest of the day, and for many days, he was as a man whom no man had hired, waiting in the market-place for service. Winter passed into early spring, and then on a morning his opportunity for service came, and all the silent reflection of the past sad weeks came to fruit. He received what he had waited for, a letter of utter despair and dark hopelessness from his friend, a blank cry for help when no help was anticipated in answer to the cry. It was then that Dr. Battle sat down and wrote the well-known Addendum to his famous work, the Addendum which bears the title *An Epistle to the Laodiceans*. This in its final form is certainly familiar to all students of current theological thought; but in its first form, that of a letter to his friend, it is probably less humanistic, more human, more full of the tears and the comfort of things.

It is pleasant to glance at Dr. Battle and his outlook as he busily writes, the noble old head bending down over the paper, or looking out of the window, with a rapt vision of infinite tenderness and love. It was a wonderful morning, and from the window the trim garden, though there was still a little pile of snow in a corner facing the north-east, was the flower-patterned foreground of a picture that showed a billowy stretch of moor with Old Man Hill and the Great Circle in the middle distance, and the grey lines of distant hills against the bright, clear blue sky of the background. The flowers of the bulbs shone brilliantly on this fine morning, and the quick green of the abundant ribes bush with its sweet pink flower made the day seem more like April than March. It was a warm day; butterflies floated about like symbols, as they are in their evanescent beauty, of immortality; birds were trolling with a merry note, and the earth had a clean, purple richness about it that divorced it at once from the savour of mortality. Foreground, middle distance, background were all beaming with the hopefulness of spring and the certainty of new life. The old vicar and the Stone Circle seemed to look at each other and say: "Why should men doubt anything at all of the goodness of things? Sin, Pain, Death are mortal; Love, Joy, Life are immortal: we stand for these, not those."

Dr. Battle wrote his letter to his friend in that beautiful script of his that seems to add character to the words. Here some extracts from the letter must be given:—

“ I was waiting for this letter of yours, and I am not disappointed in my judgment of your career, which receives its first substantial check now when you have turned sixty years. Such a letter was inevitable : a letter hopeless in its outlook, passionate in its denunciation of the injustice of things, a letter which shows that you have, under a sudden stress which is really the logical crown of a life of successful stress, discarded all outward faith, all belief in religion as it is commonly understood, all outward service to the great dogmas of God and Immortality. One concession you make : you ask me, your father’s friend, your old college tutor, your lifelong friend, your son’s godfather, to write to you freely and frankly, ‘ without disguise and without mercy.’ I accept the challenge, and in what I write do not think that I am not sorry for you, though I frankly say that I am more sorry for your wife. First, then, I do not pity you for your sufferings. I would not have them abridged by one hour. In my judgment your future Service to the World depends on your present suffering. You have been too successful in life. Your self-reliance has received no check ; in fame, in wealth, in love and friendship, in health, in all that makes life lovely and desirable, you have been too fortunate. You had hoped—nay ! never doubted—that you would hand on all these treasures, titles, lands to that dear son of yours who lies dead in Asia. So at a touch your hopes and ambitions are dissolved, and you become a common man of sorrow. . . . Is this the end of things ; did all depend on Arthur ? Of him I will write in a moment, but let me in brutal certitude say this : that his death from our material point of view may prove new life for many ; it may (if you are the essentially good man that I believe you to be) turn you from selfish concentration on your own career and on one son and one hope to a wider range of service in which your goal is forgotten and you are determined to find goals for others, for the thousands of lads and lasses who might be as our Arthur was had they the chance. . . . And what was he, this child of our affection, this Arthur of our day ? I will tell you one thing about him : he was far fitter for death than his father is or than I am. He had your gifts, the ease of learning, the power of concentration, the self-confidence, the attractiveness of heart. But he had also something that his mother knew of, that I suspected and by deep peering of soul discovered, but something that his father never knew : a passionate belief in the reality and righteousness of a supreme personal Overlord of things, and a seraphic certainty that life is not a mere function of the flesh, and that consciousness is not dependent for its persistence on a stimulated brain, that life subsists apart from space and time. He did not easily talk of these things except to his mother, he did not then talk in the jargon which I have used and you will understand, but his faith was indubitable, and it was the faith of a man who certainly transcended you in pure intellectual power. . . . I will not dwell on Arthur’s virtues. Everyone knew them except Arthur. His services were always at the disposal of others, and to him it

was a natural thing to die for England. It was not his fault that he had no brother or sister, nor was that any reason that he should stand aside from duty. I will only say this of the personality of my godson, that his death from the point of view of service is a loss to the world that seems to me immeasurable. You are the only person who can in some measure make up for that loss. In all the nobler interests of the world you have always been a Laodicean. But you must take your son's place now. . . .

"When you take your son's place you must take it with his outlook on things. You do not believe, you say, in such an after-life as will make it conceivable that you will ever see him again as he really was. When I say that I disagree with you, I am not disagreeing in my capacity as a minister of Christ, but as one who claims to be (for I am roused, my friend, by the arrogance of your self-centred mind) something more than your intellectual equal, though it is true that I have not, and do not desire to have, your will-power or self-assertion. You claim to be a thinker. Well, to a thinker I should have supposed that the doctrine of conservation of energy would have appealed as a determining factor in all spheres of energy. To suppose that a life of almost infinite potentiality can be dissipated into certain atoms by the bullet of a sniper is really too absurd a doctrine for any thinker to adopt. But if the life is not so dissipated, the doctrine of conservation of energy tells us that this amazing fountain of energy, a human personality, is conserved. But if it is conserved at all, it is conserved as a personality. Your Arthur, my Arthur, is neither dead nor asleep: he is already influencing you and me. . . . My friend, the Universe is not unreasonable; to be frank, it would be unreasonable if there were no Supreme Personality brooding, like some serene engineer, over these manifestations of energy in Time and Space. That Supreme Personality would be unreasonable indeed if He wasted the personalities that energise progress in directions that unassisted Nature could not attain. Your theory of life is unreasonable; it is Macbeth's theory; it is the theory of the selfish man whose sense of his own personality is so intense that he ignores the personalities both of his God and of his brother man. . . .

"I have done. You moan that you do not know where Arthur lies. Oh, friend, dear friend, dear pupil of my own youth, he lives. Those ashes were but the golden sheath of a glorious spirit that not only awaits us, but guides us even here in this age of human necessity. The end is not yet." . . .

The old man smiled as he rose from his desk, as he had smiled when he wrote of his friend's arrogance, and gazed out into the garden of nodding flowers, and past them to the moor, and to the Old Man Hill with its crown of stones: "My pupil will do something yet for the world. He might be great even yet." So the vicar went to lunch, and later resumed the final stage of his impressive work on the Laodiceans. And his friend? Well, he has taken Arthur's place in the world, and Arthur's mother is at last content.

J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY.

REVIEWS.

THE FUTURE OF LABOUR.*

Mr. George Lansbury has done well at this juncture in national life to address this appeal to those classes, and especially those women, who are themselves secure from the desptefulness of poverty, and are in a position so to identify themselves with the fundamental interests of their poorer brethren as to raise the general level of life. If we may be allowed to do so, we should like to level certain criticisms at this admirable book. Mr. Lansbury does not realise the amount of social work already done, and he is almost obsessed with the idea that what is done is done in a spirit of patronage. That there are cases of this spirit we have no manner of doubt, and there will remain such cases while human nature remains. If Mr. Lansbury were to examine that most fruitful kind of helpfulness, the helpfulness of really poor people one to another, he would find there the principle of patronage, or spiritual or personal pride, vitiating a certain percentage of help. It is an evil thing everywhere, and not the less evil that the people who are troubled with it are at bottom really good people. But we can say without any fear of contradiction that the vast bulk of the huge volume of social help to-day has no touch of patronage in it. Mr. Lansbury realises that "there is a good spirit abroad amongst all "classes." But he feels that existing inequalities are fundamentally unfair: "Even the women and girls who work in the munition "factories, if they belong to the comfortable classes, never dream "of sharing the same kind of life as the ordinary working-class "women, and actually living on the wages they earn." Again he writes:—

"No one connected with the upper classes (except that tiny handful of women who forsake their class and live amongst the people in social settlements) can have any idea of the very meagre comforts of life that the working women enjoy. And even the women who leave comfortable town and country houses to dwell amongst the poor cannot quite understand, because their rooms are nicely kept, and furnished at least with the requisites of cleanliness and comfort. It is all so different with the tiny homes of the workers. We have got accustomed to thinking working people do not need the same conveniences of life as we do ourselves."

And yet again:—

"I do not understand how it is that the clergy and social workers are so quiet on this question. They always seem to me

**Your Part in Poverty*, by George Lansbury (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., rs. net).

to have good homes for themselves, even if sometimes small; there is always light and air for them; yet many of them teach contentment, and talk of present conditions of life as if they were instituted by God for the benefit of those who belong to that multitude known by many pious people as God's poor."

Now Mr. Lansbury's attitude here seems unwise as well as uncharitable. What we want is to raise the whole standard, and not the least purpose would be served by workers—whether munition workers, or social workers, or clergy—depressing their standard of social life to the lowest standard (for it must be the lowest if Mr. Lansbury's argument is sound) in the district. Mr. Lansbury's whole argument is that all classes should receive the fruit of their labours and enjoy the amenities of life and the leisure for self-improvement now enjoyed by the minority of the people. It is a fact that, whatever economic changes time may effect, real reform of the home can only come from within the heart of the family that make the home; increase of wages and improved environment *alone* will not do it. Nothing but education based on religion will do it, and while we entirely acquiesce in Mr. Lansbury's demand that the well-to-do should absolutely identify their spiritual interests with their poorer brethren, we are certain that all effort, however Christian, however single-minded, however self-sacrificing, will be vain unless it is met by equal effort on the part of those who are to be raised into a nobler social life. The inequalities of the present time are, we admit, depressing in the extreme; child-life does not have its fair chance, and therefore the next generation does not have its fair chance: that is really what Mr. Lansbury's brilliant indictment of the present condition of things means. We believe that much may be done to remove the present inequalities by an adequate system of education based on religion for all, with free access for all to every branch of learning and technique; but we do not believe that the whole blame for the present state of things can be placed on the shoulders of capitalists and indifferentists. If an angel from heaven came, with a scheme that would at one stroke wipe away all tears and all inequalities, matters would soon be as bad as ever unless the sufferers from inequality are prepared willingly to co-operate in the working out of the scheme of social salvation. We agree with Mr. Lansbury that there is a fundamental moral duty to cast away social indifferentism, to abandon the Palace of Gallio, to seek identity of spiritual interest with all other classes, and that, in so far as "the comfortable, well-to-do people . . . stand aloof," they are lacking in Christianity and patriotism. But we also feel that there will be no "human solidarity" until the industrial classes are willing to do their share in the work of salva-

tion. It is a slow business reorganising a nation. With all the will in the world it can only be done slowly, and it can only be done with education as the inspiring factor. We are an ignorant people. It is that ignorance which is slaying hecatombs of babies and undermining endless lives; it is that ignorance which lies at the root of class hatred, theological hatred, unsound economics. It is useless to laugh at the economics of Liberal and Tory, to gibe at the poor results of social work, to criticise all current efforts "because they all appear to accept the present social order as a "God-ordained institution, and are quite content to allow the "struggle for bread to remain as the recognised dominant factor "in the life of the people." We venture to point out that if the struggle for bread is moralised and shot through with faithfulness and courage there is no better discipline for man. Those races who do not have to, and, in fact, do not, struggle become decadent and unfit. The struggle for bread is but the earthly projection of that struggle for spiritual life on which all our hope depends. Mr. Lansbury, as a Churchman to whose integrity and enthusiasm the Bishop of Winchester pays a noble tribute in the Preface of his book, knows that this is true. It is not so much our economics that need change; it is our hearts.

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A NATURALIST IN BORNEO.*

Dr. Poulton has done well in giving to the public the late Mr. Robert Shelford's volume on nature study in Borneo. In the best sense it is a popular book; that is to say, it is a book in which the author, with his real charm of style, places his gift of observation at the disposal of the reader without that excessive intrusion of technical details which is apt to kill interest. Mr. Shelford holds the attention of the reader on every page, and we can imagine no better school for young naturalists than this book, which has been edited at a cost of labour and revision that makes the public almost as indebted to Dr. Poulton, Dr. G. B. Longstaff, Dr. Charles Hose, and Mr. H. N. Ridley, as to the author. Robert Walter Campbell Shelford was born at Singapore on August 3rd, 1872. He died on June 22nd, 1912. As a child and in early youth illness cut him from ordinary sports and activities, and he turned his great energy to nature study. At King's College, London, and at Cambridge he received an excellent preparation for the career of a

* *A Naturalist in Borneo*, by the late Robert W. C. Shelford, late Curator at the Sarawak Museum and Assistant Curator of the Hope Department of Zoology, Oxford University Museum. Edited, with a biographical introduction, by Edward B. Poulton, D.Sc., Hope Professor of Zoology and Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. (T. Fisher Unwin, 15s. net.)

naturalist, and after two years as demonstrator in biology at the Yorkshire College, Leeds, he became in 1897 the Curator of the Sarawak Museum, established by Rajah Brooke at Kuching. In 1905, he was made Assistant Curator of the Hope Department of Zoology at Oxford. In 1909, his old illness recurred, and he died in 1912. He had married on June 25th, 1908, Audrey Gurney Richardson, and this book is dedicated to her. It was in these last three years that he wrote this charming work which, in addition to the closest description of life and nature in Borneo, is made to illustrate two subjects in which he was profoundly interested: natural mimicry and the *Blattidæ*, or cockroaches. On insects of this family he was the leading authority, and "as the result of his labours, the Hope Department now contains by far the finest and best-arranged collection of *Blattidæ* in the world, including types or co-types of a large proportion of all the known species." Mr. Shelford's memoir on *Mimicry Amongst the Blattidæ*, issued about the time of his death, is a classic. It was "a special delight to him to show the high interest, and in many species the extreme beauty of the universally despised cockroaches." The present volume contains a striking chapter on "Cockroaches, Mantises, and Stick-insects." It tells us a fact that few know. It is only quite recently (1907) that it has been discovered that this creature (and the same fact has only recently been shown in the case of the camel) lives in a truly wild state quite unassociated with man. This discovery was made in the Crimea, "and it is perhaps permissible now to regard Southern Russia as the centre whence this ubiquitous insect has spread." The word cockroach is derived from the Spanish "cucaracha," which is possibly derived from a South American Indian word for the insect. In that event the original locus of the beast was more probably South America. The curious Praying Mantises are closely related to the cockroaches. The chapter contains most fascinating material relating to floral simulation by the Mantidæ. In the case of the *Idolum diabolicum* (East Africa), "the prothorax and front legs on their under surfaces present the appearance of some remarkable exotic blossom, and it is so attractive to flower-haunting insects that they hover over the *Mantis*, or actually settle on it."

The book consists of a series of chapters on mammals, birds, snakes, crocodiles, turtles and tortoises, cockroaches, beetles, ants, mimicry, with further chapters describing various expeditions and the manner of animal and human life in Borneo. The large anthropoid ape—the *Maias*—is the most interesting and important of the mammals. It is an arboreal creature. The Gibbon is also to be found, and is often trained as a pet. The hand of the Gibbon is "beautifully adapted for gripping the branches of trees." Mr.

Shelford dispels the popular fallacy that "the birds of the tropical regions are brilliantly coloured, and either most unmelodious in their cries, or else entirely silent . . . in any tropical area the number of dull-coloured, soberly clad birds exceeds the number of brilliant species, while every tropical land can boast its songsters which rival, if they do not excel, those of the temperate regions." This is true in Borneo, as the notes of the Nandak, the Magpie-Robin, and the Crested Bulbul prove. Borneo abounds in reptiles, including 113 species of snake, of which eleven are poisonous. In addition, all the sea-snakes are "extremely poisonous." The text leaves the number of sea-snakes doubtful. But snake-bites are rare. The snake (Mr. Shelford holds) does not go out of its way to attack men. The instinctive horror of man for snakes is inherited from our pre-man forbears. Most apes are terrified by snakes, but most other animals are indifferent.

We must close this brief notice of an admirable book by two quotations that illustrate Mr. Shelford's methods and style:—

"A student of mimicry cannot fail to be struck with the fact that mimetic resemblances are due to a simulation of the model's characters, and not to a direct imitation of them. A fly mimicking a wasp does not develop a second pair of wings to imitate the wasp's wings, but the wings of the fly may be so formed and so veined or grooved that they appear like the four wings of the wasp. Let us note one or two instances of this from Borneo. A beetle of the distasteful family *Enchomycheda*, and belonging to the genus *Spathomeles*, has a strong spout spine on each wing case, and this character of spiny wing-cases or elytra is common to all the *Amphusterni*. This particular *Spathomeles* is closely mimicked by a Longicorn beetle, *Zelota Spathomelina*; the mimic is coloured like its model, and from each elytron springs what appears to be a spine, but on close examination is seen to be nothing but a finely pointed tuft of hairs. In other words, the spine of the model is simulated by the hair-tuft of the mimic."

Again, we have this description of the forest at night between Sarawak and Dutch Borneo:—

"In the day-time the forest is less eerie; you are conscious that there is glowing and active life all around; much of it you cannot see, but the not infrequent glimpses of Nature's great pageant of animal life are enthralling and reassuring, and the interest of collecting keeps the mind constantly on the alert. But at night you can see nothing; an almost impenetrable darkness descends on the forest. Teeming life is still all round, for you can hear it; the air is full of the noise made by millions of insects, a noise that, like the roar of traffic in a great city or like the sound of the sea, so permeates everything that in time the ear becomes dulled, and a special effort has to be made to listen to it. There are, too, strange rustlings in the trees, and occasionally the

stillness is rent by some strange cry or weird shriek, at the sound of which, half-scared, you ask your followers its meaning, only to be told that it is some ghost or lost spirit. It may be the despairing yell of some monkey seized by a snake, or the triumphant scream of some night-bird clutching its hapless victim; who can tell? If you step out of the radius of your camp-fires you feel that you are brought face to face with forces over which you have no sort of control, you are surrounded on all sides by handiwork that is not man's, by swarming "millions of creatures that live out their little lives without the faintest reference to you. If a man dies in a city, he knows that at least he leaves behind him a blank—perhaps a small one, a memory—maybe but short-lived; at any rate, if it be only in the smallest way, his death *does* affect his fellow-men, for none of us lives to himself alone. But if he dies here in the great forest, what is his death? It is but one out of thousands that occur perpetually—uncared for, indifferent, without effect."

* * *

LADY LOGIN'S RECOLLECTIONS.*

Lady Login's Recollections cover a long period, as the title of the book tells. They recall the entire Victorian era, and will prove a pleasure and delight, especially to those who can look back to some of the days which Lady Login recalls. They were stirring times, and she had met many of the notabilities of her day, and was often brought closely in contact with those who made the history of the nineteenth century, and had many varied experiences and friendships. The recollections are compiled by her daughter from memory of the stories Lady Login used to tell her children sitting in the firelight in the gloaming, or after dinner in the evening—stories of Scotland, and of India, as well as England.

Lady Login's grandfather, Charles Campbell of Kinloch, had married a Portuguese lady of noble birth, niece of the Bishop of Oporto. It is said that she eloped with him from a convent. At any rate they were banished to Brazil, and there all his children were born. Lady Login's father remained a foreigner to the day of his death, and went by the nickname of "Don Juan" in his Scottish home, from his broken English and foreign appearance, which from the description must have been peculiar indeed. His children stood greatly in awe of him, and feared to question him on any point. He was a very silent man, never naming the events of his early life, and of his relations he seldom spoke. All his ideas were foreign, even to the bringing up of his children; especially was he scandalised at the custom of unmarried girls being allowed to be seen in public unattended. He and his brothers and sisters were all brought up as Roman Catholics, and

* *Lady Login's Recollections: Court Life and Camp Life, 1820-1904*, by E. Dalhousie Login (Smith Elder, 10s. 6d. net).

he was destined for the Church, much against his will, which, being a strong will, prevailed, and eventually he entered the Army and obtained a commission in a Highland regiment. He only served in it two or three years. The Highland dress was his utter aversion, and his joy knew no bounds when he received his father's permission to throw up his commission. After his father's death he and his eldest brother became Protestants. His early association with Portugal caused him to hold that country in high estimation, and the greatest compliment he could pay to any woman was to compare her with the Queen of Portugal! The description of the Kinloch family and the catering for the immense household is very amusing reading, and might be drawn from the feudal period. It would well serve as an example of careful housewifery in the present war-time economy days. There was but little exchange of money in those years, payment in kind being far easier to the farmer; each tenant had to give, according to the size of his holding, so many days' labour in the hay or corn harvest, or to provide a substitute, if unable to work himself, much the same condition obtaining in the early days of the nineteenth century in Scotland, as was the custom in England before the Black Death! The wife or daughter of the tenant had to do so many days' spinning or carding for the "Leddy." It is a pleasant picture Lady Login draws of the spinning-room; and one almost regrets the march of civilisation which has *changé tout cela*.

"The long, low room, filled with the musical hum of fifteen or sixteen wheels all going at once, and the cheerful sound of voices lowered to a discreet murmur; for was not the lady there herself, spinning busily, and setting an example of industry to all, while ever keeping a watchful eye upon the work and behaviour of the others? Ever and anon she would leave her place and pass down the line of spinning wheels, stopping at each to examine the thread, to test its fineness and evenness, and to see that there were no knots or faults. She herself was a noted spinster; none other could produce from the 'spool' a thread as fine as gossamer, yet smooth and even as a silkworm's web. . . . The long, low room was lighted only by the firelight, whose ruddy glow as it flickered and fell on the spinsters' figures, and was caught and reflected by the whirling wheels and rockers, formed a scene marvellously picturesque and harmonious. A favoured few of the lads, as a very special privilege, were permitted by the 'Lady' to enter and take a seat at the further end of the room, where a lad might have a quiet 'crack' with the lassie of his choice, screened by the shadows cast on floor, walls, and ceiling, by the movement of the spinsters' hands and feet working in concert—the one on the treadle, the other with a constant back-and-forward motion that twisted the thread between finger and thumb."

But, alas! a day came when the home manufacture of linen was

prohibited by law ! And an amusing description is given how the illicit work was carried on notwithstanding. From the early days at Strathbraan, where the feudal feeling was strong between " the " family " and tenants, and life was simple in the extreme, one is transported to the Court of Oude, Miss Campbell having met and married Dr. John Login in 1842. He held the post of Residency-Surgeon at Lucknow, and, in addition, was physician to the Court under two successive kings of Oude. In was here that the Logins met the Lawrence brothers and their wives, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and others. An amusing account is given of the Court of Oude, of the native servants, and camp life generally. Especially interesting is the description of a wolf-child found on the confines of Oude and Nepal :—

" Though undoubtedly human, it was very animal in its instincts and ways. It walked and ran on all fours, and could utter only a weird cry like the yelping of a hound. Though guarded most carefully, it several times escaped into the woods. In spite of all efforts to coax it, it refused food, and gradually pined away and died, for they are always very difficult to rear after being taken from their foster mothers."

In 1848 Dr. Login left Lucknow in order to resume field service, on the outbreak of the second Sikh War. At Lahore he worked hard under Henry Lawrence, and in his letters home he kept his wife fully informed of all the stirring events of that time.

Dr. Login was appointed Guardian of the young Maharajah Duleep Singh, which proved a very responsible office. The intimate relations between the Logins and their young charge—he was only twelve years old when placed under their care—form the principal subject of these " Recollections." They tell of the lovable disposition of the young Rajah, of his baptism—he having renounced his faith and embraced Christianity ; of his marriage with a young girl of fifteen of semi-Oriental birth whom he met at a mission school when on his way through Egypt to his mother's funeral at Bombay, whither he had gone to perform the sacred rites of ceremonial burning and scattering of ashes on the sacred waters of Nerbuddah, according to the faith of his mother, the Maharanee Jinda Koür ; of his devotion to Sir John Login and his wife, and of the many happy days spent with them : of his controversy with the Indian Government, and also, alas ! of his falling away from his allegiance to the British Crown, and, finally, of his death in 1893. On the whole, it is sad reading, and makes one realise the great difficulties of attempting to unite East and West in one individual : the union can only be achieved, if ever, in the slow growth of education and comprehension of the qualities of the different races. The upbringing of the Rajah with all the

care and love of an English home, even from the early age of twelve, was a failure; for though he adopted Christianity for a time, yet as soon as he got under the influence of his own people the call of the blood was too strong for him, and in the hour of trial he fell away, and returned as far as possible to the faith of his fathers. Doubtless his brain gave way in the end, obsessed as it was by the alleged ill-treatment accorded to him by the Indian Government, real or imaginary—at any rate, unwise treatment—from which he suffered. It is a sorry tale all told, when one comes to the end of this wayward and troubled life.

Lady Login had undertaken, at the command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, the care and upbringing of the Princess Victoria Gouramma, the daughter of the ex-Rajah of Coorg. It was thought that she would prove a suitable wife for the Maharajah Duleep Singh, but he was not attracted by her, and preferred a lady of his own choosing. The Princess Victoria Gouramma, eventually married Lady Login's brother. The care of the Princess brought Lady Login into intimate correspondence with Queen Victoria, for whom she expresses the greatest respect and devotion. Lady Login's close contact with the native Princes of India, both before and after the Mutiny, also with the Lawrences, for whom both she and her husband entertained the warmest friendship throughout their lives, make this volume one of great interest. India will never fail in its fascination and charm, and this book, written, as it were, from the inside—for so intimate were the Logins with the Court, and the native camp life—will add to the knowledge of the most wonderful of all countries, the Koh-i-Noor of the British Crown. The author is to be congratulated on a most interesting work, her recollections, as well as her mother's, simply and naturally told.

S. DE M.

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GREAT VICTORIANS.*

We have no manner of doubt that Mr. Escott's new book of recollections and anecdotes about the great in that strange and wonderful and rather self-centred period, the Victorian age, will be, as it deserves to be, very widely read. The recollections carry us right back (it seems almost impossible) to the days of Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter. Of this wonderful, mellifluous, super-social and very venomous prelate and high Churchman, Mr. Escott gives us an extraordinarily vivid picture. The charm, the assurance, the essential spirituality, and yet the profound worldliness of Henry of Exeter are brought out in the most vivid

* *Great Victorians: Memories and Personalities.* By T. H. S. Escott. (T. Fisher Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.)

fashion, and will be read by all who are interested in the forces that fore-ran the Oxford Movement. Of the great Duke of Wellington we read much, and nothing but what was good. Mr. Escott notes his exaggeration as an orator, something quite out of accord with his character as a soldier; his kindness to children and young people, his modesty about his achievements. Mr. Escott denies that the Duke at the Duchess of Richmond's ball "whispered hurriedly" to some one on hearing of the approach of Napoleon. But he left the ball for two hours, made all his dispositions, and returning, "danced all night." We wonder if this last statement is true. Throughout the battle he ran extraordinary risks, but he knew no fear. He seems to have regarded Masséna as the greatest of the generals against whom he fought. "Masséna was by far the greatest general against me. When he was there I could neither eat, drink, nor sleep. I never knew a moment's respite from anxiety." Mr. Escott traces the great soldiers from Wellington to Wolseley. Wolseley started a new school. Lord Kitchener did the same. Lord Kitchener, when asked how he attained his capacity, replied, "'spects I grewed."

We next pass to ambassadors, and then to Palmerston, who died in 1865, Lord John Russell, Lord Derby, Robert Lowe, Disraeli, Gladstone (who once told Mr. Escott, "I wanted, after getting an All Souls fellowship, to be a clergyman"), and the crowds of distinguished men of letters, scholars, and politicians who moved round them. Mr. Escott has the gift of reproducing the social life of the times that he describes, the people that he sketches move and live, and we see our narrator from decade to decade moving and living with them. The book is not only very entertaining, but it has an historical value. It gives a throb of life to much dry history. Perhaps people were not so sweet or not so bitter or not so cynical or so saintly as Mr. Escott paints them. His colours are "fast" colours, and he paints in the north light of memory. But the book is alive; and that is an achievement to-day.

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SONGS AND LYRICS OF RUSSIA.*

Some time since we noticed Dr. Pollen's remarkable translation of *The Rubai'at* of Omar Khayyám, a version that reproduced the Persian with extraordinary fidelity. Dr. Pollen has now turned his great linguistic gifts to another and possibly more difficult tongue,

* *Russian Songs and Lyrics: Being Faithful Translations of Selections from Some of the Best Russian poets—Pushkin, Lermontov, Nadson, Nekrasov, Tolstoi, Tyontchev, Maikov, Lebedev, Fet, K.R., Klushnikov, Anatole Kremlev, Myatlev, &c.*, by John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D. (Dublin), East & West, Ltd., 3, Victoria-street, S.W., price 3s. 6d. net.

and by these "faithful translations" from a series of modern Russian poets, translations that deserve the widest sale, he hopes to do a war-service, for he "is devoting any profits that may arise from the sale "of this little Book to Funds for the benefit of the Russian soldiers." It is easier to learn the character of a people from its poetry than its prose, and at the present time, when the study of the Russian tongue and Russian history and Russian literature is having an extraordinary vogue in England, we desire to commend these versions of poems that represent the high ideals of the Russian people. Dr. Pollen tells us that "Most of these Songs and Lyrics are favourites "with the Russian soldiers of all ranks, and are popular amongst "the Russian peasantry, who are devoted to song, and amongst "whom education has spread, and is spreading, more rapidly than "is imagined in the West."

Dr. Pollen has not "discovered" Russia during the war for freedom. He prints as an appendix his noble lines written on "England, Russia, and India" in 1891, a poem that foretells with curious exactitude the German policy of making bad blood between England and Russia:—

"Then, England, pause! Know friend from foe!
Where, when has Russia crossed thy path?
That she doth ever greater grow—
This seems the greatest fault she hath."

The temptation to quote from these translations is great. There are a number of poems from the mighty Pushkin, including that really great short poem *The Prophet*, the lines that describe the making of the prophet in the wilderness by "the holy six-winged seraphim."

"Over my lips awhile he hung,
And tore from me my sinful tongue—
The babbling tongue of vanity.
The sting of serpent's subtlety
Within my lips, as chilled I stood,
He placed, with right hand red with blood,
Then with a sword my bosom cut,
And forth my quivering heart he drew;
A glowing coal of fire he put
Within my breast laid bare to view."

The sad note of that strangest of men of genius, Lermontov, is heard in many translations:—

"Alone I pass along the lonely road,
Thro' gathering mist the pebbly pathway gleams;
The night is still; the void remembers God,
And star vibrates to star with speaking beams.
"A wondrous glory moves across the sky;
Soft sleeps the earth in dove-grey azure light.
Why aches my heart? Why troubled thus am I?
What wait I for, what grieve I for, this night?"

The sadness of the Russian heart, overwhelmed by the immensity and the problems of his land, is well shown in this poem. Lermontov's ballad, "The Queen of the Sea," strikes this same note as well as the sense of natural mysticism, while it also shows us the struggle between romanticism and realism. It is the story of the Prince who captured the Mermaid, and by the very fact of capture slew her, though she loved him. *

Maikov's "Little Picture" of a peasant's cottage after the Proclamation of February 19th, 1861, freeing the serfs, where the only reader in the household is reading out the great news—

" The full meaning of the message
Knew not she nor they;
But all, darkly, felt the dawning
Of a better day "

—is a wonderful picture of the coming of spring in national life. We hope that this book will have a wide sale, and make us all know and understand our "little Russian brother."

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MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.*

The editor of the series of "Select Plays of Shakespeare" is to be congratulated on having secured Mr. Boas as the editor of *Much Ado About Nothing*, a play that repays the wealth of learning that abounds in the editorial Introduction and Notes. The story, "the duping of a lover, who is led to believe that his mistress is false through seeing a man outside her chamber window at night," is probably as old in its essentials as man (a very deceivable creature), and is certainly as old as the Grecian silver age. The plot is not one that represents the high range of a great literary period; it is, whether we consider it as of the Grecian or of the European Renaissance age, of an essentially materialistic type, and it is notable that Shakespeare makes the plot deliberately the basis, not of a serious comedy, but of a comedy that is partly a farce and partly a tilting at the seriousness which then attached to trivial things. Shakespeare seems to be telling you all through the play: "We are skating on thick ice, we shall never find the deeps." For this reason the play, unlike *Twelfth Night*, is a didactic rather than a pure comedy; it is, as Mr. Boas points out, much ado about nothing from end to end; but, as he also points out, it contains in the sub-plot, the Benedick-Beatrice plot, a social lesson of profound

* Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*. [Select plays of Shakespeare. General Editor, J. C. Smith.] Edited with Introductions and Notes by F. S. Boas, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

historical importance, the latest phase of the "duel of sex," a subject with which the dramatist had been concerned "from the beginning" of his career as a dramatist." Mr. Boas traces the sex duel in the Elizabethan age. In the earlier Tudor period it was "determined" largely by superiority of physical force"; but certain forces—frankly we are not at all inclined to agree that one was the direct effect of the Renaissance—altered the whole outlook, and in 1609 William Heale, of Exeter College, Oxford, declared that "woman" was the equal, if not the superior, of man." We must quote Mr. Boas on the relation of *Much Ado About Nothing* to a problem already dealt with in *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Taming of the Shrew*:

"We suddenly pass from primitive domestic relationships into a cultured and self-conscious society, and from vigorous, but unpolished, workmanship into the region of mellow and rounded art. The action of the Benedick-Beatrice plot is not dominated by some theory of the relation of the sexes or of love and intellect, that can be formulated in a speech from the lips of a Kate or a Biron. It springs out of the characters of the two protagonists themselves. It is noteworthy that there should be two of them. Where *Much Ado About Nothing* differs from earlier English plays of a kindred type is that it does not deal with the taming or schooling of a rebel or rebels belonging to one sex only. Here the duel is between a man and a woman on equal terms, and the result is not the victory of one over the other, but the defeat of both by a fundamental principle of life—a defeat which does not discredit but ennobles them."

So Shakespeare drives home the fundamental truth that any duel between the sexes must necessarily be "much ado about nothing." Love is stronger than fate; it not only moves the sun and other stars, but it binds into a unity that transcends surface economics the very beings of sexes that are not opposite but supplementary. One great use of this learned introduction, which carries us from Chariton the Carian to Ariosto, to the doctrine of *The Partiall Law* and the Elizabethan outlook on the sexes, is that it shows us, if we will but look, that the sex problem so tremendously with us to-day was really disposed of by the master-mind of Shakespeare. The equality of the sexes, the abolition of what we may call "the" "partial custom," the placing of woman in her true economic position are the goal of all reasonable thinkers of both sexes on social problems to-day. Shakespeare saw the need that we feel, and that is why we call this an essentially didactic comedy. We should like to deal at length with the technical questions that arise in the Introduction and Notes, but we must do no more than make one comment on a small point where we believe that Mr. Boas has not said the last word. He cannot explain the introduction of the Sexton in the famous Constable Scene:—

“ *A Prison. Enter Dogberry, Verges, and Sexton, in gowns ; and the Watch, with Conrade and Borachio.* ”

The scene (IV. ii.) begins :—

“ *Dogberry* : Is our whole dissembly appeared ?
Verges : O ! a stool and a cushion for the sexton.
Sexton : Which be the malefactors ? ”

Mr. Boas thinks that Verges has blunderingly called the town clerk a sexton, and that the name was taken up by the printer. But we submit that that is not the explanation. The sexton held not only an ecclesiastical but a freehold parochial office, and in many cases had important local government duties. Thus the sexton of Barnard Castle, in the parish of Gainford, Durham, had to attend the parish meetings in the church and do any act required by the churchwardens, receiving an annual salary from the inhabitants. In one case the sexton received twopence a day from every house in the parish. It was the sexton's business to call the “ whole “ dissembly.” The position of a sexton was discussed in 1849 at length in the case of *Causfield v. Blenkinsop* (4 Ex. Rep. 234). It would be interesting to know the duties of the sexton of Stratford-on-Avon. The point, no doubt, requires fuller consideration.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Mr. W. H. Koebel, in “ Paraguay ” (T. Fisher Unwin, 10s. 6d. net) has given us a very full account of the history and modern life of what is “ in many respects the most romantic State in South America.” An inland republic, like Bolivia, she has found in her vast rivers ample compensation for the sea. The Paraguayan suffers to some extent from the nature of his good fortune. “ His land is one of exquisite natural beauty, “ of abundant fruits and flowers, and of soft airs. It has a soil that gives “ with a generosity so lavish as to tend to discourage too violent a human “ effort or too ambitious an enterprise ! The boons of too kind a Nature “ are inevitably accompanied by a certain process of enervation.” This has been so since the days of the *Conquistadores* of the Rio de la Plata, who, wandering up the mighty river, at last landed on the site of the future city of Asuncion. But Paraguay is slowly coming into the modern world of enterprise, the land is opening up, and the day will come when the home of the Guarani Indians, of that strange race whom the Spaniards found in possession, but who themselves were invaders that settled on the left bank of the Paraguay river, will be the garner of the world. On the right bank were and are the somewhat degraded Chaco tribes. It is interesting to note that the blood of the Incas mingles with that of this stock ; driven out of Peru and Bolivia by the Spaniards, they fled to these wild subjects of theirs, and to-day, both in dress and feature, the mingling can be noted. To-day even the Chaco is associating with the other races of Paraguay. Mr. Koebel traces the

history of this great Spanish colony, which proclaimed its independence on October 12th, 1811, and gives in an appendix a list of the Spanish Governors during the colonising period, beginning with Pedro de Mendoza in 1530, and ending with the sixty-sixth Governor, Bernardo de Velasco, who was appointed in 1809. A series of interesting chapters show us the aspect and the infinite possibilities of Paraguay; whose cattle timber, cereals, fruits, and tobacco mean much for the world. Before the war British exports into Paraguay were 28 per cent. of the total, and slightly exceeded those of Germany, which Great Britain had rapidly overtaken. Mr. Consul Oliver declares that "the British share in the total import trade might be still larger if a larger number of British houses were established" in Paraguay. The energy in this respect of Germany, France, and Italy has exceeded that of England. After the war, indeed during the war, we should secure our position and send more mercantile missionaries. The Germans "had taken very comprehensive measures to obtain control of that great increase in Paraguayan commerce which they foresaw." We must send out mercantile agents who can *speak Spanish*, while catalogues of British goods *must* be printed in Spanish. The need of Spanish is well recognised now in England. Let the great houses get their agents and their catalogues and their goods ready for the first moments of peace. There must be no delay if we are to secure the Paraguayan markets. "Notwithstanding its considerable German commercial population, the sympathies of Paraguay in general run as strongly as elsewhere in the continent in favour of the Allies. Great Britain has never known a more favourable moment to consolidate her business relations with the inland Republic. It is to be hoped that she will see to it that the opportunity be not lost." Dr. Koebel gives us an elaborate appendix of the progress of the various industries and of statistics essential to a real understanding of the economic condition of the country. Every merchant who thinks of opening up trading relations with Paraguay should get and study the book at once.

* * *

Dr. Charles Seymour in "The Diplomatic Background of the War, 1870-1914" (Yale University Press; Humphrey Milford. 8s. 6d. net), discusses the factors leading to the Great War of 1914, and attempts "to correlate in their logical sequence the most significant events of recent European history, and to show how the great disaster was the inevitable result of their reaction upon each other." Of course, every disaster and every event is the inevitable result of a chain of events, but it is a little difficult to understand how an historian can begin his chain in 1870. The chain began in 1864. If Europe had done its duty then, and had prevented the robbery of Schleswig-Holstein, and thus nipped Prussianism in the bud, we should have had no war of 1870, no rattling of sabres or gleaming of shining armour, no horrible Hun exploits in China, no Balkan war, no war of 1914. However, the Assistant Professor of History in Yale College begins with 1871, when the world "did not realise at once the full significance of the Prussian victory and the acceptance of Prussian methods by Germany; and the ultimate consequences of Prussian domination in Germany were not completely manifested until the twentieth century." Bismarck for twenty years worked in peace to consolidate the mushroom empire and give Germany full European prestige. Dr. Seymour traces the actions and reactions of the period, and then passes to the German world policy both in its economic and moral factors. "The longing for expansion has gradually transferred from the economic to the broader political field. Germans

"were also acutely conscious of the necessity of force if they were to win their world empire, and they were largely convinced of the righteousness and beauty of the use of force." Dr. Seymour adds that "in case of war, Germany could draw upon a human supply far greater than could be found in France or England. In numbers, morale, and equipment she was incontestably supreme on land." That, of course, was the continual German boast, and this boast long impressed the American people. But in fact it has been disproved in the trenches and the open field. Man for man, the French and English soldiers have proved themselves superior to the German in every aspect of war; in morale, character, persistence. Dr. Seymour next traces British foreign policy, and declares that "England's fear of Germany . . . did not arise until the beginning of the twentieth century." We do not quite understand the word "fear," but our suspicions of German policy are much older, and our trust in German honesty disappeared much later—in fact, on August 4th, 1914. We feared little, and trusted much. But it is true that in 1907, with the establishment of the *Entente*, "the Bismarckian system had passed and the European equilibrium was restored. It remained to be seen whether or not Germany would accept the new international situation that resulted from the diplomatic revolution." So we are led on to the inevitable end. The book is one that is well written, and has a fair grasp of the main facts that determined policies between 1871 and 1914, though we doubt if Dr. Seymour quite appreciates the hidden depths of English feeling. Germany had clear warning that she could not rely on the neutrality of Great Britain. Dr. Seymour properly lays stress on this fact, which is significant of the incompetent way in which Germany was served by her blinded statesmen, but he is not prepared to condemn Germany for her determination "to give the law to Europe in 1914, either by diplomacy or by war." He must be almost the only historian in the world who thinks that, on this point, "a completely unbiassed verdict can hardly be rendered by this generation." It might just as well be said that every great criminal suit must be postponed since in the lifetime of the criminal "a completely unbiassed verdict" is impossible. The facts are before the world, and the world has given its judgment, which is being enforced *vi et armis*.

* * *

In "British Agriculture: The Nation's Opportunity" (John Murray, 3s. 6d. net), we have the Minority Report of the Departmental Committee on the Employment of Sailors and Soldiers on the Land, by the Hon. Edward G. Strutt, Mr. Leslie Scott, K.C., M.P., and Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., with an Addenda on Housing, and a preface and appendix on the reclamation of land by Mr. A. D. Hall, F.R.S. Mr. Hall points out that the degrading *laissez-faire* view of the future of agriculture and country life is passing away. "Statesmen have begun to see the weakness of a nation developed on one side only, and the value of a rural population for the stability and habit of work it contributes to the community." We stand in need of an immediate reconstruction of agriculture, but we very much doubt if it will come. We would draw Mr. Hall's attention to the parallel case of Forestry. Few subjects have been so fully investigated by Committees and Royal Commissions, and yet practically nothing has been done after thirty years of effort. After the war, when imports take their normal flow, and the provision of "butter and eggs and a pound of cheese" by foreign countries is assured, the public may forget all about our present

needs; *unless* Mr. Hall and his friends hammer in and out of Parliament the facts forth. If nothing is done at once, nothing will be done at all. The necessary elements of reconstruction in agriculture are set out in the Report. Mr. Hall summarises them thus: "The establishment of such a level of prices as will render intensive farming possible; the improvement of the position of the labourer as regards wages, housing, and the amenities of life; and, lastly, the recognition that the ownership of land carries with it a duty to the Community." The book opens with a section entitled "The Policy of the Plough," by "A Free Trader," who pleads for a reconciliation of the interests of the farmer and the State. This can only be secured by larger areas under wheat, and this, again, is only possible by fixing a minimum price for wheat. Mr. Hall thinks that an additional ten million acres could be ploughed at an annual cost in bounties of five millions sterling. This sum would permanently secure our food supply. But there must be no delay. At the close of the war men will be available. "If we hesitate, the demobilised armies will melt away somewhere, certainly not to the land, and agriculture will never again have such an opportunity of redemption. We must take the current when it serves, or lose our ventures." "Free Trader," and Mr. Hall, and their friends, should *at once* secure guarantees from the Government on the subject: a positive specific promise that the Army shall not be demobilised until the agriculture question is placed on a new basis. A promise could be got *now*; later will be too late. The second part of the book deals with the fundamental question of settlement on the land; this is followed by the Minority Report and Mr. Hall's Addenda on Reclamation, a subject of the first and immediate importance.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Lord George Hamilton's "Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections, 1868 to 1885" (John Murray, 1916) are perhaps scarcely so important as one might expect. They contain a good deal of familiar material, and are vitiated by a somewhat acrid party bias. "The mere narrative of the events of these seventeen years," he writes naïvely, "forms a continuous and accumulating indictment of the Pacifist or Manchester School." In other words, a Tory Imperialist naturally looks at things through the spectacles of Tory Imperialism. "The mere narrative" presented in these pages will hardly anticipate the calm verdict of history. If, however, we make allowance for this complacency, we shall find passages of value, and anecdotes and portraits of interest. The real hero of the book—for Lord George is quite free from personal vanity—is Disraeli, who started him on his career, and gave him the kindly encouragement, and occasionally the criticism, which are so helpful to the budding politician. The villain of the piece is, of course, Gladstone, whom the author pursues through every chapter with curious rancour. Lord Derby is also a *bête noire*. There is a striking picture of Lord Cairns as a speaker, beginning with apparent platitudes, and proceeding to "a great encircling movement" till his opponent was "hopelessly netted." Interesting, too, is the account of Delane entering the lobby. "No pope or autocrat could have shown a more lofty condescension to his subordinates. What annoyed me was not so much his assumption of superiority, but the

"grovelling sycophancy with which it was accepted." A reader knowing how to skip may thus find some pleasure and profit in this volume.

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Mr. Frank B. F. Major and Mr. Edward W. Edsall have edited a work by Mr. Cecil Balfour Phipson, entitled "The True Cause of the Commercial Difficulties of Great Britain" (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 2s. 6d. net), in which the proposition is put forward that the internationalisation of gold has really destroyed Free Trade, and that Free Trade can only be restored by issuing Treasury Notes as the only legal tender. If this were so, it is argued, payment for exported goods would either be in goods or Treasury Notes, and the latter having only a value here would have to be cashed here in goods; and hence all goods would be bought in goods, and thus we should have Protection without Tariffs: "for sellers to us would create buyers from us." It is not easy to have patience with this type of argument, which, in fact, ascribes real or absolute value to money. Money is only of value as measured by goods, and there appears for this reason to be very little in the argument put forward by the editors of this book.

* * *

"Oxford" (Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 3s. net), by Miss Dorothea Hamilton Fyfe, is a volume that describes in very useful detail, and with real charm of manner, the twenty-one Colleges and the one Hall (St. Edmund) of the eldest of the English Universities. Miss Hamilton Fyfe regards Balliol and University as older foundations than Merton, though, of course, not older as incorporated colleges. This is really not true of University College, a House that was founded in 1327 out of funds left to the University in 1249. In the case of Balliol College, we have a hostel in 1266, eight years before the formal incorporation of Merton, but the body of scholars that were incorporated in 1274 had an earlier existence. It is not possible here to do more than draw attention to this record of the men and the sacred places that make up the immemorial tradition associated with the name of Oxford, a record made additionally effective by the charming illustrations contributed by Mr. L. Russell Conway.

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We must record the publication of Volumes III. and IV. of Professor G. Baldwin Brown's work on "The Arts in Early England" (John Murray, 21s. net each volume). By an oversight this important work has not been recorded there, and it is late in the day to do more than commend to antiquarian and archæological students these volumes dealing with "Saxon Art and Industry in the Pagan Period." The collation of the material is of extraordinary value, and the illustrations are of great use. To the local antiquarian the book is indispensable, while to the worker who is elaborating a theory of origin from material the work offers the necessary checks, landmarks, and guides.

** We are asked to state that the article by Mrs. Drew, entitled "Why Need We Be Poisoned?" which appeared in the January issue of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, has been reprinted, and may be obtained at "The Medical Association for the Prevention of Cancer," 153, Brompton Road, S.W. Price 4d.

We are also asked to state that the volume of Country Sketches in War-time, by Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency, entitled "The Never-Ending Road" (reprinted from this Supplement) can be obtained from the Publisher, C. North, The Blackheath Press, London, S.E. Price 1s. 2d., post free. Booksellers can be supplied with a number of copies on special terms if application be made to the publisher.

THE DAYSPRING IN RUSSIA.

NEVER has a revolution been so happy in its opportunity. Naturally, it is welcomed by Liberal opinion of every shade, from the chameleon's compromise to the white radiance of philosophic anarchism. For, as all Liberals can pray, it marks another long stage along the road to Russia's freedom, another sign of collapse in the unwieldy despotism which for more than half-a-century was to us a terror or a horror, further darkened by repeated disappointments of illusive hope. War or no war, we should have welcomed the release of so vast and so intelligent and kindly a people from a servitude under Court, bureaucracy, and police. We who are in this war consciously fighting for freedom, even though at the sacrifice of our own, could not but rejoice to see freedom extended through a wide and distant region, while daily it is assaulted or betrayed at home.

Our joy is a matter of course. The happiness of this revolution's opportunity lies in the welcome it receives from liberty's natural foes. That welcome is due to the war alone. Even in England there have always been people who regarded the Tsardom with admiration and envy. They habitually described the Tsar as the "august Sovereign," and took every occasion to defend or flatter his conduct of affairs, and to excuse the oppression of his reign. They poured contempt upon the prolonged Russian struggle for constitutional and representative government. They assured us the very conception of such government was contrary to Russian nature, and for Russia's ideal they pointed to Pobiedonostseff's "Reflections of a Russian Statesman"—that persuasive handbook to despotism and persecution, framed in the iron-bound brain of the Procurator of the Holy Synod.* They commingled Russian autocracy with the religion of Orthodox ritual, and stood before both in attitudes of mystical adoration. Lest the moujik's pious loyalty to his Tsar and Ikons should be tainted by a breath of Western scepticism, they denounced education as an insinuating poison, and hoped by compulsory ignorance to retain the enchantment of devout simplicity. Inspired by an artistic affection for picturesque survivals, they deprecated any change in the idyllic economics of Russian village life; and, in their terror of disturbing elements, they justified alike "Stolypin's necktie," Siberia, and pogroms. As preservatives of mediæval charm, they were ready to defend the censorship, the secret police, and the filthy provocative agents, who, by suggestion, allured unwary indignation to

* *Reflections of a Russian Statesman.* Translated by R. C. Long. (Grant, Richards: 1898.)

its doom. With the same obscurantist intention, they made light of the bureaucrat's corruption, and of the incompetence, rigidity, or waste associated with all officialdom.

Since the origin of the Entente, so strongly encouraged by Edward VII. and Sir Edward Grey, the æsthetic or reactionary admirers of the Russian system have, naturally, increased in number. After the outbreak of war, criticism of them or of that system was rightly regarded as inexpedient, and even disloyal to the Alliance. Yet it soon became evident that the charge of disloyalty to the Alliance would lie rather against the system than against its critics. The Russian people as a whole, it is true, and especially the educated classes, threw themselves into the struggle against Prussianism with zeal. There is little affinity between the races, less than between either of them and ourselves. Under the despotism in Russia (that land of violent contradictions) there subsists a spirit of freedom, constantly in rebellion against the dictates of external authority. Not in England, still less in Germany, is social intercourse so free, and speculation or criticism upon every subject of human interest so unfettered. An almost brotherly sense of equality pervades all classes, and fraternity is more than a watchword. In the midst of a social liberty, equally surprising and delightful, I have often been reminded of the Frenchwoman who said she had found liberty nowhere but in the Bastille.

Partly, I suppose, it was a common danger risked for a common cause which drew people together. But the sense for freedom and equality—the refusal to be chafed by commonplace restrictions or the distinctions of class—springs from some tendency deeply rooted in the Russian nature. In Russians there seems implanted a tendency always strongly divergent from the German's ready submissiveness to command, and unprotesting acceptance of authority. "The Germans are such a good people," Queen Victoria used to write in those idyllic days of matrimonial alliances, and by "good" she meant unquestioningly obedient to their born superiors. She could never have called the Russians good. And the distinction is seen in the trivial uses of every day. "Are we Germans that we should watch the clock?" the guests will say when dinner is an hour or two late. In the Baltic Provinces, where the landowning and richer classes are chiefly German by descent and language, one finds no inclination to exchange Russian for German rule, hard though the Tsardom has often made their lot. "We could not endure," they say, "to be told every other minute not to spit or not to look out of the window."

Besides, if you are to be over-governed anyhow, there is always a better chance of personal liberty under an inefficient government

(as the Russian Tsardom and bureaucracy in many points were) than under an efficient government like Germany's. There is better hope of dodging it, or of bribing it, or of slipping through its meshes unnoticed. For all these reasons, no matter how much "intellectuals" or reformers, or Jews, Poles, Letts, Georgians, Ukrainians, and Finns have been persecuted and suppressed, probably nearly all would have chosen to remain under Russian rule rather than be transferred to Germany, and the best or most progressive of them greeted the war with enthusiasm as a prelude to further liberty. The German Government had long hung over Russia as a menace to progressive ideals. When the Tsardom, in 1905, was struggling to suppress the attempted revolution of those days, it was generally, and perhaps truly, believed that the Kaiser offered to bring an army to the Tsar's assistance. Subsequently, it was well known that the Russian Government "reinsured" at Potsdam. After all, an alliance between the Tsardom and Germany was the most natural combination in Europe. The danger of it was held like a sword over France whenever Russia demanded another loan or an increase in French military preparations. Very likely the alliance of the two despots would have been concluded if both had not happened to desire the same object (namely, Constantinople, with its routes by sea and land), and if, three years ago, the Russian writer's saying that the road to Constantinople lay through Berlin had not passed current in both countries.

In the autumn of 1914, eager to join in a contest against the Power which by instinct as by policy stood opposed to Russia's tardy and hampered progress, the Russian exiles, defiant of legal danger, hurried home. Surely such a war would itself serve for amnesty and oblivion! When the most powerful armies of history threatened the frontiers, a Russian might surely find some part in their defence, and offer his life to the country in whose ultimate service he had already sacrificed the finest values of life! Such a returning exile was deeply disappointed. Patriotism availed him nothing. He was flung again into gaol, or if he lurked in concealment, he might from his hiding-place perceive "dark forces" at work upon the background of his country's fate. Like a shepherd who sees, or thinks he has seen, the moon among clouds, he might dimly discern a beautiful and Imperial form moving through obscure and intimate intrigues to succour the enemy from whose race she sprang. He might dimly discern the sanctified Hercules, demigod of sensuality, receiving a fashionable crowd whose equipages lined the broad Prospekt at his door, bestowing State contracts and appointments with favour calculated in terms of wealth or beauty, and at night stalking through palatial bed-chambers, admitted by his office as religious keeper to watch the tiny lamps burning before the holy pictures on the wall—lamps

which illuminated other rites beside religion's. Or he might see piles of notes rustling into outstretched hands, and hear subsequently that ration trains had arrived empty at the front, that loads of ammunition from England had mysteriously disappeared in rivers, or found their way to China instead of Poland. Or he might see the powerful Minister of Interior slinking away to the Finland station, bound for Stockholm, there to confer with German diplomatists upon the advantages of a separate peace.

Far from accepting a joyful union of all opinions and races in Russia for the single object of the war, the Tsardom continued and increased its customary persecution of opinion and race. The police, actual rulers of Russia as of Germany, retained their powers and exercised their habitual methods of espionage and provocation. Finland was still further deprived of the liberties sworn to her on solemn oath by Nicholas and his fathers for a century past. Jews, Ukrainians, and Poles were exposed to violence and brutality surpassing the imagination even of students in pogroms. The top of the climax in reaction was nearly reached when, on returning from a brief holiday last July, the honourable and moderate Sazonoff found a telegram announcing his dismissal by the Tsar. Under Stürmer, next appointed, German by name and sympathy, the intrigues of bureaucratic treachery grew more complicated. At his side stood the ill-omened names of Makaroff, Khvostoff, and Protopopoff, Minister of Interior. For nearly four months they had paralysed the national endeavour when, in November, the Duma met, and Miliukoff, the experienced and cautious leader of the "Cadets," with extraordinary courage dragged to light the "dark forces in the highest circles," asked whether it was through stupidity or malignity that the Government was bringing ruin on the country, and denounced them for frittering away the power of the Allies and conspiring for a secret peace.

For this speech (a full report of which was not allowed to reach foreign countries)* he was threatened with prosecution, but Stürmer fell. Trepoff, an honest nonentity, reigned in his stead, but Protopopoff remained Minister of Interior. For about six weeks Trepoff clung to his office, and two events marked his term of power last December. Having published the agreement of France and England that Russia "had a right" to Constantinople,

* A considerable extract from this speech has, however, been published in the *Manchester Guardian* of March 19th, from which one may quote the following passage:—

"We have lost our faith in this Government ever being able to lead us to victory. . . . The gulf between it and us has become greater than ever, and is now practically unbridgeable. We did appeal not a year ago to the intelligence of the Government. We appealed to its patriotism and good faith. Can we do so now? In the French Yellow-book on the war there is a German document setting out the rules how an enemy country can best be disorganised and made the prey of unrest and disorders. Gentlemen, if our Government had deliberately undertaken such a task, or if the Germans had wanted to use, for the same purpose, their influence or money, they could not have done it better than has been done by our own Government."

the Tsar, in answer to Mr. Wilson's Peace Conference Note, proclaimed Russia's refusal to negotiate till she had "regained" the Imperial City and command of the Straits. One December night also, Rasputin, the ecclesiastical sensualist, disappeared from life, apparently for the last time. The midnight feast, the murdered man enjoying it, the pistol shots, the blood marks on the Neva snow, the square hole cut in the river's ice (like the holes in which Russian women souse their washing), the charge against a royal prince, who disdained even to answer it—such an episode in history reads like an old Italian tale.

But neither honesty nor nonentity, nor the claim to Constantinople, nor Rasputin's murder could save Trepoff from the customary fall. Golitzin, a nonentity without adjective, succeeded him early in this year, but Protopopoff remained Minister of Interior. Within a fortnight, the extreme reactionary, Shtcheglovitoff, was appointed President of the Council of Empire (very roughly corresponding to our House of Lords). General Shuvaieff, whose declaration of adherence to the Duma had raised him to natural popularity, was superseded as Minister of War by General Beliaieff, whose reactionary nature was further tainted by suspicion of swindling the Army supplies. The meeting of the Duma was suddenly postponed for a month, and the Municipal elections in Moscow were cancelled by a stroke of Protopopoff's pen. Already he had dissolved the Union of Zemstvos in the same city.

It is tempting to compare Municipalities and Zemstvos with our Borough and County Councils, but the standing of the Zemstvos has been higher, and their activities, especially during this war, far more varied. Until the election of the first Duma in 1906, the Zemstvos were the one symbol of self-government, the one expression of public will. In the second year of his reign (1895) the ex-Tsar Nicholas II. flouted a deputation of the Zemstvos which petitioned for reforms. "You are carried away," he told them, "by senseless dreams of sharing in our internal government," and in those words he laid upon his reign a far worse omen than were the stifled crowds crushed to death upon the plain outside Moscow at his coronation. In November, 1904, and again in September, 1905, it was the Zemstvos, led by the Princes Peter and Sergius Troubetzkoy, of Moscow, who placed before the Tsar the demands on which the October Manifesto of 1905 was based. And during the present war, the labour of the Zemstvos in organising ambulances, shelters, and food for the soldiers in the marshes or snow of the front has saved thousands of Russian lives. Let us imagine Mr. Lloyd George suddenly dissolving the County Councils, the Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance Societies, and the Y.M.C.A. The effect of a dissolution of the Zemstvos would be much the same.

After the death of Count Benckendorff, late Russian Ambassador in London, a strange note, the publication of which seemed yet more strange, was allowed to appear in our newspapers. Writing during the *Stürmer régime* early in the winter, that generous-hearted and sagacious Ambassador hinted at "some mysterious kind of mental aberration in Petrograd." "Stürmer seems," he said, "to have sworn to kill all faith that Europe could place in Russia." And, in conclusion, "every mail from Petrograd plunges me deeper into dismal pessimism." Would that he had lived to see Monday, March the 12th!

We may now understand why this revolution was so peculiarly happy in its opportunity—why it was so freely welcomed, not only by such Liberals in England as retain some shadow of enthusiasm for liberty, but by the whole country, by politicians of every party, and even by popular newspapers. Gradually we have had revealed to us a welter of cross-purposes and subterranean intrigues—the "dark forces" of Royalty influenced by relationships, of bureaucrats terrified of losing their bureaus, of governors terrified at freedom, of Society trading in contracts, archbishops and monks trading in religion, and a police trading in the prison cell. All these powers of darkness, induced by motives so various except in their common selfishness, conspired to drag the Russian State in one direction only. That direction pointed to a half-hearted and unsuccessful conduct of the war, and a treacherous, undermining arrangement with the enemy apart from the Allies. Had they succeeded, the whole of Germany's remaining forces could have been turned to secure the destruction of France, a permanent annexation of Belgium, a permanent dominance over Constantinople and the Straits. Militarism would then, indeed, have claimed its own justification. We in England should have been overcome by the militarist ideal, not merely as we are now overcome by it in a form which all of us, except a few excitable gentlemen past military age, hope to be a passing phase in our civilised history. For simple self-defence we should then have been compelled to adopt militarism in its extreme and barbarian rigour for generations to come. No wonder that many even among those who, in ordinary times, sympathise least with popular movements and the overthrow of monarchs, hailed this revolution as a triumph for ourselves.

It is absurd to prophesy, but if only the revolution continues on its way without internal division certain effects upon the enemy seem probable and near. The German General Staff must abandon the hope of clearing their Eastern front either through Russian slackness or a separate peace. Rage at the inefficiency or corruption in army supply, and at the consequent useless slaughter of youth, was one of the motive forces in the Russian movement, and,

which it is to collapse, the new Government must press the war harder than the Government which it supplants has well pressed it. In the German Government's heart there will also arise the fear of revolutionary war. It is true that Germans are usually a "good" people—obedient to authority, and the easiest race to govern in Europe. It is quite possible that the new German Kaiser is determined, the more he will be honoured and supported. But still—"Prussian Disobedience," as our fathers would have quoted. When we were a nation we would call for no Prussian aid, and even in Germany there are elements which might catch alight. Perhaps most significant part of all to German rulers is the evidence that a contemptible army cannot always be depended upon for maintaining order.

If you separate soldiers from the people, pay them well, and dress them fine, Prussian Guards or Swiss will shoot their muskets as though a wall of iron, though the wall is made of paper, or stand defenceless to the death. On most occasions all men in uniform will do the same. How often one has heard revolutionists protest that the troops would "fraternise," and how often one has seen the emperor's face light. When, in December, 1905, I was present at the unveiling and attempted unveiling of the Monument, the expression was strong. The army, said one man, "The army will fraternise!" Yet I knew only those soldiers who faced the revolutionists, and the Royal Regiment, whose allegiance to the Tsar had been unpermanently wiped off the honourable registers by the violence of its loyalty. But here in Petrograd, where my name, as one of the few, that of the Guards, went over in the popular cause, officers and all. It was not, as the first instance, merely a military rising, like the Young Turk, it was very largely a social rising, a hunger revolution. Yet the army was overthrown by the army appears to have gone over almost completely, and the defeated police with their machine-guns were left to fight alone. To the most loyal of German authority such a portent may strike home.

But though, for once, the troops did "fraternise," the revolution was not entirely a military rising, and it is doubtful whether, on Friday, the 26th, the army was even aware of its coming. Satisfaction and indignation, no doubt, existed in all ranks, but at least equal anger and indignation permeated the working classes. They had stood in queue for hours, waiting for food which never came. They suspected that food was deliberately withheld in order to cause a riot. They suspected that the whole Government had conspired itself into an enormous pro-war expenditure, and getting to work for the purpose of securing assistance. At the close of working hours the 26th, the detailed accounts of that Friday had not appeared, but from the published diary of the Times corres-

pondent, beginning on the following Monday, it is evident that the first popular outbreak took place on Friday, and that the troops continued their attempts to quell it till Monday afternoon, when they began to come over by regiments. The date coincides with the Duma's refusal to obey the Tsar's order postponing their meetings for another two months, and one must suppose that but for the decisive resolution of Rodzianko, as President of the Duma, supported by Prince Lvoff (the President of the Zemstvos Union), by Miliukoff (the Cadet), Gutchkoff (the Octobrist), and by Kerensky and Cheidze (Labour leaders—the latter a Georgian), the army would have been at a loss for what Government to declare, and would probably have continued its service to the Tsardom. The credit of the movement belongs partly to the working classes, who could endure their sufferings and rage no longer, but came out into the streets to make the final protest with their lives; partly it belongs to the army, who risked all in following their natural sympathies; but chiefly, perhaps, it belongs to the leaders of the Duma, cautious and moderate men, who, in spite of caution and moderation, displayed the highest courage and enterprise in seizing the bright occasion as it hurried past, and directing it to the noblest and most perilous course.

It is a perilous course, and we are still far from seeing safety at the end. All who have come in touch with Russian politics know the dangers of the Russian nature—its belief in words, its casual ways, its formlessness and want of method, its godlike indifference to time and space. But in the practice of politics its greatest danger is division. Next to the Poles, I suppose the Russians are more liable to splits and divisions than any other Europeans, and the diversity of their religious sects is a proof of it. In 1905, as now, the revolution demanded a Constituent Assembly, and the rights of free speech, free press, free meeting, and free association (for trade unions and strikes), together with political amnesty. By the general strike all this might have been gained. It was on the point of being gained when the reforming parties fell out among themselves—Octobrists against Cadets, Social Democrats against Social Revolutionaries—the two latter hating each other on points of abstract doctrine more bitterly than they hated the Tsardom, which stood ready to hang both indifferently with concrete ropes well soaped to slip easily into the "necktie's" shape. So at the present moment, it is evidently again the doctrinaire who endangers success. Especially, one may expect danger to arise from the Social Democrat doctrinaire, always so rigid in his theories, so satisfied with the pure milk of the Marxian word, and so puffed up with his one fixed idea that no other finds room to penetrate his head. There he always stands as a well-intentioned block in the path of possible advance, the conscious embodiment of narrow

rectitude, the type of acrid and impracticable unreason, refusing freedom unless it comes "all at once and all o'er," as the poet mistakenly believed the water to come down at Lodore.

Another danger might arise from an exaggeration of the very service which is so justly welcomed by all parties among the Allies. So long as war lasts, the new Government is rightly resolved to carry it forward with vigour, to check corruption in Army supplies, and stamp down secret dealings with the enemy. But Professor Miliukoff is now Foreign Minister, and that able and learned man, so careful and even wily an Opportunist in directing his own Constitutional Democrats for the last twelve years, becomes a Russian Chauvinist of extreme type when he looks abroad. During his visit to England last summer, he boldly announced a programme of Russian conquest in this war. In February, he repeated it in his paper, the *Ryetch*. By that programme Russia is to continue the war till she has won, for her own possession, Constantinople, the whole coast of the Black Sea, and both sides of the Dardanelles, with the right of fortifying the Straits against all comers. Other items in the design involve the entire destruction and dismemberment of Austria in a ruin even more complete than Turkey's. Such a programme implies, in the first place, an indefinite prolongation of the war and of exhausted Europe's agony. Professor Miliukoff said he expected the war to continue for many years (I think he mentioned ten, as a good round number). But worse than the continuation of the war is the likelihood (one may almost say the certainty) that the distant peace would not be final. The bar laid across the natural route both to Persia and India, the conversion of the Black Sea into an impenetrable Russian lake, the racial antagonism of disconnected and unfederated little States carved out of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and becoming the object of Russian and German and Italian intrigue, as the Balkan States have so long been—here are seeds of future wars enough to complete the extermination of civilised existence. Let us rather hope that Professor Miliukoff, now in responsible office, will take to heart the lesson implied in a clause which I quote from his own separate Manifesto (published on St. Patrick's Day):—

"Russia did not will the war which has been drenching the world with blood already for nearly three years. But, victim of premeditated aggression, prepared long ago, she will continue, as in the past, to struggle against the spirit of conquest of a predatory race, which has aimed at establishing an intolerable hegemony over its neighbours, and subjecting twentieth-century Europe to the shame of the domination of Prussian militarism."

We in Europe want no more of the spirit of conquest, no more

of predatory races, whether German or Russian. If peace ever returns, all Europe's time for two generations will be engaged in efforts to repair the incalculable evil inflicted by the spirit of conquest and the predatory Powers. Nor do we wish the cause of the Allies, so generous in its inception, to suffer degradation through self-seeking motives of separate aggrandisement, either in ourselves or in the ally to whom we turn now with fresh confidence and unaffected cordiality. The consciousness which, in the case of many Englishmen, lay like a blight upon such enthusiasm and hope as we might have felt about the war—the chilling consciousness that we were compelled to fight for human liberty in league with the foulest despotism of police and officials then surviving upon earth—has now at last been dissipated. We have escaped from it as from a prison. We breathe free air again, and can contemplate our Alliance without hidden thoughts and reservations.

When first the signs of the Entente became apparent (in 1906 and 1907), foreboding filled many, lest Russia should prove a millstone round our necks, an executioner to our country's spiritual greatness. Now the millstone has fallen off; the shadow of the executioner is withdrawn. Full of fears we must still remain—we who witnessed the bright scenes of hope twelve years ago, when rich and poor, learned and simple, soldier and civilian, embraced upon the Russian streets (as Russians embrace upon Easter Day) because the dayspring of liberty had visited even Russia at the last. We must be full of fears who watched these bright hopes fade into apathetic darkness. But our present fears are those of a lover or a child, and gloomy apprehensions of a ruin which might befall our own free nature are now transformed into the passionate apprehensions which always haunt affection. Let us take heart. At the opening of the first Duma in 1906, as one passed from the presence of the Tsar in the Winter Palace to the assembly of members in the Tauris Parliament House, the prisoners in the dismal Kresty gaol could be seen waving towels and handkerchiefs from their grated cell-windows. "Do not forget us!" they cried to our procession. "Do not forget us, we implore you!" They were not forgotten, but appeals for their amnesty remained unanswered. Now the Kresty prisoners are released. The building is described as a blackened ruin, to be preserved like other memorials of conquered tyranny. The "Marseillaise," freedom's cosmopolitan anthem, is again heard upon the streets, and it is freedom's hope that the Russian army will sing it still as the troops march home from the conclusion of their warfare into peace.

AN INDIAN CATECHISM.

FOR THE BRITISH ELECTOR.

IN the near future India's claim for a safe and reasonable advance towards self-government within the British Empire, will come before this country for decision; and it is of vital importance that the true bearing of the case should be generally understood. Fortunately, there is nothing in the facts that may not be understood of the people; for, however intricate the details of Indian administration may appear to the lay mind, the real issue is simple: the question is, whether, against the protest of united India, we should enforce a system of bureaucratic government, alien to British principles of freedom and progress; thereby alienating affection, and stimulating unrest; or, whether, reciprocating the goodwill and trust made manifest to the world by India in this crisis of our history, we should satisfy the reasonable expectations of a law-abiding and peace-loving people, thereby consolidating India, with her vast resources, as a tower of strength for the British Empire?

The main points for decision may conveniently be indicated in the form of a dialogue, between an enquiring British working man, and "Indophile," a person of experience in Indian affairs, who is in sympathy with Indian aspirations.

BRITISH WORKING MAN—*Question No. 1*: The British people recognise their responsibility for the good government of India, and have every desire to redress grievances; but they have little opportunity of learning the facts. We hear of "unrest" in India, and stringent measures of repression; and we desire to know the cause of this unrest, and its remedy. It appears that according to Indian opinion the remedy is to be found in granting to India a liberal share in the management of her own affairs. Further, we are informed that a Deputation of Indian leaders is coming to England, in order to lay their case before the British Government, and the British people. Can you tell me what are the merits of India's claim?

"INDOPHILE"—*Answer No. 1*: India's claim is, in its nature, a "Petition of Rights," addressed to the British nation as the High Court of the Empire; and her case may be briefly summarised in the following propositions:—(a) That by reason alike of their ancient civilisation, and their modern educational developments, the people of India are specially qualified to manage their own affairs; and the claim now put forward, on behalf of a united India,

for an effective advance towards self-government within the Empire, deserves the most favourable consideration of the British people; (b) That the British connection has been highly beneficial in the past, by protecting India from external aggression, by maintaining internal order, by promoting unity among the various races, and by opening the way to further progress; but in the course of years, far-reaching changes have been developed in India's relations to the Empire, so that a system of government by foreign officials, operating through great centralised departments, has ceased to be suitable to Indian conditions; and the time has come for a well-considered measure of progressive reform, which will bring the administration into harmony with modern requirements; (c) That the claim for reform is based upon successive Royal Proclamations, and upon a direct pledge, given in Parliament with unanimous assent, that there will now be "a new angle of vision" in dealing with Indian affairs.

Question No. 2: Taking the first point, what are the political and social conditions which specially qualify India for self-government? British India is said to contain over 250 millions of inhabitants. Will it not be a task of practical difficulty to organise self-government for so vast a population?

Answer No. 2: Assuming good-will, there is no real difficulty, whether we look to the masses of the population, the educated class, or the hereditary aristocracy. The frame-work of settled government, as affecting the units of administration—the Village, the District, and the Province—is familiar to the Indian people from long ages; and their instincts are in favour of peace and orderly progress. For an advance, therefore, in self-government, no new official mechanism is required. All that is needed is to restore Indian organisation and develop Indian resources.

Taking, first, the masses of the people, it must be borne in mind that the urban population is comparatively small. In India there are few large cities, and four-fifths of the whole population are grouped in about half a million village communities, in size like an English parish; little self-governing republics, which have been the admiration alike of the historian and the economist. Sir Charles Trevelyan, a former Governor of Madras, in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1873, dwelt upon the extreme importance of these rural municipalities, and explained how by ancient habitude the Indian peasantry are specially fitted for the management of their own rustic affairs: "The foundation of "Indian society," he said, "is the village municipality; that has "been the salvation of India. One foreign conqueror after another "has swept over India, but the village municipalities have stuck "to the soil like their own *Kusa* grass, which they liken it to; it "is a kind of grass which it is impossible to tear up by the roots,

“because it grows in bunches, and they say that the village constitution is like that grass.” The Indian village has thus for centuries remained a bulwark against political disorder, and the home of the simple domestic and social virtues, conservative in the best sense of the word. Working under their natural leaders, the villagers can manage, in their humble way, every department of business required for their local wants:—land revenues, civil justice, police, communal forests and pastures, irrigation, public charity—all these were in the old times excellently well administered by the Patel or Head Man, acting according to custom, and with the advice of the village elders; and carrying out his orders through the hereditary village servants. In order to be prosperous and happy, all that the village communities ask from the central power is to be protected from external violence; to be taxed in moderation, and according to custom; and to be let alone in the management of their internal affairs. Unfortunately, this last condition, to let well alone, is incompatible with an active official administration, framed on European models, and operating from distant headquarters through highly centralised Departments. These Departments (their name is legion)—Police, Forest, Excise, Public Works, Salt, Opium, Survey, Irrigation, Registration, Vaccination, and so forth—enforce their cast-iron regulations by means of a swarm of ill-paid and hungry subordinates, who dominate the villages, coercing the village authorities, and making the ryot’s life a burden to him. So far, therefore, from needing any new official mechanism, the first requirement is to emancipate the villages from the yoke of the Departments. All Executive authority should be withdrawn from the Departmental subordinates, the management of the village affairs being restored to the decent villagers themselves, working under the supervision of the District administration. In his Famine Report, Sir James Caird, an expert of the highest authority, describes the system of the village community as “the sheet anchor of Indian statecraft.” And, more recently, Lord Morley’s Decentralisation Commission have shown how, on the secure foundation of the village community, an efficient representative administration may be built up for the District and the Province.

Next, as to the educated class. No one can doubt the extraordinary ability and moral grit of the Indian Intellectuals, who can send their sons 6,000 miles, over the “black water,” to England, to compete successfully, in a foreign language, with the pick of British candidates. When in China many years ago, being myself among the early “Competition-Wallahs,” I visited with interest the buildings at Canton in which were conducted the competitions (literary and physical) for admission into the hierarchy of the Mandarins; and on learning the particulars, the question forcibly

suggested itself : " Had I been sent here to compete in the Chinese " language, what would my chances have been ? " This reflection made one realise what it meant for an Indian to become a Senior Wrangler at Cambridge, and in London to head the list of candidates for the Indian Civil Service. So much for educational proficiency ; and as regards administrative capacity, experience has proved the efficiency of the distinguished Indians who have held high and responsible office under the British Government, whether as members of the Viceregal and Provincial Executive and Legislative Councils, or as Judges of the High Courts of Judicature. In no case has public opinion questioned their high standard of excellence ; and when a further move is made towards self-government, there will be a still wider choice of men trusted by the people for their learning and integrity.

Lastly, India has her Royal Houses, and her ancient aristocracy, which in past times produced rulers like Asoka and Akbar the Great, and administrators like Todar Mull and Nana Farnavis. In modern times, the Ruling Princes in their own territories have been the pioneers of progress, affording an object lesson and example to the British Government by organising representative assemblies, and granting to their people free and compulsory elementary education.

Question No. 3 : Next, as to the Deputation which India proposes sending to England. What will be its credentials, and programme ? And how will it proceed to lay its case before the people of this country ?

Answer No. 3 : The initiative has come from the Indian National Congress, the great representative organisation which for the last thirty years has voiced the feelings and aspirations of the Indian people. At its thirtieth annual session, held in 1915 at Bombay, under the presidency of Sir S. P. Sinha, the All-India Congress Committee was authorised to frame a scheme for Indian self-government within the British Empire ; and to confer with a Committee of the All-India Moslem League, with a view to joint action. The outcome of the Conference has been a complete agreement between the leaders of the two great Indian communities ; and a Joint Committee was appointed with power to make all the arrangements necessary to promote the cause of self-government. It is under the instructions of this Joint Committee that, when peace is within sight, the Deputation of Indian leaders will proceed to London in order to plead the cause of united India. As regards procedure in England, it may be presumed that the first approach will be made to the Home Government as represented by the Secretary of State for India. It is understood that the Government are already prepared to make a certain advance, on the lines of the Morley-Minto reforms, in accordance with the policy of Lord Hardinge, who advocated Provincial autonomy, with a gradual

transfer of authority from the official body to the representatives of the people. There seems, therefore, reason to hope that the Government, in conference with India's representatives, will be able to prepare, and place before Parliament, proposals for such constitutional reforms as will satisfy the Indian people, and be in conformity with British principles of freedom and progress. At the same time, it is possible that the Government may not see its way at once to grant all that Indian opinion considers essential. It is therefore suggested that if the Government proposals do not come up to India's expectations, the Government offer should be accepted as an instalment, the points of difference being reserved for submission to Parliament, on the report of a Parliamentary Committee, with a view to further legislation.

Question No. 4: Are there not classes in India out of sympathy with the Congress programme?

Answer No. 4: Yes. There are the Extremists of the national party, political and religious idealists, who believe that the presence of foreigners is a profanation of Mother India's sacred soil. These men, swayed by race prejudice, wish to get rid of foreigners altogether, and are hostile to Congress measures of reform, as tending to reconcile malcontents to British rule. These Extremists for the most part are young men, who have broken away from the control of their elders; and, representing a party of physical force, they have attempted military risings in certain parts of the country. Such attempts have been promptly put down; the action of the authorities being followed by repressive legislation of increased severity, arming the police with exceptional powers, and superseding the ordinary courts by special tribunals. These measures have been successful in quelling open resistance. But, on the other hand, they cannot be regarded as the right antidote for the poison in the body politic. On the contrary, irresistible military and police repression drives the disease below the surface, where it generates secret conspiracy, leading to brigandage and assassination.

Besides these declared revolutionaries, who are comparatively few in number, there is a considerable class, who are sometimes called extremists, but who are far less extreme in their views and objects. They see the hopelessness of physical force, and disapprove of outrage. Further, they agree more or less with the Congress aims as regards self-government; but they deny the efficacy of Congress methods, which depend on argument and memorials: they call this a "Mendicant policy"; and decry the results obtained by the Congress labours of thirty years. They advocate the boycott, and passive resistance, so as to make the existing system of official administration difficult, if not impossible; maintaining that the British Government never yields to mere

reason and persuasion, and that this is the only way to obtain the attention of the British Democracy to the grievances from which India is suffering.

There is undoubted difficulty in dealing with both these classes of non-contents. But the wise course is to follow the advice of Lord Morley, when he said, " Rally the Moderates " !—that is strengthen the hands of our best friends, who still retain their faith in our justice and wisdom. To allay excitement and distrust, Government action is needed on broad lines of statesmanship. An authoritative pronouncement should, without delay, be made public, declaring that self-government for India within the Empire, is the ultimate goal of British policy; and at the same time cordial response should be made to the healthy and patriotic desire of Indians to share in the Empire's defence, as good comrades, and on equal terms; a response accompanied by such practical marks of trust and goodwill as will appeal to the imagination of the younger men, and bring them back to a happier view of India's future.

Question No. 5: As regards opinion in this country, from what quarter does opposition come; and what are the pleas put forward against India's claim for a reasonable share in the management of her own affairs?

Answer No. 5: In England, the Indian claim for an advance towards self-government necessarily clashes with powerful class interests. We cannot expect that the proposed reform will be welcomed by those who now enjoy a practical monopoly of official power and emoluments; but it is hoped that the rank and file of the Indian Civil Service will not, in this matter, be led astray by the Anglo-Indian Extremists who, in Parliament and the Press, support class privilege, and appeal to race prejudice. The details of the scheme entrusted to the Deputation may not as yet have been matured, but the main desiderata have been foreshadowed in the Memorandum submitted to the Viceroy by the nineteen independent Indian members of his Legislative Council, and to these proposals bureaucratic Extremists have already declared unqualified resistance, objecting even to the hearing of the case, and demanding imperiously that such proposals shall be " promptly and finally " rejected." But those who would refuse to India the blessings of self-government—blessings which we value so highly for ourselves—will have to reckon with the British Democracy, who have little sympathy with class privilege or race prejudice, and will not consent to India being exploited for the benefit of a small group of highly paid officials.

Further, the British people, in giving effect to vital principles of government, cannot blow both hot and cold, enforcing in the East what we reprobate in the West. On this point the

Bishop of Madras uttered a timely warning in his article on "India after the War," in the *Nineteenth Century* of last August, pointing out that if it is wrong for Germany to impose her system of bureaucratic rule on unwilling nations, equally wrong is it for England to enforce such a system upon India against the will of the Indian people: "We cannot," he says, "fight for one set of principles in Europe, and then apply "another set of principles in India." And as a matter of British history and experience, bureaucratic rule has always proved a failure. Through bureaucratic ineptitude we lost the United States of America; and it was only by the grant of self-government that our great colonies were preserved to us. Now, the merest common sense demands that we should extend to India's peace-loving, intelligent, and loyal population a generous measure of that self-government which, under circumstances of difficulty and discord, brought peace and brotherhood to Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

You have further enquired, what are the arguments put forward by the opponents of India's claim? Originally, it was urged that self-government could not be granted because it was not desired by the Mahomedan community, but this plea fell to the ground, and was abandoned, when the All-India Moslem League gave its cordial support to the Congress proposals. Now, in support of the present system, a new and curious claim is brought forward, viz., that the permanent Civil Service, manned by foreigners, is a better friend of the masses, and understands the ryot's requirements better, than the Indian National Congress, whose members are elected freely, in all the provinces of India, by every caste and creed. Cogent proof is required to establish so fantastic a proposition. But as a matter of fact, the evidence is all the other way; for the two great calamities from which the Indian masses are suffering, are destitution and illiteracy; and a reference to the public records will show that the practical schemes for relief have come from the Congress side, and the opposition in each case from the official body. Thus, for the relief of the ryot from his hopeless indebtedness to the moneylender, schemes were matured by educated India for Agricultural Banks and Arbitration Courts; but after a prolonged struggle, extending to debates in the House of Commons these proposals were crushed by the authorities. Even enquiry into the facts of the ryot's condition was refused, as in the case of the Indian Famine Union, whose memorial to the Government demanded an economic enquiry in typical famine villages; although the memorial was supported by the signatures of Archbishops and Bishops, Members of both Houses of Parliament (including an ex-Viceroy), Mayors and Provosts of great cities, Heads of Colleges, and the Chairmen of Chambers of

Commerce and County Councils. Then, as regards any official claim to be apostles of enlightenment to the Indian masses, we have the crucial case of Mr. Gokhale's Bill for free and compulsory elementary education, which was supported by the independent Indian members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, but was refused a second reading by the official majority. Surely here it was the educated Indians who showed themselves the good Samaritans towards the masses; for what can be a more piteous figure than the agricultural labourer in India—landless and untaught:

“ Bowed with the weight of centuries, he leans
Upon his hoe, and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.”

Question No. 6: Do you maintain that the members of the Civil Service have failed in their duty to the people of India?

Answer No. 6: No; I have no complaint against the *personnel* of the permanent Civil Service. So far as these public servants have truly been servants of the public, their record has been excellent. There has not, I believe, existed in any country a public service more capable, industrious, and trustworthy; and in times of war, pestilence, and famine, they have shown a devotion beyond praise. The complaint is not against the men, but against the system, which has placed them in a false position, making them masters where they should be servants. An *Imperium in Imperio* has thus been created at Simla; so that the permanent Civil Service, a privileged foreign body, with professional interests adverse to Indian aspirations, dominates the administration, and intervenes, as a non-conducting medium, between the goodwill of the British Democracy and the reasonable claims of the Indian people.

This bureaucratic dominance depends for its authority on Clause 3 of the India Act of 1861 (24 and 25 Victoria, c. 67), which provides that three out of five ordinary members of the Viceroy's Executive Council are to be appointed from among persons who have been at least ten years in the service in India of the Crown; and this provision has been interpreted for the sole benefit of the Covenanted Civil Service; so that the Viceroy's "Cabinet" is unduly dominated by a group of permanent officials who, mainly by virtue of seniority, enter the Executive Council automatically, imbued with the spirit of the great centralised departments, over which they have been accustomed to preside. Under this system a Viceroy, fresh from England, and unfamiliar with the routine of Indian administration, is not in a position to give effect to the policy prescribed by Parliament and the Crown. Further, this mischief of official predominance extends to the India Office at Whitehall, and to the House of Commons; for, by a process of co-option, the

Council of the Secretary of State is regularly recruited from retiring members of the permanent Civil Service; so that the Secretary of State, who rarely has personal experience of Indian affairs, hears only the official side of the case, and is not in a position to decide judicially when exercising his authority in the House of Commons, where he commands a party majority, whatever the political complexion of the Government may be. The simple legislative remedy (a condition precedent to all other reforms) is to withdraw from the official class the exceptional privilege which, half a century ago, was created by Clause 3 under very special circumstances which have long ceased to exist. Such an amendment of the law will bring the Indian Executive into conformity with the settled rule in England—a rule common to all civilised governments—that members of the permanent Civil Service do not enter the Cabinet, but must be content to close their official career as heads of the great Departments, without aspiring to political control.

Question No. 7: If you offer yourself as a witness in support of India's claim, will you state what has been your practical experience of Indian affairs; and what have been your opportunities of knowing the aims and objects of the Indian leaders?

Answer No. 7: Belonging to a family which has served India for three generations, I entered the Civil Service in 1859, and passed through the official mill in the Bombay Presidency, serving in the Revenue and Judicial branches, and in the Secretariat, where, as Chief Secretary, I was in charge of the Political, Judicial, Secret, and Educational Departments. After retirement from the service, I obtained a seat in Parliament, and was elected Chairman of the Indian Parliamentary Committee, which owed its origin to Mr. John Bright, and at one time numbered over 200 members of the House of Commons. On two occasions I had the honour to act as President of the Indian National Congress, being unanimously elected, at Bombay in 1889, and at Allahabad in 1910; and as Chairman in London of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, I have for the last thirty years maintained constant communication with the Indian leaders in the different Provinces, seeking to make known in England the Indian view of Indian affairs. From personal knowledge I can affirm with absolute certainty that the aims and objects of the Indian leaders are simply and solely to promote the welfare of India, to revive her ancient glories, and to obtain for her a worthy place as a partner in a free, tolerant, and progressive British Empire. It is to be hoped that the British people will rise to the height of the occasion. The problem is a simple one: Trust the people; and India will become the biggest asset in the world for the cause of peace on earth and goodwill toward men.

W. WEDDERBURN.

THE DARDANELLES—FIRST PHASE.

THE Interim Report of the Dardanelles Commission is concerned not with the epic story of the deeds of mighty men of valour, which is now one of the noblest heritages of our race and of mankind, but with the controversial issues arising out of the origin and inception of the attack upon the Dardanelles. It brings us full tilt into the arena of the politics of the war—not politics in the old party sense, though some are already trying to use it to serve party ends, but politics in the sense of the problems of the control of war policy. The questions which it sets out to answer are these: For what purpose was the attack on the Dardanelles undertaken? Who were the persons responsible for the policy, and what were their various degrees of responsibility? In what manner did they discharge their responsibilities? And to what extent are they to be praised or blamed?

At the outset certain questions arise, and have already been the subject of much discussion, concerning the form of this document, the propriety of its publication, and the scope of its judgments. These are not questions which are dealt with in the report itself, but in reading the report it is necessary to keep them constantly in mind.

This report is not a record of the facts relating to the origin and inception of the attack on the Dardanelles. It is the record of a series of judgments of ten distinguished gentlemen who approached the subject with open minds. But the facts upon which those judgments have been based are suppressed. The evidence is still a jealously-guarded secret. The Commissioners cheerfully acknowledge that conclusions will vary even among those who have only read the carefully-selected passages from the evidence which have been inserted in the report. It is an interesting event that the Commissioners should have formed certain conclusions, and their conclusions will serve as a cue to many of the public; but the public will ultimately base its own conclusions on the evidence.

The main evidence is suppressed, selected portions of it only are published, and then, to crown all, portions, both of the conclusions and of that selected evidence, have been excised by the Government before publication. The House of Commons and the public, therefore, are deprived not merely of the evidence on which the conclusions are based, but also of portions of the evidence which

had been selected as typical, and even of portions of the conclusions themselves. It is not merely an interim report, but a truncated interim report. Its value, therefore, as a guide to public opinion is considerably diminished.

The motives of the Government in suppressing the evidence, and in excising portions of the selected evidence and of the conclusions, are perfectly intelligible. It would be criminal neglect on the part of any government to permit, at this stage, the publication of any statements which might either convey information of military value to the enemy or lead to controversies which would imperil the solidarity of the Allies. Better to err on the safe side than on the dangerous side.

In these circumstances the question arises whether it was desirable that this report should be published at all in its truncated form at the present time. It was, after all, only an interim report dealing with a small portion of the Commission's enquiry, and it might, with perfect propriety, have been held over till the enquiry was completed. If the conclusions had been published alone, without the selections from the evidence, less objection could have been taken to that course than to the course adopted. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the better course for a strong Government would have been either to have postponed publication of the whole report, or to have published only a list of the conclusions arrived at.

As regards the scope of its judgments, two observations must be made. In the first place, this Report is not concerned with the whole of that magnificent and terrible drama which was enacted in the Dardanelles and on the peninsula of Gallipoli. It is concerned, indeed, with only a very small portion of it. The story which has thrilled and wrung our hearts is the story of the military operations upon Gallipoli, the landings at Cape Helles, Anzac, and Suvla Bay, the magnificent and undaunted attempts to carry by assault the impossible heights of Achi Baba and Chunuk Bair. These operations were protracted for over eight months, and they involved over 200,000 casualties, killed, wounded, and sick. All this is outside the scope of the present report. It is concerned solely with the naval attack upon the Dardanelles, which lasted for one month, which was planned and carried out avowedly by the Navy alone without military assistance, in which the losses, so far as the British forces were concerned, were comparatively insignificant (two obsolete battleships, and 300 men killed and wounded), and which could have been broken off at any time without further entanglement. The attacks on the Dardanelles and on Gallipoli were two separate and distinct operations.

In the second place, if justice is to be done to the statesmen and their naval and military advisers who were responsible for these

operations, it must be remembered that the problem of the Dardanelles was only a portion of a far vaster problem or series of problems. The Dardanelles Commission focuses the lime-light of its enquiry upon a single episode; it leaves out of account the whole background of the world-wide war, the manifold problems, beyond the range of any single human mind for their immensity and their complexity, of the securing of national and international unity, of the transformation of an industrial into a military nation, of the maintenance of the economic foundations of society, of the improvisation of an Army of 5,000,000 men, and of the supply of transport, equipment, and munitions upon an unimagined scale. The Report applies a microscope of critical enquiry upon a specific enterprise which failed to achieve the immediate object towards which it was directed. It ignores, necessarily, the almost miraculous achievement of the Government in other respects, an achievement which has brought German militarism to bay, and upon which all the hopes of the Allies are now based.

Our whole view of the Dardanelles and Gallipoli operations must be governed by our view of the supreme object for which it was undertaken. Only in the light of that object can we form a sound judgment as to the wisdom of the policy and the measure of success or failure. It is disappointing that the Report fails to define that object in clear and precise terms. The Commissioners fail entirely to distinguish between the immediate local object, which concerns only a few square miles of land and water, and the supreme object, which embraced all the fronts on which fighting was taking place over many thousands of miles of territory, and which had an eye even to the distant frontier of India. They fail to distinguish precisely between the tactical and the strategic objects. The Report constantly speaks of the attempt to force the Dardanelles and reach Constantinople as the "main object," and of the other considerations as "political." The capture of Constantinople was our main object only in a narrow sense; and the wider, strategic objects, loosely referred to as "political," were strictly and severely military in their bearing upon the campaign as a whole.

Why was the attack upon the Dardanelles conceived? Why was it advocated with such zeal by Mr. Churchill? And why did a united War Council finally stake so large a proportion of our resources in man-power, munitions, and treasure upon the enterprise? Mr. Walter Roch, whose Minority Report is in many respects the clearer and more precise, indicates that at an early stage, when plans and policies were being discussed, there were three rival schools of thought in the War Council, a Western school, an Eastern school, and a sort of intermediate school. The attack upon the Dardanelles was the outcome of the Eastern school.

Mr. Churchill first raised the question of an attack on some part of the coast of Asiatic Turkey, as the best way of defending Egypt, at a meeting of the War Council on November 25th, 1914. Various points of attack, including Gallipoli, were discussed, but the proposal was abandoned for the time owing to the shortage of mercantile shipping, due to other military demands. Then, to quote Mr. Roch's narrative:—

“ On December 28th, 1914, a memorandum was circulated to the members of the War Council by Sir Maurice Hankey.

“ This memorandum called attention to the ‘ remarkable deadlock ’ which had occurred in the Western theatre of war. It invited consideration of the possibility of seeking some other outlet for the effective employment of the new armies. It further suggested that Germany could perhaps ‘ be struck most effectively, and with the most lasting results on the peace of the world, through her Allies, and particularly Turkey.’ And asked the question whether it was not possible ‘ now to weave a web around Turkey, which will end her career as a European power? ’

“ This was followed on January 1st by a memorandum from Mr. Lloyd George, also pointing to the East as the true objective and outlining a far-reaching policy directed against Austria in co-operation with the Greeks, Roumanians, and Serbians, and also against Turkey.”

On January 2nd, 1914, a telegram, which had a decisive influence upon these discussions, was received from our Ambassador in Russia, representing that the Russians were being hard pressed in the Caucasus, and asking, on behalf of the Russian Government, that, in order to relieve this pressure, a naval or military demonstration should be made against the Turks. On receipt of this alarming news, Lord Kitchener immediately telegraphed, through the Foreign Office, promising that a demonstration would be made.

There was deadlock on the West. The Balkans were seething with unrest. Bulgaria was meditating immediate intervention on the side of Germany. Egypt was seriously menaced. Our Russian Ally was hard pressed, and was begging us to do something to draw off the enemy. It is curious that no mention is made of India, and yet the situation in India, and on the North-West Frontier, must have constituted one of the most serious factors in the problem.

At a crucial stage in the progress of the military operations in Gallipoli the *Daily Mail* published a map entitled “ The Road “to India,” which was the subject of strong, but, I think, unmerited condemnation by some members of the Government. This map, published after the adhesion of Bulgaria to our enemies and the crushing of Serbia, showed clearly and picturesquely the road which now lay open and uninterrupted from

Berlin to India. It was not necessary to suppose that some Teutonic Alexander would lead an army through Persia to assail the frontiers of India. But while this road remained open it was certain that German emissaries, trained by long prevision for the task, would be at work upon the frontier, sowing sedition, tempting the Afghans, arming and training the wild tribes of Central Asia, and even establishing munitions factories. In the House of Lords, on February 20th last, Lord Curzon stated that this plan had actually been in operation before the war, and that during the early days of the war it was pursued with characteristic vigour. At one time there were quite 100 German armed bands, roaming at large in Persia, keeping the road to India open. Even as it is, the Indian Government has had to suppress several risings of the frontier tribes since the outbreak of war, and if Germany were able to keep that road open it would certainly, sooner or later, be confronted by the most formidable frontier rising in the history of British rule in India. It is impossible to believe that these considerations were not present in the minds of the War Council, and did not exercise a powerful influence upon their decision to attack the Dardanelles.

If there was any prospect of the war being protracted it was imperative that that road should be cut at some point or other. If it remained open there was an imminent possibility that we might be forced to withdraw our strength from the attack on Germany in the West in order to defend our Empire in the East. Various alternative methods of cutting the road were open to us—from the Persian Gulf, from Egypt, from the Mediterranean coast of Turkey, in the Balkans, or at the Dardanelles, and of all these methods the attack on the Dardanelles offered the most tempting prospect of complete success with the smallest expenditure of effort. The necessities of the defence of India, therefore, coincided with the exigencies of the situation in the Balkans, and the call for help from Russia.

The object of the attack on the Dardanelles was as purely military as is the object of the great push on the Somme. The so-called "political arguments," and "political advantages" referred to in the Report had no reference to ordinary politics or diplomatic relations, but were concerned solely with stern military facts and problems.

The enterprise was an essential part of the main strategy of the war. It aimed at achieving military results far remote from the immediate scene of the fighting, and quite independent of the immediate local object. We failed to force the Dardanelles and to capture Constantinople; but if it had not been for that year of epic combat the general situation would, in all human probability, have been far more unfavourable to us to-day. Germany would

have been supreme in the whole of the Balkans, including Greece, without our having even a foothold at Salonika. Russia might have been driven back over the Caucasus and seriously menaced in her rear. On the Egyptian frontier, and on the Tigris, we would be confronted by far more formidable forces. And the situation in India would give rise to much graver anxiety.

Mr. Churchill once referred to this operation as "a legitimate war gamble." The phrase was an unfortunate one, for it is capable of gross misrepresentation. If he had described it as a legitimate encounter of the hazard of war he would have escaped this particular kind of misrepresentation. There is no such thing as certainty in war. Risks and chances must be deliberately encountered; human effort may diminish them, but cannot eliminate them altogether. Like all other human efforts this enterprise is to be praised or blamed according as it is well or ill executed; but in the first instance it is to be praised because it was the supremely right thing to attempt. No gallant life was thrown away upon a politician's caprice. The blood that has been shed in Gallipoli as truly served the end of victory as any that was shed on the retreat from Mons, in Flanders, or on the Somme.

On the question of the responsibility for the various decisions involved, and the apportionment of praise and blame, the Commissioners are somewhat sweeping in their judgments, and in the absence of the evidence their conclusions will hardly be accepted as final. In the debate which took place in the House, Mr. Asquith clearly established that in their censure of the neglect to summon a meeting of the War Council between March 19th to May 14th, they were travelling beyond the limits which they had themselves set to their Interim Report, and dealing with an aspect of the matter upon which they had not taken evidence. Mr. Churchill also made a reasonable protest against the method of investigation which seeks to go behind the deliberate advice and assent of naval and military experts, and to appraise the precise degree of emotional enthusiasm with which they gave their opinions. The decisions of war are heart-shaking decisions, and doubts and hesitations must surge in the breast of every man who has to weigh the risks. But once the decisions have been taken, these doubts and hesitations must be resolutely banished. To recall them for the purpose of recrimination is to destroy the very basis of co-operation.

From the early days of the war Mr. Churchill pressed the policy of an attack on the Dardanelles. His plan was a joint naval and military attack. It was rejected because of the emphatic decision of Lord Kitchener that, owing to the exigencies of the war in other theatres, no troops could be spared for the purpose. When the call

for help from Russia came it was Lord Kitchener who answered, promising a "demonstration" against Turkey. Mr. Churchill wired at once to Admiral Carden, in charge of the Mediterranean Fleet: "Do you think it a practicable operation to force the "Dardanelles by the use of ships alone?" Admiral Carden replied: "I do not think the Dardanelles can be rushed, but they "might be forced by extended operations with a large number of "ships." In response to further telegrams he submitted a detailed plan of operations in four stages, the first of which involved the destruction of the forts at the entrance. The leading members of the Admiralty War Staff were consulted. They concurred generally in the plan with the proviso that if the initial operations proved unsuccessful we could break off at any time. No one dissented. The Commissioners comment that the concurrence does not seem to have been very cordial. It is difficult to be cordial after the event about a failure. But it is the concurrence only that matters. In war one must say either "yea" or "nay."

It was thus not merely a vague suggestion which was submitted to the War Council at its meeting on January 13th but a detailed war plan drawn up by the Admiral on the spot and concurred in after examination by the leading members of the Admiralty Staff. The War Council instructed the Admiralty to proceed with preparations for the execution of the plan, and, at a later meeting, on January 28th, it definitely decided that an attack should be made by the fleet alone, with Constantinople as its ultimate objective. Lord Kitchener, who had already given his promise to Russia, strongly supported the scheme, remarking that one of its merits was that if satisfactory progress was not made the attack could be broken off. The most interesting revelation of the Report is the true cause of Lord Fisher's dramatic resignation, which was the overt act which seemed to precipitate the formation of the Coalition. No explanation was vouchsafed at the time, and it has since remained a mystery. Lord Fisher, it was known, had had doubts and hesitations about the Dardanelles policy. He had, however, ultimately assented, and he had signed the orders for the operations. Why should he, three months later, after the failure of the Naval attack, when there was no question of renewing it, *à propos* of nothing in particular that the public was aware of, suddenly tender his resignation? The account given is an intelligible one. Lord Fisher never at any time raised any objection to the proposed operations on their technical merits. He opposed them because he had another plan for the use of the fleet elsewhere. He reluctantly acquiesced in the Dardanelles plan so long as its proportions were not such as seriously to interfere with his other plans. But when the character of the attack began to alter from a strictly limited

naval attempt, which could be broken off at any time, to the entanglement of a great military expeditionary force with the fleet subservient to it, he saw the inevitable abandonment of his alternative schemes, and tendered his resignation.

The Commissioners, with the exception of Mr. Roch, pass a severe condemnation upon Lord Kitchener for his policy of excessive centralisation in the War Office, and for his hesitation with regard to the assignment of the XXIX. Division to Gallipoli, which resulted in a delay of three weeks at a critical period. These are highly technical questions upon which the verdict of a jury of laymen upon the greatest soldier of his day, whom death had prevented from giving evidence, must be accepted with caution. Who shall say that when the bitter need of our Expeditionary Force in France had broken up our General Staff and summoned all its best members out to conduct operations at the front, Lord Kitchener, whatever may be the theoretically ideal system, was not justified in centralising administration in himself and in being practically his own Chief of Staff? He was himself, by virtue of long training, incomparably the greatest of our experts in all that related to the conduct of war. Centralisation no doubt had serious disadvantages, but devolution upon an untrained and untried staff in the midst of such a crisis might well have involved us in more disastrous evils. The delay in the despatch of the XXIX. Division was due to a deliberate judgment as to the requirements of the Western Front and the demands of our commander there. If we could not accept Lord Kitchener's judgment on a matter of that kind, whose could we accept?

Finally, there is the question of how the decision to attempt to force the Dardanelles by naval force alone was later, after the naval attempt had failed, transformed into a decision to undertake vast military operations with the fleet attendant on them. The Commissioners adopt a phrase of General Callwell's to the effect that "we drifted into the big military attack," and they accuse Lord Kitchener of hesitation and the Government of vacillation after the military operations were decided upon.

Mr. Churchill, at any rate, from the beginning had advocated a joint naval and military attack, and had held that the troops were available. He was overruled because of the dominance of the "Western school" of thought under the influence of Lord Kitchener. The tremendous military importance of the enterprise and its relation to the campaign as a whole gradually became more apparent. The reverberations of the first assault were felt everywhere. It became apparent that this was more than a blow to distract attention from our Russian Ally; it was a blow at a vital part of the German strategic plan. Two days before the first naval

attack a decision had already been taken to send out a force of some 50,000 men, including the XXIX. Division, to be used as occasion might require in support of the naval operations. Untoward developments and anxieties on the Western Front caused a delay of three weeks in the dispatch of the XXIX. Division. It was a fatal delay. Those three weeks could never be recovered. The golden moment, before the Turks had occupied the peninsula in force, when Achi Baba was to be had almost for the climbing, was lost. After the first and second naval attacks, as their effects on the other fronts were felt, the strategic importance of the enterprise was perceived and the attack was pressed with ever-increasing forces. Great gain resulted elsewhere, as has been pointed out, but the immediate prize was beyond our grasp.

It seems, as events turned out, and as Lord Kitchener indeed admitted by his adoption of the policy of a great military attack, that he was wrong in his original judgment of the situation, and that the troops for a smaller effort might have been spared earlier. It is easy to be wise after the event. Lord Kitchener, who forged the weapon which is now driving the Germans back from the Somme, has such great achievements to his credit that an error of judgment as to the military necessities of these three weeks will detract nothing from the splendour of his name. He was no demigod, but a man. The Commission, saving, again, Mr. Roch, has been somewhat severe in its censure. It might well have been content with a statement of the facts.

There is a danger of the Commission taking itself too seriously as a High Court set up by Parliament to try the ministers and soldiers and sailors who were responsible for these operations. That is a misconception of its functions. Such is not the body which would have been set up for this purpose. Parliament will not surrender to any committee the right to judge and condemn the great officers of state who are responsible to Parliament. The Commission is less of a tribunal than of an enquiry. Its true function is to ascertain the facts and to report them to Parliament, which will pass its own judgments. The evidence, which is the most important fruit of the Commission's labours, has unfortunately been suppressed, but it is to be hoped that in its further reports, it will concentrate its attention chiefly upon an adequate presentment of the facts.

A. MACCALLUM SCOTT

PRESIDENT WILSON'S PAN-AMERICAN POLICY.

IN the American presidential campaign Mr. Wilson's Mexican policy was bitterly criticised and warmly defended, but little attention was paid to one of its most striking features, consideration for which has, doubtless, been a factor which has deterred more positive measures to pacify the turbulent Republic. I refer to the President's desire, not only to take no course that will not be approved by the leading nations of Latin America, but to have the United States, so far as possible, act with their co-operation; and this is simply one manifestation of his Pan-American policy, which is designed to make successful the endeavour of the twenty-one States of the western world for friendly intercourse and peace among themselves, and, if necessary, for a united front towards Europe.

Monroe's announcement of the doctrine which bears his name was, of course, not a personal act on his part; the policy had been expressed by both Washington and Jefferson. But although even before the message to Congress asserting the preservation of "America for Americans," it had been urged that "the grandest and most charming spectacle of Nature" would be a distinct community of the nations of the West, "connected by the bonds of friendship and mutual interests, and united for their common protection, defence, and happiness," the Monroe Doctrine remained a uni-lateral policy, always favoured by Latin American States for their own protection, but oft-times violently objected to on account of its element of suzerainty, and because it gave the United States too great powers of intervention. When any action was taken threatening European aggression the United States alone was looked to. This was conspicuously the case in 1902 when President Roosevelt warned the German ambassador that were his country to insist upon even a "temporary" occupation of Venezuelan ports in order to force Venezuela to meet certain obligations the American Fleet would see that such action was prevented. And Mr. Roosevelt fully admitted what for a long time had been recognised, that if the United States thus asserted the right to check European redress for Latin American

delinquencies, it must assume the duty of itself maintaining order and keeping the smaller nations stable. Interference, he said, would be a last resort, "and then only if it became evident that "their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad "had violated the right of the United States *or had invited foreign "aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American "nations."* This was a logical extension of the Monroe Doctrine, but still it was uni-lateral, and there existed in the countries to the South widely held sentiments of distrust, and of fear, which the Spanish-American War and the acquisition of the Panama Canal did not serve to allay. Under Mr. Wilson, however, steps have been taken for the first time to give the Monroe Doctrine a joint sanction.

In 1825, two years after the formal announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, efforts were made to get the American States together in a conference to talk over the policy, discuss its details, and agree upon a co-operative course. The attempt was a failure. Although the Congress which met at Panama had some warm American supporters, Congress compelled the commissioners to be given instructions which prevented any co-operative agreement. In fact, neither of the American commissioners reached Panama, and nothing came of the meeting. It is interesting to note, however, that Canning instructed the British delegate—for Great Britain was invited to send representatives—that "any project for putting "the U.S. of North America at the head of an American "Confederacy, as against Europe, would be highly displeasing "to your Government. It would be felt as an ill return for the "service which has been rendered to those States, and the dangers "which have been averted from them, by the countenance and "friendship, and public declarations of Great Britain; and it would "probably, at no distant period, endanger the peace both of "America and of Europe." A conference was called for the next year, but was never held, and so the Monroe Doctrine remained a diplomatic utterance, and did not become, as might at this time have been possible, the announced policy of the western world.

The idea of Pan-American unity then languished until 1877 when it was given some impetus by the fact that jurists met at Lima and attempted to codify the rules of private international law. Four years later there was an attempt to hold a general arbitration conference. In 1881, Secretary of State Blaine gave invitations to all the independent countries to send delegates to a Congress at Washington the next year. The administration changed, and Blaine left office before this could be accomplished; his successor was not sympathetic, and the project was postponed. The invitation, however, was later renewed, and upon Blaine's return to

office he was able to welcome the conference in 1890. The results were indecisive; sufficient unanimity could not be secured for formal agreements, and the only real outcome was the institution of a Latin American Library, which afterwards was developed into the Bureau of American Republics—an organisation to promote friendship and commerce, and supported by contributions according to population. Nevertheless, these early Congresses had some utility in that they furnished precedents for subsequent meetings, and so Secretary of State Hay issued a call for a "Second International Conference of American States" to convene at the City of Mexico in 1901. The most significant result of this was the desire of the States represented to adhere to the Hague Conventions, and the United States was requested to secure their admission to the Second Hague Conference, which was done. The Third International Conference was held at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, and here the ideals of Pan-Americanism were for the first time voiced by Secretary of State Root, who, while not a delegate, went on a special mission to South America to explain the intentions of the United States. The modern Pan-American movement dates from Secretary Root's trip, and the speeches made by him in many capitals received a cordial and sympathetic response. "Let us help each other," he said in his most frequently quoted address, "to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and laboured is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts, and happiness for us all."

As time goes on, the importance of Secretary Root's trip becomes increasingly evident. It did much to allay jealousy and distrust of the United States. As for the tangible results of this third conference, the most important was its recommendation that a convention limiting the use of force in the collection of contract debts be urged upon the nations at the Hague, and this proposal, of such vital interest to the Latin American States, met with adoption when sponsored by the delegation from the United States, thereby introducing the principle of obligatory arbitration (with respect to contract debts) into international public law. A Fourth Congress held at Buenos Ayres in 1910, had no important result. Uniform copyright and trade-mark laws were urged, but the

deliberations never reached the stage of treaty engagements. A primary trouble with all of the conferences was that they attempted too much; yet in the desire which led to this is to be found eminent justification for them, and they did serve to lay the basis for an organised family of States in America. Co-operation had gone so far that in 1906-1908 the United States and Mexico were able successfully to mediate between certain Central American States, and to persuade them to inaugurate the Central American Court of Justice; in 1911, the United States checked a possible war between Peru and Ecuador, and in several other instances a general desire for peace and closer relations was manifested.

The two last conferences, however, which were held recently in Washington, seem likely to have very material results. A Pan-American Financial Congress (May, 1915), with representatives from every country except Mexico and Haiti, considered very carefully the financial and commercial problems of the Latin American States, and created an International High Commission to report on uniformity of laws. The stabilisation of the monetary system of Latin American countries, and the best means of furnishing credit facilities were the chief questions discussed. Uniformity in Customs regulations and port charges, the unification of standards, weights, and measures, and methods of manufacture and technical nomenclature were the important problems that were discussed. The largest bank in the United States has established branches at the more important capitals; American Chambers of Commerce are taking an interest in possible expansions of trade, and all the Republics are more than ever keenly alive to and eager for commercial undertakings on a large scale. All this, of course, has not resulted from the single financial conference, but it there received a strong impetus.

But most important of all, perhaps, was the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, which met in Washington in December, 1915, and January, 1916, "for the purpose of bringing into "close and intimate contact the leaders of scientific thought and of "public opinion in the American Republics to the end that by an "exchange of views results might be reached of service to the "peoples of the American Continent, and that by personal inter- "course foundations would be laid for friendly and harmonious "co-operation in the future." Strictly speaking, it was not the second scientific conference; meetings had been held at Buenos Ayres (1898), Montevideo (1901), and Rio de Janeiro (1905), but at these the United States was not represented. To one at Santiago, Chile, in 1908, the United States did send representatives, and so the Washington gathering was called the "second." It was on a much larger scale than ever before, with representatives from

all the twenty-one Republics, and meeting in Washington at the same time, frequently with joint sessions, were a large number of American learned societies.

The Final Act, with forty-nine articles of recommendation, represents the best thought of Latin America and the United States, and while it covers such a broad scope that it cannot for many years be completely realised, some of the proposals will be immediately carried out—notably with respect to better commercial arrangements—and all of the suggestions evidence a uniformity of purpose and a co-operative sympathy which augur well for the development of that “international mind” which makes lapses from peace into war highly improbable.

In one respect the first Scientific Congress may be said to have had a very definite result, for it went on to record as recognising “that in the New World there exist problems *sui generis* and of “a character completely American; and that the States of this “hemisphere have regulated by means of more or less general “treaties matters which interest only themselves or which, though “of a universal interest, have as yet not been incorporated in a “world-wide convention. In this last case there have been “incorporated in international law principles of American origin. “The sum of these materials constitutes what may be called “American problems and situations in international law. The “Congress recommends to all States of this continent that in their “faculties of jurisprudence and the social sciences, there shall be “given special attention to the study of this subject.” It was not desired, it may be added, to attempt the establishment of a separate system of international law, but simply to have a definite American international policy on account of special conditions of economic and political life. This expression of opinion gave rise, in large part, to the formation of the American Institute of International Law, which came into being on October 12th, 1912, and was composed of five representatives of the national society of international law in each of the American Republics. At the time of the Washington meeting all twenty-one States had such societies so that the Institute was composed of one hundred and five members, and the Final Act declares that the Scientific Congress “extends to the American Institute of International Law a cordial “welcome into the circles of scientific organisations of Pan- “America, and records a sincere wish for its successful career and “the achievement of the highest aims of its important labours.” Similar approval was given by the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union. The Institute is, therefore, an unofficial scientific association, resting, however, on very firm support in each of the Republics.

At the Washington meeting definite agreement was reached as to certain general principles, and the Institute issued a "Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations," asserting, by analogy with the fundamental rights secured by national systems of jurisprudence, the international rights of existence, independence, equality, territory, and respect and protection of these rights by other nations. According to the American conception "duty" and "right" are correlative, and so the Declaration would impose upon each State the duty of respecting these rights. The obvious, but important, criticism may be made that in national jurisprudence individual rights are regarded only so long as they do not conflict with the rights of society as such, and that this Declaration does not admit the legality of such interference. But the significance of this pronouncement lies not so much in the principles set forth as in the fact that one hundred and five of the leading American publicists are endeavouring to agree upon certain fundamentals of international law, and there is every probability that the work of the Institute will be of much value in the direction indicated by the purposes quoted above. In a formal letter to the Institute, Secretary of State Lansing proposed "that a committee be appointed to study the problem of neutral rights and neutral duties seeking to formulate in terms the principle underlying the relations of belligerency to neutrality rather than the express rules governing the conduct of a nation at war to a nation at peace," adding that "the present time seems particularly opportune to study this question, and this Institute being composed of members from neutral nations is especially fitted to do this from the proper point of view, and with the definite purpose of protecting the liberty of neutrals from unjustifiable restrictions on the high seas, and from the imposition of needless burdens in preserving their neutrality on land."

A number of speeches by Mr. Wilson, moreover, have been calculated to further friendship with the smaller American nations. A week after he took office he declared that "one of the chief objects of my Administration will be to cultivate the friendship and deserve the confidence of our sister republics of Central and South America, and to promote in every proper way the interests which are common to the peoples of the two continents." He said that he had "no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of Government to advance their own personal interest or ambition," and, later, promised that "the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest. She will devote herself to showing that she knows how to make honourable and fruitful use of the territory she has, and she must

"regard it as one of the duties of friendship to see that from no quarter are material interests made superior to human liberty and national opportunity." But the President's speeches have sought to do more than simply convey the assurance that the United States is not seeking territory. To the delegates at Washington he spoke of the happy circumstance, "arising out of the present distressing condition of the world that has revealed us to one another; it has shown us what it means to be neighbours. And I cannot help harbouring the hope, the very high hope, that by this commerce of minds with one another, as well as commerce in goods, we may show the world in part the path to peace. It would be a very great thing if the Americans could add to the distinction which they already wear this of showing the way to peace, to permanent peace." And the political acts of Mr. Wilson's administration—his diplomatic *faits accomplis*—have been consistently shaped, it seems to me, by four considerations: (1) that if the United States is responsible to Europe for the misbehaviour of Latin America, the best method of assuming this responsibility is to pledge the countries not to take any course which would invite foreign aggression, and to obtain for the United States by treaty the right to intervene when this pledge is violated; (2) to obtain the right of intervention, in Mr. Wilson's phrase, to save certain turbulent countries from themselves; (3) to reduce by means of protectorates possibilities of conflict over the Panama Canal; and (4) to lay by general treaties the foundation for a future Concert of America.

Another paper would be necessary to discuss all the phases of Mr. Wilson's Mexican policy. It will be sufficient to say here that it has been to a large extent calculated to inspire confidence on the part of Latin America. His refusal to recognise Huerta carried not menace but encouragement to those countries which endeavour to have stable Governments based upon law. The invitation to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile to mediate between the United States and Mexico, with the resulting Niagara Conference, while indecisive, inspired great friendship for the United States, and the invitation in October, 1915, to six Latin American States to join in recognising Carranza as the *de facto* President of the Mexican Republic, was another evidence of a desire to co-operate, and of an attitude contrary to that expressed by Secretary of State Olney in his Venezuela Note to Great Britain during Cleveland's administration, that the United States was "practically sovereign on this continent." The withdrawal of the forces from Vera Cruz, the forbearance of the punitive expedition, and the studied intention not to intervene have also had their result; and one reason, I fancy, why Mr. Wilson has been so patient is that he

realises that any aggressive action towards Mexico, even though abundantly justified, might mean the demolition of the movement which he has striven so hard to further; and when he did ask the mediation of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile at Niagara, he created, as a distinguished South American said, "a real Pan-Americanism and made it actual; before this it was merely an idea." Or, as another statesman remarked, the conference "established" "the proposition that any war which breaks out between two American States is a Pan-American affair."

With regard to other countries, however, Mr. Wilson has not been able to maintain his policy of non-intervention, and he has felt active measures justified because they would be successful immediately, and with slight loss of life; Mexico, on the contrary, could be pacified—and then permanent occupation would have to insure quiet—only after a long and gruelling war.

During 1914 a series of revolutions caused the almost constant presence of American warships in Haitian waters, with occasional landing parties. Another revolution (January, 1915) made necessary the landing of a number of American marines at strategic points in order to maintain order and protect American property. Disorders caused intermittent intervention, with the marines occupying a number of places during August and September, and the country was not quieted until the end of October. The causes of the revolution were the financial bankruptcy of the country and the desire of the United States to remedy it. Proposals of President Wilson for a fiscal agreement were rejected, but after the Customs houses were in possession of American marines during August and September, and pressure was brought to bear upon the President, a treaty was signed, ratified by the Haitian Congress in November, and this year by the United States Senate. It provides for the appointment of a Financial Adviser and a General Receiver of the Customs on the nomination of the President of the United States. These officials will have the responsibility of collecting and disbursing Haitian revenues, and will co-operate with the local authorities in the improvement of the financial system. Haiti is prevented by the terms of the treaty from changing her Customs duties so as to reduce the revenue. For the purpose of maintaining order a local constabulary is to be organised, under the direction of officers appointed by Haiti upon nomination by the President of the United States. Finally, Haiti agrees to undertake necessary sanitary and public improvements, and not to surrender any of her territory, or to enter into any alliance with a foreign power. The treaty gives the "high contracting parties" the "authority to take such" "steps as may be necessary to insure the complete attainment of

“any of the objects comprehended in this treaty; and, should the
“necessity occur, the United States will lend an efficient aid for
“the preservation of Haitian independence, and the maintenance
“of a Government adequate for the protection of life, property,
“and individual liberty.”

In the Dominican Republic, also, the United States has intervened under the Treaty of 1907, which established a fiscal protectorate, and which differs not only in details from the one with Haiti already described, but which, more importantly, does not give the United States a right of intervention. From 1907 to 1911 Santo Domingo gained a fair measure of tranquillity and financial stability, but since then the retrogression has been steady; and recently an anti-American party is attempting to overthrow the provisional Government. Even as I write (October, 1916) there comes word that two American officers have lost their lives in a skirmish. The purposes of the intervention were well expressed by Rear Admiral Caperton, in command of the American squadron: “It is not the intention of the United States Govern-
“ment to acquire by conquest any territory in the Dominican
“Republic nor to attack its sovereignty, but our troops will remain
“here until all revolutionary movements have been stamped out,
“and until such reforms as are deemed necessary to insure the
“future welfare of the country have been initiated, and are in
“effective operation,” to the end, he might have added, that American property interests may be protected, and conditions inviting foreign aggression done away with, for it is far easier to take effective action against Santo Domingo alone than it would be were some European nation to have a valid claim, and desire to prosecute it by force.

Nicaragua, furthermore, is to be formally protected by the United States. During Mr. Taft's administration marines were landed to put down a revolution, and in 1913 and 1914 the United States was again forced to intervene. At the same time a treaty which had been under discussion for a year was finally negotiated. By the treaty Nicaragua promises that she will not impair her independence by foreign alliance, and will not permit any power to gain military control; by a further provision against the contraction of public debts unless the revenues be adequate to care for the interest and a sinking fund, sound finances are assured. On the other hand, the United States is to pay \$3,000,000 for the exclusive right to all canal routes (a provision more important in the security it will afford than in any possible utility); the United States also secures the valuable concession of a naval base, and is given the right to intervene “for the preservation of Nicaraguan
“independence, and the maintenance of a Government adequate

“for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty.” The treaty remains unratified by Nicaragua on account of internal political difficulties and objections of the contiguous countries—Costa Rica, Salvador, and Honduras—whose consent should have been sought on certain points, but they will, doubtless, be satisfied and the agreement made final.

Whatever opinion may be held as to the legality of and justification for Mr. Roosevelt’s action in so speedily recognising the revolted Republic of Panama, and concluding with it the engagement rejected by Columbia, under which the United States got the right to construct the Panama Canal, it is certain that to this one incident may be attributed in very large part the distrust of the Latin American nations for the United States. They still fear aggression, and in order to reduce this apprehension Secretary Root in 1906, and Secretary of State Knox in 1912 paid their visits to South America, and Secretary Knox, moreover, proposed a treaty giving Columbia financial compensation, and securing at the same time for the United States control of a possible canal route through her territory, but the terms were not satisfactory. Mr. Wilson’s Administration went one step further, and not only negotiated a treaty which more than doubled the compensation, but added an expression of “sincere regret that anything should “have occurred to interrupt or to mar the relations of cordial “friendship that had so long subsisted between the two nations.” While the treaty, as to amount of indemnity and this “apology” has encountered much opposition and the Administration thought it useless at this time to press for ratification by the Senate, it is, nevertheless, an evidence of the sentiments of the executive department of the Government, and, if carried into a formal undertaking, would hasten the time when the intentions of the United States in the Carribean will be looked upon as non-imperialistic. And, finally, the recent purchase of the Danish West Indies is calculated further to protect the approaches to the Panama Canal through the annexation of territory, which on account of a change in European owners, might become a cause of serious dispute.

The Latin American nations were invited to adhere to Mr. Bryan’s peace treaties. These, it will be remembered, embody the principle that if a question cannot be settled by diplomatic means the nations involved, before entering upon hostilities, are to wait one year, during which armaments may not be increased, and an international commission of enquiry will report on the facts of the controversy. Nearly twenty of the Latin American nations have joined in such treaties, and the willingness of the United States thus to bind itself has been accepted as valid evidence of a not purely selfish interest in the affairs of the smaller Republics. But

this is not all. It was announced at the Pan-American Scientific Congress that the United States was negotiating for agreements of a far more radical character. By such a treaty, first of all, the United States and all other nations of this hemisphere mutually agree to guarantee territorial integrity under Republican forms of Government. This extends the treaty only to those Governments based upon the consent of their peoples, and would not inhibit action such as the United States has been forced to take in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The second article provides that to give definite application to this guarantee, "the high contracting parties severally agree to endeavour forthwith to reach "a settlement of all disputes as to boundaries or territory now "pending between them by amicable agreement or by means of "international arbitration." Certain boundary disputes, such as that between Chile and Peru, for example, bar the way to any guarantee of the *status quo* of territorial integrity, but if the outstanding differences could be amicably settled, the Latin American nations would welcome such an agreement. The third article simply restates the principle already covered in most cases by the Bryan peace treaties; but the fourth, in order to "insure domestic "tranquillity," seeks general agreement whereby exportation of arms to any but the legally constituted Governments of this hemisphere will be prohibited, and laws of neutrality adopted which will make it impossible for filibustering expeditions to threaten or carry on revolutions in neighbouring republics.

By the small minority that is eager for the United States to secure a more important "place in the sun," these general treaties will be condemned, while approval will be given to positive action, like the Nicaraguan Protectorate or the acquisition of the West Indies. But to seize territory south of the Rio Grande would retard Pan-Americanism for several decades; to exercise the right of intervention, unselfishly and primarily for the interest of the disorderly State, and jointly if possible, will be necessary for some time to come. And any instrumentality—whether intellectual or commercial intercourse or political alliances—that will serve to keep at peace one portion of the globe is surely to be striven for.

LINDSAY ROGERS.

THE VALUE OF PARLIAMENT.

IT is a curious instance of the irony of politics that, at a moment when we are devoting all our energies to the greatest struggle for liberty which the world has seen, and when even Russia has suddenly declared for self-government as the condition of victory, it should have become almost a fashion in this country to belittle the Parliamentary system which is the source and guarantee of English freedom. The war we are engaged in is in a real sense a war of peoples against the mischievous ambitions of certain rulers. The result, if our enemies succeeded, would be a blow to liberty and a triumph for autocracy in a great portion of the world. The Emperor William is fighting not only for predominance in Europe, for the expansion of his empire, for an undisputed pathway to the East. He is fighting every day more grimly, as the balance of victory inclines against him, for the prestige of the military caste on which his throne reposes, for the Prussian tradition of personal government in the State. He knows that, if he fails, the barriers of democracy may be broken, and the German people may establish their right to rule themselves. The Austrian Emperor and the Bulgarian Tsar are equally staking their future on their armies. King Constantine plays the same rash game as boldly as he dares. The Sultan and the group of conspirators about him can hardly be supposed to entertain for their own Parliamentary institutions any warmer feeling than a certain school of English writers show for ours. The aim of all these potentates is virtually the same—to make their military system irresistible, and to reduce their Parliaments to innocuous acquiescence in what the Sovereign and the Army may decide.

What would become of the freedom of nations if these ideas prevailed? We see the importance of the question on the Continent so clearly, that we are prepared to spend hundreds of thousands of lives and incalculable sums of money sooner than have it answered in a sense which we cannot allow. The Grand Alliance draws its strength solely from the peoples at its back. No one has ever doubted that the French Parliamentary Republic speaks to-day with the voice of the French nation. In England and Italy, in Belgium,

Serbia, Roumania, kings lead, but the representatives of the people rule. In Russia a gloomy and uncertain situation has resolved itself in a triumph for political freedom which the world dare hardly credit yet. If the nations who form the Grand Alliance changed their views to-morrow, no action by their Governments could make the war go on. But we have some solid grounds for believing that, if the peoples of the States opposed to us could express their real opinions, they would prefer the peace we offer to fighting on for their rulers' ambition or prestige. It is not unreasonable to regard the war as largely a struggle between the ideals of autocracy on the one side and the methods of self-government on the other; and the amazing adherence of Russia to this doctrine gives it a new and overwhelming force to-day.

Under these circumstances it may be worth while to recall what we mean when we speak of self-government in this country. For the moment everything, by common agreement, must give way to the prosecution of the war, and the chief aim of government must be to concentrate upon that problem all the resources of the State. But even behind war-expedients the framework of the Constitution stands, and may survive some temporary makeshifts which exceptional needs and anxieties produce. It has of late been freely suggested by writers entitled to respect that the British Constitution has been thrown into the melting-pot and is never likely, as we knew it, to emerge again. For some years past many diatribes have been directed against our Parliamentary system—by members of a party which has been unable to secure a majority in the House of Commons. More recently we have been told that "the party-game" of government is played out," that the Cabinet system has been thrown over, that Ministers will cease in future to be the mouth-pieces of their Departments, and that their collective responsibility is a fetish out of date. We have been assured that the present Prime Minister is no longer a Parliamentary leader, that Parliament did not make and may be unable to unmake him, that bureaucracy will increase as Parliament declines, and that the latter must be prepared to see the government of the country taken out of its hands. And one distinguished publicist predicts a melancholy future for the representatives whom the nation is still, apparently, to elect:—

"The House of Commons will continue to be, as it is at present, a somewhat inanimate, ineffective body of uneasy critics, haunted by a sense of their own impotence, and restlessly conscious of their inability to exercise real influence upon the greater issues of policy transacted over their heads."

It is submitted that these conclusions, though suggested by recent

administrative experiments, have little real relation to the lasting issues of English politics, and are irreconcilable with our ideas of self-government and freedom. Many who, for the moment, will sacrifice anything sooner than victory in the field, will never permanently tolerate an emasculated House of Commons. And the nation would never allow its representatives to accept such a position, even if they could be brought to accept it for themselves.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, that the rule of the House of Commons were over, what alternative, one may ask, could take its place? On this point it is difficult to treat as serious some of the suggestions made. It is not arguable, though it is occasionally suggested, that the Crown should resume the personal government of the State. Powers resigned since the days of the Stuarts are not likely to prove popular in the twentieth century, and constitution-mongers would indeed be reckless who sought to disturb the foundations of deep mutual trust on which the relations of Sovereign and people are established now. Dictatorships are equally impossible in a country where criticism is allowed free play; indeed, the demand for one only appears in quarters which would be the first to resent a Dictator's methods. Our armies, even when magnified by millions, are not in the least likely to wish to produce a military ruler. We have moved far from the days when certain foreign observers wondered whether the Duke of Wellington would use his power over the army to usurp the place of an unpopular Prince. What was incredible in those days is doubly incredible in these. The only body which could conceivably nominate a Dictator would be the House of Commons, and no man entrusted with such powers by Parliament could last a day longer than the House of Commons allowed. Even Cromwell's precedent was not conspicuously successful, and we do not breed Cromwells in our War Office or armies now.

A more up-to-date suggestion—and there are minds which seem to treat it as an axiom that in remodelling our constitution nothing is worth considering which is not wholly new—is the proposal that commissions of business men should be appointed to take over the principal functions of the State. The way in which this is to be done has not yet been defined very clearly; but it is generally assumed that these men of business must have nothing to do with the House of Commons. They would be represented, apparently, by the platform or the Press—bureaucracy and demagoguery going hand in hand. The proposal has its humorous aspects, but one wishes to treat it with respect. Undoubtedly there is room for better business methods in most Government departments, and in none more conspicuously than in the Foreign Office and the War Office to-day. Whatever else war experience has taught us, it has

enforced more vividly than ever the need of reorganising those Departments afresh, and of choosing our diplomatists and our officers in future, as we have never done hitherto, on grounds independent of the means they possess, of the social rank which they belong to, and of the influences of fashion and tradition at their back. But the shrewd men of business lately called to help in the administration of affairs will be the first to discover—rumour says that they have discovered and learned to appreciate already—the wide information, the detailed experience, and the power of dealing with practical issues which many civil servants conspicuously possess. Even if we filled Whitehall with men of business, we should not have solved all the problems of the State. It is a commonplace that the business instinct does not always make a statesman. Chatham, Burke, Disraeli were among the worst men of business in the world. And it is hardly less a commonplace that business capacity on a great scale depends extremely little on training gained in counting-house or shop. The House of Lords could probably show nearly as many good men of business as the House of Commons. Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, both double firsts at Oxford, were business men of a consummate type. The race of their successors has by no means failed; and it would be folly to suppose that only men brought up to private trading are competent to handle national affairs. One is not in some circles permitted to suggest that many English lawyers also have shown conspicuous aptitude in dealing with the business of the State. But it is noticeable that even in the latest crisis lawyers have been summoned to the Premiership, to the Admiralty, the Home Office, and the Ministry of Blockade. It has not yet been proved that business commissions would replace even the lawyers with exceptional success, still less how the business men, when we have got them, are to take over from Parliament the task of governing the country.

A more practical alternative, perhaps, to government by the House of Commons, would be government by the Press. We have come very near that in London lately; and among the possibilities of the future, were Parliament to be finally dethroned, Press agitation, pushed to the point of Press ascendancy, is one of the alternatives that we might have to face. Till now the influence of the Press in making Governments has, on the whole, been less than might have been expected. The *Times*, it is true, has always had an exceptional influence in London, in club-land, in society, among officials. But it is equally noticeable how often the *Times* has proved, as London society has also, to be out of touch with the feeling of the country. There probably never was a time when the London Press was more confident in condemning the Liberal party

and its leaders than in the period ending in 1905. Yet in January, 1906, the Liberals swept the London constituencies as completely as the rest. And it is not a question of the London Press alone. For many years two well-known Unionist journals have enjoyed an influence in Scotland which no Liberal journal could equal or supplant. Yet Scotland has voted steadily on the Liberal side. In the great district round Manchester between 1885 and 1905 the Conservatives were conspicuously successful at the polls. Yet the *Manchester Courier*, the Conservative newspaper, declined; the *Manchester Examiner*, the Liberal Unionist organ, disappeared; and the *Manchester Guardian*, in spite of unpopular moments, strengthened its hold on the readers of the county. No doubt local and special causes would help to explain the paradox in each case. But there is a good deal of evidence to support the view that, great as the influence of newspapers must be, Englishmen are not in the habit of taking their opinions from them.

It is, of course, possible that this attitude may alter. If the House of Commons were to cease to command the respect of the nation, some new system would have to be found of expressing our wishes and nominating our rulers. One powerful section of the London Press has lately claimed the right to do this, and has almost succeeded for the moment in making good its claim. But it is very doubtful if public opinion in the country is prepared to endorse so revolutionary a change. Lovers of the Press, among whom we all are counted, will hardly contend that in recent years its quality and character have grown much stronger. There are even alarmists who foresee the sensation-monger replacing the journalist, and the trader replacing the man of letters. Moreover, even the greatest of newspapers suffer under two drawbacks, from which Parliament, with all its faults, is free. In the first place, they are anonymous. People like to know by whom they are being led; and when they know, the glamour sometimes disappears. In the second place, a newspaper's opinions and stability depend entirely on the individuals who own it, and may disappear or alter any day with the transfer of its shares. Dangerous as money-power undoubtedly is in English politics, when used to buy up and control the Press, it is difficult to believe that any Press combination can take the place of Parliament in governing the State.

But the truth is, all such proposals for replacing the House of Commons are vain. As Lord Morley once said on a memorable occasion, there is no vacancy for a new-comer, even if the assailants of our Parliamentary system had any clear idea as to who the new-comer was to be. In so far as the House of Commons is to-day "inanimate and ineffective," that is due to two obvious causes of a transient kind; first, to the fact that we are at war, and, secondly, to

the fact that a coalition is in office. It is not a weakness, but a sure sign of the soundness of our constitutional methods that Parliament should be for controversial purposes to some extent inanimate while the war goes on. At such a time the Executive must act promptly, and the Legislature must leave the greater issues in its hands. At such a time the nation expects the House of Commons to hold its powers in reserve. But that does not mean that the nation wishes to displace it. Criticism within limits there will inevitably be, and a Government which cannot meet reasonable criticism does not deserve to stand. Signs of impatience there will be also, if the war goes badly, outspoken censure if the Executive Government fails to rise to the expectations roused. Some restlessness, moreover, some elements of faction, some personal ambitions inadequately veiled, there must be in any large assembly where men's aims and characters are mixed. But the record of the House of Commons as a whole, and in particular the record of the responsible Unionist Opposition which existed in 1914, and the record of the responsible Liberal Opposition which exists to-day, has been entirely worthy of the greatest Parliament in the world. Our party system has proved equal to the strain. Indeed, it may be argued with much force that, if Parliament has failed in its task of criticism, this is due not to the predominance, but rather to the temporary suppression, of our party system. Parliamentary government requires for its satisfactory working an Opposition of experienced and high-minded men, whose collective responsibility is only less than that of the Government in power, and in whom factiousness is restrained by the knowledge that, if the Government fails, they may have to take over its burdens. It is this sense of imminent responsibility, sometimes, no doubt, imperfectly remembered but doubly real in a time of crisis, which makes a Parliamentary Opposition, wisely led, of the greatest value to a State.

For the same reason political coalitions under our Parliamentary system are nearly always a mistake. They cannot last, for they presuppose the union in action of men who are on many points deeply disagreed. Changes of view which lead to the fusion and re-grouping of parties are a different matter. These there will always be; and the men who from public motives consent to such new combinations, will be compelled sooner or later to forgo some of their opinions, and to relinquish the hope of returning to their former friends. If they decline to do this, the new combination will not last. But a coalition for a special purpose of men who do not mean to act permanently together or to forgo their old opinions, is in its essence so precarious that it is doubtful if it ever lends strength to the nation. It is at least highly arguable

that the coalition formed by Mr. Asquith was a source not of strength but of weakness to the State. It was hailed by some short-sighted people as a triumph, because it seemed to be a blow to party government, and it certainly came near reducing Parliament to confusion, and gave Parliamentary criticism an aspect of intrigue. But from the first it suffered from divided counsels, and its Liberal members can probably serve the nation better as leaders of a restrained and responsible Opposition. It is not less arguable that the permanence of the present Administration depends on its proving more united than its predecessors, and will only be possible if the minority of its members are prepared for all purposes of policy to be fused with the majority of their colleagues. Homogeneity in a Government cannot safely be dispensed with, even by arranging that its members should not meet.

“When men are not acquainted with each other’s principles, nor experienced in each other’s talents, nor at all practised in their mutual habitudes and dispositions by joint efforts of business—no personal confidence, no friendship, no common interest subsisting among them—it is evidently impossible that they can act a public part with uniformity, perseverance, or efficacy.”

Burke was, no doubt, an unmitigated party man. But when he wrote of human nature, he wrote for all time.

It is a fine instinct which makes Englishmen ready in a moment of national anxiety to throw over every principle which seems to derogate from the unity of the State. But even that fine instinct may sometimes do more harm than good. Abuse of our party system is the cheapest commonplace of the day, and very few people who echo it stop to consider how Parliamentary government could succeed without it. There is nothing at all new in this attitude of mind. Ever since Parliamentary government triumphed in England, and freedom triumphed over autocracy with it, the party system has been not only an inevitable, but an indispensable part of our constitution. The personal government of the Stuart kings died hard. William III. struggled bravely to retain it, though it is curious to notice that it was only by forming a strictly party Government that he was able to carry on a European war. The attacks made on party government of late years have an ancient, almost respectable, ancestry in the old Jacobite attacks on the Whig party system, which had proved the salvation of the State. No man in his brief hour of opportunity showed himself a keener party man than Bolingbroke; and no man in his days of failure, when the Whig party system was entrenched in power, devoted such incomparable gifts of musical, misleading eloquence to pleading for

a national Government and denouncing party wickedness and vice. Even Chatham, disgusted, it may be, by the abuses of Newcastle's party system, and wrapped in the proud isolation which was both his weakness and his strength, surrendered to the specious cry. His "soul was like a star and dwelt apart." But had Chatham been a better party man, and readier to act with the other Whig leaders, he could have rendered still greater service to his country. The Peace of Paris would have been more triumphant, and might never have been followed by the Peace of Versailles. America might have been preserved for England. Years of misgovernment might have been saved. George III., bred up in Bolingbroke's theories, and profiting by Chatham's unconscious errors, succeeded in breaking the party system down, and grasped the opportunity to misgovern England as a "Patriot King" himself. In the language of a recent political writer, George III. became the

"core on which human crystals could precipitate and attach themselves, following the bent of their nature towards a firm and clear belief—or towards the prowess of a man—or towards a Man possessed by a Belief."*

The Man's Belief in this case was that he, as King, was entitled to govern, and to use every resource of influence and corruption to reduce Parliament and party to their proper place. For twenty years and more the scheme succeeded. It destroyed party government. It broke up and ruined the Whigs. But incidentally it lost an Empire and almost ruined the country also; and the tale of disaster only ended when Pitt arose and built up a great party once again. A few later statesmen have shared this illusion, and have dreamed of national Governments transcending party lines. The theory has still an irresistible attraction for soaring and for inconclusive minds, for impatient reformers who cannot work with their colleagues, for sciolists who have never understood our Parliamentary system; and now and again in moments of crisis it makes a wide and powerful appeal. But those who persuade themselves that it can ever be more than a rare and rash specific, are blind to the meaning of English history and deaf to the call of English freedom.

The paradox is that any thoughtful Englishman, with years of reasoned tradition behind him, should fail to see that a Parliamentary constitution requires a party system for effective work. If a nation is to govern itself, it can only do so through its elected representatives. If these representatives are to give form to its wishes, it is only through organised parties that they can effectually act. Combinations of men for common action are essential. The

* Mr. F. S. Oliver's *Ordeal by Battle*, page 221.

more powerful these combinations are, the more they share the same convictions, the more closely they are bound to each other by common objects, corporate traditions, mutual trust, the more efficiently they will achieve their ends, and the stronger their sense of responsibility will be. The only alternatives to Parliamentary parties are Parliamentary units or Parliamentary groups, with political leaders perpetually trying to effect deals or bargains with them. Units, even the most brilliant, can attain nothing alone. Groups are, in every Parliament where they exist, a constant source of instability and danger. If the British Parliament surpasses in authority every other Parliament in the world, the reason lies not so much in its incomparable tradition as in the successful development of its party system. Among all the Parliaments which in the last four or five generations have grown up in many quarters of the earth, the only ones which have solved successfully the problem of Parliamentary rule, which can point to a long line of Governments really powerful, representative and stable, are those which have developed an efficient party system. The most outstanding example is that of the United States. But it is hardly too much to say that these Parliaments have all succeeded or failed in proportion as they have or have not realised the value of the party system.

In these days, it is true, organisation means machinery, machinery means money, and money means the necessity of rewarding those who provide it. That is the worst abuse—a real abuse—in our party system, and in modern times it has been allowed to grow to dimensions which cannot be excused. The root of the evil is the expensiveness of our elections, the large sums needed to get electors on to the registers and up to the polls, which compel Whips and party managers to raise funds by any methods that they can. And till statesmen find the courage and the honesty to strike boldly at that evil, the power of money in politics will never be weakened, and the worst feature of party government will survive. But it would be a grave mistake to judge the party system by this largely remediable abuse, to confuse the ordered discipline which makes Governments strong and deliberative assemblies efficient, with the weaknesses of the political machine. That there are sordid elements in politics, as in every other calling, no one would deny. It is easy enough to find fault with the House of Commons and with its individual failings and mistakes. But in no place does character count for more. In no audience is the collective criticism finer, the collective judgment more searching or more sure. To be a successful Member of Parliament much more than a fluent tongue is needed. To be a great Member of Parliament needs some of the highest qualities which men possess. A hundred and forty years ago Voltaire warned a brilliant young publicist visiting

England that he was going to a country "devenu presque barbare "par la violence des factions." Yet the "savage factions" since those days, and the Parliament which has known how to choose and to restrain them, have carried England to ever loftier heights of fame and power, while thrones on every side of her have toppled, and systems devoid of party have crumbled into dust. By all means let us make it our business to eliminate as speedily as possible such faults as disfigure our party system. But let us at the same time remember that the ties of party, the common convictions, the common interests, the collective responsibility which they involve, are essential to the effective working of any Parliament worthy of the name. We shall have missed the lessons of this war, as well as the lessons of English history, if they have not brought home to us the fact that without a powerful and independent Parliament, to express the real wishes of the people, no great free nation can exist to-day.

C. E. MALLET.

JOFFRE'S SUCCESSOR, GENERAL NIVELLE.

IN the hurly-burly of the Paris *Gare de l'Est*, troops, white and black and brown were leaving for the front. Two "poilus" exchanged greetings. "Où vas-tu, mon vieux?" asked one. "I'm off to the Chalons Army." "Ah," said the first speaker in an accent of unconscious pride, "I belong to Nivelles's Army." It was a tribute, as rare as it is significant, to the popularity of the new Commander-in-Chief. To-day, every "poilu" belongs to Nivelles's Army, and the enemy, no doubt, is subtly conscious of his presence.

General Nivelles has extraordinary prestige with his armies. They have seen him rise from a Lieutenant-Colonelcy to the Commandership-in-Chief. They believe in his star. He has never been beaten, and they are convinced that he never will be. Since Revolution times, no general in the French Army has risen so rapidly to the supreme post. Unlike many of the rough soldiers of the naissant Republic, he has felt neither vertigo nor timidity upon the unaccustomed heights. He found his feet immediately. He has grown with the speed of Jonah's gourd, and yet it has been a symmetrical growth, well developed in all directions. Herbert Spencer has defined life as an adaptation to environment. General Nivelles must possess the vital impulse to a marked degree, for he has adapted himself almost automatically to each of his new functions. He remains the same in his simplicity and freedom from pose, and yet there is something added of dignity and authority. The secret of his adaptation, of his steadiness on the summit, is constant training. He has prepared for his great rôle, with consistency and purpose, during long years of peace when it was not easy, in the midst of the tumult of social reform, to preserve intact the fighting qualities and *état d'âme* of the soldier. Democracy is a jealous god, threatening to level and flatten those who stand out by a sort of natural superiority. But Nivelles kept the flame of his high ideals burning steadily.

No lawyer or doctor ever went more thoroughly into the business of his profession than Nivelles into the science of war. His faithful biographers have told us how he passed through the various stages of apprenticeship: the Polytechnic, Saumur, Fontainebleau, and the War School, until he emerged the perfect man-at-arms. He

distinguished himself in all branches, and is as clever a cavalry leader as he is a master of infantry tactics and a born gunner. Artillery is, indeed, the arm in which he has chiefly specialised. His knowledge of it has stood him in immense stead in this squatting war, where only guns can drive the enemy from his deep entrenchments. Under a rain of shells, the troops advance and conquer new positions, while the opposing trenches are obliterated, and the stoutest works of the enemy are reduced to dust. Nivelle understands the art of combining infantry action with artillery to such purpose that he has effected many a surprise on the battlefield to the undoing of the Germans. Verdun, which has marked, hitherto, his crowning achievement, was a series of surprises—as well as the grave of German hopes. Just as Cromwell regarded Worcester as the greatest day of his life, and Napoleon invoked the sun of Austerlitz to hearten his soldiers at Moskowa, so the French Commander-in-Chief may well regard Verdun as the symbol of his success, a sign of triumph on the Somme—and beyond the Rhine. The dates of October 23rd or December 14th are days of happy augury for the new Chief of the “poilus.”

His character stands revealed by his mastery of the guns. At the Battle of the Ourcq, which prefaced the victory of the Marne, he achieved the defeat which has entered into history. The Seventh Corps, part of Manoury's Army, to which Nivelle was attached, as Colonel of a regiment of artillery, was in difficulties owing to a sharp counter-attack from the Germans. Decimated by the fire, and nerve-racked by the heavy artillery which they encountered for the first time, the 63rd Division showed signs of wavering, and feelings of panic were not diminished by the lurid light of burning farms—their own homesteads—on the horizon. Nivelle, in such extremity, took extreme measures. Some poet must enshrine the story in Tennysonian verse. “Charge with the guns,” he said, a difference in purpose as well as wording from the immortal text. To their astonishment, the broken infantry saw five batteries pass them in a flash, with the colonel at their head. The desperadoes unlimbered in the open—happily the dusk was falling—and then in calm haste, as if on parade before a Prince of the earth, they poured in a murderous fire from the 75's upon the enemy. The watching infantry in the woods, half-demoralised, but fascinated, lost their sense of personal danger as they realised the daring of the exploit. They were electrified. Reforming rapidly, they swung out of the wood, and, with victorious *élan*, crashed into the enemy, thus completing the work of the guns. Thanks to Nivelle's utter and deliberate courage, the day was won.

A reasoned faith in daring, as one of the essentials of a soldier, is Nivelle's most precious conviction. An army of deer led by a

lion, said the Athenians, is better than an army of lions led by a deer. Polybius tells us that Hannibal conquered by his own ruses and skill, rather than by the quality or disposition of his troops. The value of an army lies in its leader. Nivelles has drunk deep of this lesson from antiquity, and has succeeded in obtaining that moral ascendancy over his command without which the brightest military talent may not avail in the great hour of the unexpected. Moral force is the winning factor in war, and Napoleon has said that a battle lost is often only a battle that one imagines to be lost. And there is that moving story told of Marshal Bugeaud at Conflans in the year of Waterloo. His regiment had dwindled to fifty soldiers without cartridges, who were faced by a corps of sharp-shooters, 300 strong. "Charge," he commanded. "But we have no ammunition," the ranks replied. "Charge all the same." And, obeying, the gallant remnant swept the enemy before them like so much chaff. "O puissance morale!" cries the Marshal, "you are the sovereign power of armies!"

Action is the base of war: this is the new Commander's slogan. When he took over a division at Soissons, promoted from Brigadier for a brilliant action which saved a bridge-head from the enemy, he was shown over his new ground by a superior. "The situation is not famous, you see," remarked the General; "what do you propose to do?" "Attack at once," responded Nivelles; "it is the only way to relieve pressure." His battles before Verdun have been vivid commentaries upon this text. He represents the true French spirit of the offensive, which, however, does not exclude all proper and scientific precautions. His Orders of the Day evidence the exalted character of his appeal. "The whole world has its eyes fixed on the corner of the earth that we are defending. Let our moral greatness be equal to the task confided to us; the safety of the country depends upon it." He is always telling his men that moral superiority wins the day; that courage connotes success. It is all very well to "hold" the enemy—it is better to attack him. He advises young recruits to "throw away your hearts before the assault—throw them into the enemy's trench." And, again, he says, in a phrase quoted by "Miles" in a sympathetic study in the "Correspondant": "In carrying out an attack, one is never too audacious. With audacity, nothing is impossible." He has always lived up to that principle, and it explains the irresistible impulse of his forward movements, which crown a meticulous study of details.

He is an optimist believing in the final victory of the Allies. That is why his presence at the head of the French Armies is a precious gage of success. Obviously, the moment had come to turn a waiting game into an active assault, and he who was destined

to lead the armies was he who incarnated this spirit of attack. Joffre had built up and organised victory; the new comer had to carry it through with the traditional verve and energy of his race. Patience and tenacity are all very well in their place, when the odds are against one; but the time has passed for purely defensive measures—and, after all, Napoleon never won by the exercise of patience.

Nivelle's calmness in the hour of action has extraordinary effect upon the beholder. The soldiers say he is invulnerable, like the great Corsican himself. He has passed, scatheless, through the most terrifying ordeals. He has never turned a hair in the midst of great bombardments, but is calm and collected, and as capable of cool-thinking as if he were working within the luminous circle of his lamp, which often burns, like a watchful and friendly beacon, late into the night. His *sang-froid* may be traced, perhaps, to his English ancestry, for his mother was a Miss Sparrow, member of a distinguished family, which has given officers to both Army and Navy. On his father's side, Nivelle is descended from a military line. His grandfather fought under the First Napoleon, his father under the Third. Thus he is a soldier by heredity and atavist influence as well as by definite education and training. His confidence in his science is such that we may reasonably anticipate some master stroke to relieve the drab monotony of the war. Nivelle's temperament is a curious blend of the French and English, due, doubtless, to the mixed parentage to which I have alluded. If he gets his coolness and British phlegm from the distaff side of the house, he is thoroughly French in his quickness to seize a situation and in the clarity of his intelligence. To the man of action is joined the man of reflection; the soldier of the field is also the student of the lamp; the innovator of Dantonian audacity, the calculator, basing his plans on mathematical certainties. And in the documents which we have cited as illustrating his genius for command, there is the swiftly soaring spirit of the philosopher of large views and Latin culture.

Though he is a believer in the *fortiter in re*, he is anything but bloodthirsty in his heart of hearts. Like Wellington shedding tears over the dead at Waterloo, he sighs over the death-roll at Verdun, and to a friend confides: "The hours we have just lived mark the height of moral beauty—and the depth of material horror." The philosophic and humanitarian vein in him is seen, too, in his appreciation of a certain maxim of Confucius, whom he learned to study during his stay in China in the Boxer rising in 1900: "The respect which we inspire is in proportion to the humanity we have attained." Profound and, at the same time, chastening thought for a great commander.

The natural gravity of his manner, the pensive cast of a countenance dominated by the broad, high brow, the oval of the head, rather massive in its lines, betray the man of thought. His aspect is more solemn and Olympic, perhaps, that Pétain's—the General who was thought by some to be the coming Chief, for his rise to power is almost equal in rapidity to that of Nivelle himself. Nivelle's Protestantism is, perhaps, not unconnected with his present post; at least, it simplified his selection, for it has awakened neither umbrage nor suspicion in the breasts of Catholics or anti-Clericals. Even in the fierce thrust of war, politics and religious quarrels flourish in the rear of the Army. But the fact that Nivelle is a spiritual descendant of Calvin and Coligny has seemed to remove him from the conflicts which have done so much harm to French union and homogeneity. Thus he stands a little removed upon his own hill-top, and his character has grown in strength and self-reliance from the very circumstance of a semi-solitude.

No political set claims him and save for a temporary appearance in some literary salon, where gathered Jules Lemaître, René Doumic, and other men of letters, he seems to have kept aloof from social circles. Nevertheless, he takes pleasure in conversation, and though a stern specialist and rigidly concentrated on his task, to the point of refusing his name as patron of a charitable enterprise—"I have not the right to turn a single one of my thoughts from the "National defence," he wrote to a lady organiser—he is well informed on a variety of topics, and is eagerly listened to in those informal debates which are the life and soul of the French drawing-room. Much of his life has been spent in Algeria, and, as one biographer puts it: "He has in his eyes the suns of other climes." He has a knowledge of Chinese, a sufficiently rare accomplishment, and speaks English and German with the accent of the native. He has written charmingly of Korea in an article which appeared in the "*Revue de Paris*," and embodied piquant and original observations on the manners of this people made during his stay in the country as member of a military mission.

As I have said, it was no easy matter for a studious soldier of the Nivelle type to keep his faith in military science and in the patriotic purpose of the soldier in the midst of the politico-social life of France during the last decades. Nivelle is an enemy of routine, and finds, I suspect, little satisfaction in the sterile servitudes of the peace-time soldier; but every moment of his leisure was spent in profitable study, and to-day he stands ready for his great office by reason of his long and unremitting training in all manly and virile pursuits as in strenuous intellectual exercise.

He has trained himself bodily to endure fatigue and privation, and is one of the finest riders in the French Army. In his earlier

days he carried off prizes in the jumping contests at the *Concours Hippique*, in Paris, and elsewhere. His many-sidedness has contributed to his prestige with Dumanet, to give the French soldier his old familiar name. It may be as well to add that Marshal Joffre, his predecessor in the Western Command, was party to his promotion, and, indeed, selected him for the post. After the Verdun victory, Joffre declared him to be the best general in the French Army. It is, therefore, with his old Chief's blessing and approval that the new Chief assumes his mantle, whilst the veteran becomes technical adviser to the War Board. Of General Nivelle's science there is no question, nor of the ascendancy he exercises over his troops; but it remains to be seen whether he can so mould the opinion of the Chamber—the real master of France—as to leave him complete freedom of action. Upon that hinges in great measure his usefulness to the State. There must be no officious interference with the expert in the name of Parliamentary control.

It is in accord with the temperament of the new Chief to conclude on an optimistic note. When bidding "good-bye" to his Headquarters Staff at Verdun, he said: "Once more the Second Army affirms its moral and material ascendancy over the enemy. I can assure you that victory is certain; Germany will learn it to her cost." At the New Year he addressed the following Order of the Day to the troops: "Soldiers of the Republic . . . At Verdun you have broken the most powerful attack ever made by the Germans against their adversaries. On the Somme, rivalling the courage of your British Allies, you have given proof of tactical superiority, which will go on increasing. 1917 opens under these brilliant auspices. We will make it a year of victory."

Since the Army wins largely through the superiority of its Chief, we may assume, with confidence, that he will crown the promise of victory by its speedy achievement.

CHARLES DAWBARN.

GERMANY'S LOST COLONIAL EMPIRE.

THERE has been nothing in the Colonial history of the world comparable to Germany's loss. Within less than three years an Empire has practically disappeared, an Empire within the boundaries of which could be placed the whole of Germany, France, Great Britain, Sweden and Spain, Belgium and Bulgaria, Austria and Hungary, Serbia and Greece. A conquest such as this, both in the extent of territory and in the time it was accomplished, will be one of the great facts of this world-wide war. The future of these vast territories cannot affect this fact of lightning conquest, cannot affect the marvellous triumphs over the physical difficulties of the *terrain*, much of which fifty years ago was regarded as uninhabitable for white races. The swamps of the Cameroons have been crossed by Major Dobell with the same ease as that which characterised General Botha's lightning crossing of the sandy wastes of German South-West Africa; medical science robbed of its terrors malaria-haunted Togoland as completely as it succeeded in reducing to a minimum enteric fever in German South-West. These are victories which, though possessing primarily a military value, point to an economic conquest of the tropics, which increases a thousandfold the potential value of these amazingly productive areas.

For the Central Powers the disappearance of Germany's Colonial Empire is a staggering blow. Those of us who have seen and known the expenditure of human energy and life at which these Colonies have been secured and developed, can only with difficulty refrain from expressing a word of sympathy at so colossal a disaster, for it is a disaster not merely to the Central Empires, but temporarily to the Colonies themselves. Thirty-five years ago, Germany did not possess a single mile of territory outside Europe, whilst prior to the outbreak of war she had secured a Colonial Empire almost as large as Europe, with the exception of Russia.

The whole of German Colonial territory was either tropical or sub-tropical, a *political* fact of the highest importance, because it is not generally recognised that unless Germany could obtain

some control over populous Asiatic or other African territories, she could never hope to develop her Colonies to anything like the extent possible to Powers like England, France, Holland, and Portugal, whose tropical labour supply is fairly adequate. The Cameroons, with the sister Colony of Togo in the Bights, both secured to Germany by the energy of Dr. Nachtigal, cover together an area larger than Germany, swampy and malarious it is true, but abounding in vegetable oils and fats. German East Africa, the creation of the truculent and ever notorious Dr. Peters, is twice the size of the Cameroons, but with a future as yet obscure. German South-West, half as large again as Germany, with its mountains, fertile plains and vast sandy deserts, is for Germany a bankrupt proposition, but for the South African Union an outlet for the energy of its ever-increasing population. The Pacific Colonies, almost as large as the British Isles, within easy "striking" distance of Australia and New Zealand, are as fruitful potentially as the Cameroons: these are the Colonies now under the administration of the conquerors.

THE DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY CONQUESTS.

It may be due to the unfortunate insularity of mind which dominates the Allied peoples, or it may be absorption in the European struggle, but whatever the cause, popular conception has utterly failed to grasp the immensity of this conquest: *within thirty months the Allies have conquered a Colonial Empire which took Germany thirty years by diplomacy to obtain.* That, it is hardly necessary to repeat, is a fact of tremendous historical import.

It is interesting to note that the units of Germany's Colonial Empire would in almost every case have come under British rule without present-day bloodshed had our diplomatists been willing, or, being willing, had not decided on annexation just too late! In 1877, the natives of Samoa petitioned Great Britain to establish a Protectorate over the island, but the petition was disregarded, and about two years later Germany made treaties with the Chiefs which laid the foundation of her Colonies in the South Pacific. A few weeks after the outbreak of war, the inhabitants of Noumea in French New Caledonia gathered in excited concourse upon the beach to watch an incoming flotilla which proved to be British cruisers and transports with a tiny expeditionary force of 1,500 New Zealanders on their way to—"Somewhere under sealed orders." A few days later, in both the Antipodes and Europe, the news was published that the New Zealanders had obtained complete possession of Samoa, and thereby controlled the Australia-Panama route. In a very brief period after this strategic

conquest, the entire German Pacific possessions passed under the control of the Allied Governments.

The Cameroons river has been for nearly a century the centre of a merchant traffic, whilst the merchants themselves were on the most friendly terms with old King Bell, of Bell Town, just outside Dualla. The Cameroons at one time very nearly came under the British flag, for in the early 'eighties old King Bell, the father of the late King Bell who was educated by the Germans in Berlin, and hanged by them on the outbreak of war, appealed to the British Parliament to take the country under British protection. The Government of that day refused, and at midnight on July 15th, 1884, a treaty was signed with Dr. Nachtigal, which laid the foundation of Germany's possession of the Cameroons. Five days later—just five days too late—the British Consul arrived to establish British control over the country! In 1911 Germany, through the Morocco incident, obtained the "Duck's bill" extension of the Cameroons, which gave her access to the Congo. This seriously embittered French opinion and irritated the German Colonial Society, because it bisected French Equatorial Africa, and exposed German diplomacy to ridicule, for the territory was declared to be a "pestilential swamp without population." Herr von Lindequist, rather than sign the agreement, resigned his position as Colonial Minister. Within a little more than a year the whole Cameroons territory was conquered and passed under Allied control as a result of unsurpassed heroism in one of the most unhealthy regions of the African continent.

Togoland, somewhat larger than Scotland, was secured to Germany in the European scramble for Africa in 1884. Its climate is almost as unhealthy for Europeans as that of the Cameroons. Direktor Hupfeld has declared that "Togoland stands without a rival at the head of our tropical Protectorates"—a statement which, if true, would say very little for the other Colonial possessions of Germany. This territory was conquered by an Anglo-French force, and is now administered jointly by France and Great Britain. In the British sphere the Administration has abolished the poll-tax upon the natives, and has not only been able to pay its way, but has in hand a surplus of £6,000 of revenue over expenditure—no small tribute to the growing reputation of Sir Hugh Clifford as an administrator.

German South-West, nearly half as large again as Germany, would have been British had we responded in 1883 to the appeal of the Chiefs, but it formally unfurled the German flag on August 7th, 1884. It was hauled down on July 9th, 1915, through General Botha's conquest with the aid of 50,000 white troops and 30,000 native helpers, and with a casualty list of 122 deaths and

318 wounded, or but one-tenth the casualties involved in any single day of the Somme offensive! The total financial outlay involved was less than £15,000,000. To-day, this huge territory possesses a Civil Administration, and German farmers have returned to their farms, although, as the Imperial Government telegraphed to General Botha on August 7th, 1914, "any territory occupied . . . you will realise . . . must be at the disposal of the Imperial Government for the purpose of the ultimate settlement "at the conclusion of the war."

German East Africa, ten times the size of Natal, has a record for ever made infamous by the revolting deeds of Karl Peters, and is the last of the German Colonies to fall into the hands of the conquerors. German interest commenced by running up the German flag at Usagara, in 1884, but it was not until 1890 that Germany obtained the whole of the coast-line rights for the sum of £200,000 from the Sultan of Zanzibar.

THE VALUE OF GERMANY'S COLONIAL EMPIRE.

There are three cardinal facts which should be borne in mind in connection with Germany's Colonial Empire. First, almost the entire areas of these Colonies are incapable of white colonisation; secondly, and this, I repeat, is of immense political importance, Germany knows that without the conquest or the annexation of populous Asiatic or other African territories, her Colonies were doomed to ultimate bankruptcy; finally, that the value of any of these Colonies, if they should come under the flag of England, France, or even Portugal, would be increased tenfold for the simple reason that either of these Powers could do what Germany cannot—namely, populate them.

But before entering in any detail upon the foregoing considerations, what have these Colonies cost Germany already in hard cash? It is impossible to do more than give a rough estimate based upon known facts. It is generally recognised that tropical and sub-tropical territories involve the Mother Country in a grant-in-aid of at least £1 per square mile for administrative purposes alone for something like thirty years. Upon this basis the German Colonies would have cost administratively £30,000,000. To this must be added at least an equal sum for railway construction, also an equal sum for other public works, and at least another £30,000,000 for military expenditure, the South-West African expeditions alone having cost, it is admitted, £20,000,000. We thus reach a total initial outlay in hard cash of £120,000,000. The Imperial subvention for the complete year before the war for the whole Colonial Empire was as follows:—

					£	s.	d.
Togoland	...	...	...	...			
Cameroons	...	...	...	...	318,000	0	0
German South-West	...	...	...	...	2,413,000	0	0
German East Africa	...	...	...	...	2,049,000	0	0
Kiao-chau	...	...	...	...	478,000	0	0
Pacific Islands	...	...	...	...	82,500	0	0
					£5,340,500	0	0

If this year is taken as an average, which, in view of the heavy expenditure in previous years upon wars in Togo, East Africa, and against the Herreros, is not an unfair basis, the direct cost to the German taxpayer for the thirty years' possession has been something over £160,000,000. To this must be added the expenditure of human energy, spelling in hundreds of cases lives prematurely ended for which figures sterling fail to express values.

POTENTIAL VALUES.

When we turn to the potential assets of the German Colonies, a vision of incalculable wealth confronts the eye. Happily there is very little gold, the frantic searching for which is not merely the root of all evil, but, economically, is the "scarlet woman" of the financial world, whose chief function appears to be the dissipation of capital. Vegetable oils and butters—the Consols of the tropics—abound, edible butters from cocoanuts, ground nuts and oil palms for the production of salad oils and "nut butter at popular prices," cocoa-butter from the cocoa beans for delectable pomades, and the healing ointments of medical science. After vegetable butters come a host of commodities jostling each other for pre-eminence—cocoa, rubber, cotton, sizal, mahogany, diamonds, and spices.

CAMEROONS AND TOGOLAND.

The areas capable of largest productivity are the Cameroons and Togoland. These two Colonies, which had a pre-war export of vegetable butter products of £300,000, have a combined area of 225,000 square miles, while the neighbouring British territory of Nigeria, only half as large again and with approximately the same "butter" productivity, has an export of £5,000,000. It would be perfectly safe to calculate that after ten years of British rule the butter exports of Togo and the Cameroons would exceed £3,000,000. But it is doubtful whether Germany, unless she

controls new and populous areas either in Asia or Africa, could raise the export much beyond the £300,000.

The same arguments apply to cocoa. Togoland, the Cameroons and the British Gold Coast, all commenced the production of cocoa approximately at the same period. The Gold Coast and Ashanti measure only 80,000 square miles as compared with their sister German Colonies of 225,000 square miles. The cocoa production of the smaller British territory was, prior to the war, £2,500,000, as compared with only £220,000 for the larger German territories with similar productive capacity. The production of cocoa in the British areas was £30 per square mile, as compared with a fraction less than £1 per square mile in German territory. It should not be a difficult task for an Administration adopting British principles to raise the cocoa export of the German territories from £220,000 to something over £3,000,000. German East Africa and the South Pacific islands are also capable of producing an enormous quantity of vegetable butter. Copra, the flesh of the cocoanut, one of the most nutritious and, at the same time, germ-proof ingredients of the best margarine, represents already 90 per cent. of the Pacific exports.

Whilst vegetable oils and butters constitute the major exports of the German Colonies, they are only exported to-day to the veriest fraction of their capacity. There are other subsidiary possibilities of large and increasing value. Besides vegetable butter, the Cameroons abound in African mahogany, and there are still large supplies of virgin rubber possessing some market value. In Togoland, there are possibilities of cotton in three large provinces, and ground nuts once had a phenomenal export which would have been maintained but for the folly, to say nothing of the crime, of killing off the producers. German South-West has diamonds which will find a good market when it so pleases Kimberley, but copper and the cultivation of cotton have to ask nobody's permission to come into more energetic activity, providing the countless Herreros could either be called back to life or be replaced from other parts of the world. German East Africa not only produces some vegetable butter, but has a good chance of ultimately capturing the sisal markets of the world and a certainty of so doing if the upheaval in Mexico should lead to the liberation of the slaves of the henequen kings of the Yucatan.

THE PRODUCERS OF COLONIAL WEALTH.

The one supreme consideration, the bed-rock fact which explains the stunted economic growth of the German Colonies, is that in spite of all her expenditure of money and energy, the Colonies were

not what Germany so sorely needed—namely, areas capable of absorbing her surplus population. This cardinal fact has never been grasped by British or any other public opinion. A territory to be colonisable must be suited to the domestic life of a white race; it must permit the birth, education, and up-bringing of white children. In the million square miles of the German African and South Pacific Colonies, there were, prior to the outbreak of war, less than 9,500 colonists, which implies a total immigration from the Mother Country of less than 1,000 men per annum! Every student of Colonial affairs can appreciate what this means, can appreciate the chagrin of the German nation when it was realised that the Colonies were not, and could never be, rendered colonisable by Germany.

The natural unwillingness of the Germans to emigrate with their families and expose themselves to the ravages of malaria was bad enough, but worse was to follow. Tropical and sub-tropical territory can be developed by the white man, providing he has an adequate population to draw upon, and here again the German administrators found themselves in a hopeless position. In Togoland, Germany possessed three natives to one square mile, but they crossed the borders in a continuous stream to trade and labour in the British Colony of the Gold Coast. In German South-West Africa the sparsity of population was still worse—three natives only to ten square miles!

The political significance of this should be carefully noted, for when it was realised that Germany could not colonise the territories she possessed, her statesmen had but one of two courses before them: (a) to obtain a labour supply from other Powers, or (b) to obtain by diplomacy or force control of a densely populated area in Africa or Asia. Failing either solution, there was nothing but Colonial disaster before Germany; this was beyond question a contributory cause of that German political irritability which has for years set Europe by the ears, and has at last culminated in a world-wide catastrophe.

Germany at first attempted to secure a labour supply from British territory, but the atrocious treatment at Wilhelmstal of immigrant natives from the South African Union put an end to this current of labour. Then an attempt was made to obtain British permission to recruit Indian labour from British India, which permission was promptly refused. The failure of these and similar efforts, coupled with the ever-increasing rate of native depopulation in the Colonial territories, left Germany with the single alternative of obtaining control over some fairly densely populated territory elsewhere, but when German statesmen cast about for such territory, they were confronted everywhere with doors bolted and

barred against them. German statesmen were too late, the older Colonising Powers had, for good or ill, divided up and entered into the inheritance of the more densely populated areas of the world.

THE FUTURE OF GERMANY'S COLONIES.

The future of the German Colonies must, of course, depend almost entirely upon the ultimate military situation. There are those who argue with a good deal of political force, but very little thought for the native inhabitants, that for many reasons peace terms should permit the return to Germany of all her conquered territories. There are no conceivable circumstances under which such a return could be made, those who have any doubts upon that should bear in mind three indisputable facts. First, for political reasons Germany cannot, as a result of the war, return either to the Far East, the South Pacific, or German South-West Africa. Secondly, German statesmen may have shown themselves fools in many directions, but they are not so foolish as to desire a return of their African Colonies unless with the return of those Colonies there are coupled other Colonial territories capable of white settlement, and an arrangement by which adequate labour forces can be obtained for the development of the tropical and sub-tropical zones. Finally, there is one sheet-anchor to which British public opinion must hold fast—no British territory in any part of the Colonial dominions occupied by colonists or tribes with whom we have contracted obligations, can be surrendered either to enemy or Allied Powers as a result of the war, without first securing the sanction of the British Parliament and the occupants of the territories concerned—this in view of certain suggestions now being made in connection with one at least of Britain's oldest Colonies. If Germany is to rise again as a Colonial Power, the interests of permanent peace and of the Colonial territories themselves demand that she should only do so providing she is prepared to regard Colonial expansion as an opportunity for service, and not that the territories should only be exploited in the interests of the Mother Country.

JOHN H. HARRIS.

ON THE BRITISH SOMME.

I LEFT the Somme French last autumn and found it English the other day. Our lines come down south of the river, whither the Censor will not let me say. Village after village, ruin after ruin, I had known French I found English. *Rues du Général Joffre* had become Piccadillies and *Places de la Victoire* Clapham Junctions. "Lorries must not take this road" where used to be "Route interdite aux camions." The big grey British lorries with discreet little distinguishing pictures on each of tiny flowers, suns, clubs, spades, instead of the equally big French *camions*, but with big pictures, flamboyant or comic, the cock of victory, the funny Dutch dolls under an umbrella, the bulldog smoking a clay pipe. The Tommy with his broad brown trench helmet, instead of the *poilu* with his narrow blue one. A whole country made over peacefully from one Army to the other, with the Boches a few yards away, without one hitch.

I am wrong, there was one hitch. I enquired and was told by a Brigade-Major that there was one hitch. In some *débris* of a village or other, British and French troops disagreed. Think of it: in the whole taking over of the Somme front by our troops from the French, there was one hitch in one village. The Brigade-Major told me about it, almost dwelt upon it. What did not seem to have struck him was the amazing thing that there was only one hitch. For the rest the French troops had arranged, planned, timed things amazingly well for us to step in and carry on. Of course, though, there was that one hitch in one wrecked village. One hitch!

We walked quietly in to where the French troops were before, to Maricourt, Bray, Suzanne, Biaches. . . . The Boches knew, of course, but I don't think they knew too soon. The shuffling was made with a dexterity that does credit to our and the French command. The French Somme became English with the best grace in the world. There are not many inhabitants left in villages just behind the front. But one does come across here and there an ancient peasant, a little peasant girl or boy, wandering about among British troops. To them the British soldier is by now an old big friend—strange, incomprehensible, but quite human and familiar. The Colonial, the Indian, the Highlander even are familiar to them.

They stand gazing in wonderment at them washing, stripped to the waist. They have an immense idea of our thoroughness from the entire world of buildings, plant, machinery, besides actual guns and shells, which we have shipped over and set up; such a colossal work as has never been known in history before. They can even tell our uniforms and badges, and spot a "brass hat" instantly when they see it. If ever the joke were to come true that the British Army never will evacuate the British-invaded positions, I don't believe the Somme peasants would mind. The Brigade Major could remember in his various billets since August, 1914, only one crusty old gentleman—whose close friend he has long since become. Allowances must be made for the courtly and cantankerous old Marquis de X. He has never left his estate in the Somme since the war. First he was invaded by the Boches, then the English came, then the French regulars, then the French colonials, then the French marines, then the Senegalese. When the Senegalese settled in his *château* and park the poor Marquis told the Brigade Major (by then his fast friend) in agony, "Mon commandant, no, this war must stop. Think of it, the Senegalese, no, no!" The Marquis is, of course, the dearest old patriotic gentleman in France, but he is fond of his *château* and gardens as well as of his country. The Brigade Major made a lasting friend of him by rescuing what he could of the furniture and pictures from another smaller but beautiful *château* of his then under shell-fire, and now wiped out. Another old French country gentleman, away from his *château* in the Somme, at one time invaded by the Germans, heard from his gardener, left in charge. "I must report to M. le Marquis that some more bottles from his cellar have been drunk" (the words reached the bottom of the page, "those — Boches," cried the Marquis as he turned the page) "by our brave Allies, the English." "Ah, capital," said the Marquis. "Vive l'Angleterre!"

Amiens itself is thought by cynics to enjoy the war. I am not sure I am not one of them. Of course, one gets bombed there (it is, by the way, not merely the official truth but the real truth that the Boche aeroplanes have never once in Amiens hit anything of military importance, if that was what they were aiming at) and the enemy aeroplanes don't matter so much as our own Archies, which tear the night to pieces with the horrid noise of their anti-aircraft barrage fire every two hours, and kill all sleep. But Amiens has compensations. One sees them in the pastrycook shops, where the Amiens duck pie is sold, in the *Rue des Trois Caillous*, more crowded by day than the Paris boulevards, and one hears about them in curious tales from the Amiens Commissioner of Police. Amiens, officially, is still half French. French citizens may go

there with a French permit. In the British lines, of course, a British G.H.Q. permit is required by all. Some people, by the way, I found a little sad in Amiens. They had just been with Mr. Bernard Shaw on his trip to the front, and he had been funny all the way.

I visited the French aviation camp last autumn, and the R.F.C. camps the other day. One may say that we have created our military aviation since the war, and created our aviation photography in the last year. The latter now is as good as the French; in one respect better, for the pictures are clearer. When I was first initiated into the wonders of aeroplane photography by the French, we were still learning the rudiments. The Boches, of course, know the game, too, yet not as well. I was shown some of their pictures, taken from a German machine brought down, and they could not compare for precision with ours. It is a fact, I was told by the R.F.C., that we have actually at last produced a better photographic lens than the Zeiss or the Goertz. We are not quick at doing things, but we do get there in the long run.

And we don't talk about it. What the R.F.C. is doing is absolutely unknown to the whole world except itself, the enemy, and French aviators. Having some sort of propaganda mission of my own, I asked the Brigade Major, "Why not let me tell the French public of what British aviation does? They scarcely know there is a British aviation." He squirmed in his seat in the car and said, "No, no, it would go against the grain." The grain notwithstanding, I did tell and publish in Paris that Albert Ball has fought eighty air fights, and has brought down in our lines thirty-two machines, one more than Guynemer then. The French people, which, after all, is allied with the British people, and peoples not merely armies are fighting this war, had never heard of Albert Ball, or of the score of others who follow him in the confidential list of the best R.F.C. guns, never knew we took any bags at all, scarcely knew we had any aviation. I was given a beautiful printed report on beautiful paper of the week's doings of the R.F.C., and put it in my pocket. Half an hour later a very nice subaltern came and asked me for the document back. "I thought this was for publication." "Oh, no, sir, it is secret and confidential."

The report gave our losses for the week. They were less than the enemy's, but the civilian always jibs. "What? No, well worth it, well worth it," was the R.F.C.'s answer. Well worth it: what a motto. Aviator boys of twenty and eighteen had not thought of any motto at all, but they live up to it. Their only pass words are "gadget" and "stunt," they show you in delight this and that bit of machinery, and it is a "gadget," and they do their

"stunts"—eights and inside edges in the air, they seemed to me—after tea, when they have come back from fighting the Boches, *when* they come back. Boys, indeed, whom one cannot write about, and who could not advertise themselves—the word alone is poisonous. Still, one might know a little more about them than one does. I saw one of a fighting squadron alight who had just fought three Boches. "Brought one down, I think, Sir, almost 'sure, Sir,'" he said to the Brigade Major. "Then my machine 'gun jammed. Bad luck, Sir.'" "Luck for you, anyhow, you're 'here, Smith,'" and the Brigade Major took me off to see something else in the camp, and "Smith" started overhauling his machine gun and his engine. As a matter of fact he had begun already the moment he landed. "Well worth it": the R.F.C. ought to take that motto.

The gadgets and stunts we have invented for our aviation observation and photography are marvellous. Each officer shows you his own invention with a boy's delightful pride, devices for signalling, quick methods for flying camp records, codes for announcing each shell where it falls, tricks for simplifying map reading. Something like Y.12.15 sent by wireless means that a shell has burst within so many yards of such an enemy position, and in a certain direction. The precision of aeroplane photographs is wonderful. I saw those of Guillemont before and after our shelling. Before, the minute map of the village; after, a square piece of pockmarked skin; that is exactly what it looked like, with the requisite patience one could have exactly counted the shell holes. Our R.F.C., indeed, learnt this great and valuable war game from the French, but we are as good as any at it now. Comparing the R.F.C. photographic service with the French, which I had seen some months before, I noticed one remarkable thing. There is one most delicate job of all, to draw upon the map what you read from the air photograph. You must read and draw with absolute accuracy, otherwise the aviator's work will be worse than useless. In the French aviation camps I visited, the staff for photograph reading and map drawing consisted of subalterns who were engineers, architects, artists before the war, and there were two officers and educated civilians to one private and working man. In the R.F.C. camp I saw there was one officer in the whole photographic department. All the reading of photographs, all the interpretation of photographs on to maps, all the most delicate and difficult work was done by N.C.O.'s who hadn't an H to bless themselves with.

Where did we find and train this staff of men who are not "educated," and do their difficult and intelligent job exceedingly well? "We got them somehow," said the Brigade Major. We

have got them. We have these men who haven't an aitch to their name, and who have brought our aeroplane photographic work to perfection.

For the rest, of course, our and the French Flying Corps are absolutely at one. They are constantly in touch. French aviators know all about what our flying men do, though the French public does not, and "we share absolutely all our secrets and gadgets and "stunts," said the Brigade Major.

The war is costing us six million pounds or so a day, I believe, but we really are learning husbandry and economy. Some details still require adjustment, such as that of wines, which British officers' messes in France still, apparently, import from England, a curious arrangement, and, I should think, expensive. In the main, though, we are learning to save and make the best of all our strength in men and material. I saw a R.F.C. repairs' park that is a miracle of ingenious husbandry, installed in a ramshackle old French country factory by a captain who was an obvious civilian, a Manchester business man, I should think. He boasted about what he had managed to do, and rightly. From wings, propellers, and nine-cylinder engines to eighth-of-an-inch nuts, he could supply everything, and he could lay his finger in a second on anything asked for. Moreover, the entire shop's contents were arranged in boxes like commercial travellers' cases, and the entire repair park plant and stores can in a few hours be packed in lorries and moved off, if the division moves. A fine example of practical, business-like management. I saw regimental dumps, where all refuse is put together. I saw the bone and stink shops, where every kind of refuse, from old meat bones to soiled lint wound dressings, is saved and put to use: the cotton from old bandages, for instance, goes back to Blighty and becomes explosives. We are getting almost German in our thoroughness. I saw, by the way, also two very fine porkers, which were the property of a battalion, having been bought out of the proceeds of the regimental dump. Every battalion has learnt to make money out of its refuse, and by husbanding instead of throwing away, and some have made big sums, generally re-invested in pigs and poultry.

We also husband our man power now quite well. There is nothing finer to be seen just behind the front of the Somme than a so-called school. Officers and men come there straight from the trenches. Many of them arrive wrecks, and go instantly to bed. All leave fit again in a fortnight or so, absolutely new men. They have been bathed, nursed, fed, drilled, wined, sing-songed, cheered up, given outdoor games and exercise in quiet fresh air, where one can only just hear the guns of the lines. Their hosts are officers and men of their own age, who know, too, what trench fighting is

(many of them were wounded) and who know how to buck them up again. Drill, football, companionship, a piano, the "Bing Boys or Girls" score, a quiet little old French *château* and grounds: they are new men again. These practical, gay, sensible rest homes behind the trenches are admirable. There are other schools, which are schools proper, and where all the tricks of warfare to-day are taught. A gallant Anglo-Indian colonel, who limped slightly, and after a time apologised for doing so, explaining that one of his legs was a sham one since the battle of Ypres, and in the cold weather he got chilblains on the stump, showed me all the tricks of trench-mortars and Stokes guns, in which he trained young officers, who come down from the trenches for extra finishing courses of a week or so. A sergeant-major showed me new amazing bayonet tricks which he had just invented, and which he practised successfully one against three supposed Boches. In another school, subalterns down from the trenches were being finished off in all the most modern murderous arts from gunnery to gassing, which latter the Boches must be sorry now they made us resort to. In one more, crack marksmen, also resting from the trenches, were keeping their hands in by potting at sham Boche heads appearing in unexpected places, and less-experienced Tommies were being taught *camouflage* of dug-outs, and also, for instance, how to use a corpse, friend or foe, as a parapet, with a hole to fire through. The C.O. of the school was particularly proud of his sham corpses, uniform and all equipment guaranteed genuine, through holes in which his marksmen shot. Men who have not been in the trenches thus get used to the real thing.

I had almost forgotten the *morale*, which the civilian always wants to know about. At the front the word, naturally, is unknown, the thing is also. Nobody has any *morale*, from brass hat to private. Everyone just does his job and frequently grumbles, and knows he is doing his job right, and that the Boche is beaten. I have never met such cocksureness anywhere at any time. It is all a matter of course at the front. "Poor old Boche," that is all they say, he has got it, and is getting it in the neck, and will get it worse. I do not know why and how the Boches are beaten, and, at any rate, would not say if I did know. But our Army on the Somme knows they are, that is a fact anyone who goes now to the Somme may learn.

LAURENCE JERROLD.

CONSCRIPTION FOR WOMEN.

ONE of the dangers that confronts a country engaged in war lies in the fact that even non-combatants are apt to forget that exigency work may leave vital questions of future welfare not only untouched, but clean out of mind. Being out of mind, these questions are presently out of hand. Matters manageable enough if taken in time, grow with neglect into the more formidable and costly kind of problem. The Emergency Work must be done. But there must be vision in the Watch Towers, or labour and sacrifice may be vain.

Many of the old windows opening upon the life of the people are closed in these days, and, so to say, "Zeppelin-curtained." Life is carried on under the extinguisher of two sorts of censorship, official and unofficial. The last is perhaps the most effective. It operates (in addition to other ways) through a thousand editors and spokesmen, in the guise of a very natural conviction that on the serious side of affairs people are interested in nothing but the war. As a result, other considerations, even those which shall be bearing fruit when the Great War is a fading memory, are set aside. This is more the tendency among women, because they are less in touch with public affairs, are largely unorganised, and are working in great numbers at new tasks, or under new conditions, as well as harder than ever before.

The value to the State of eliciting opinion, the danger to the community in the repression of opinion, were never greater than now. Even the untrained man or woman, not too wearied by emergency work, and having access to posts of observation, may save painful collision, and costly wreckage, by a timely warning.

The trained observer, such as Miss Mary MacArthur, does incalculable service to the country, as well as to working girls and women, by giving the public an idea of how certain work, its rewards, its immediate conditions, and its future dangers, appear to those most closely concerned with it. The world in general—above all, the world at Westminster—has too little opportunity of knowing how these matters are looked upon by women. Kindred knowledge is, more fortunately, not easy to overlook when it concerns men's work, or the wider issues affecting it. No one

concerned to know lacked information as to the attitude of men's trade unions on the subject of conscription, for infinite trouble was taken to elicit and to shape that opinion.

On the other hand, by a thousand signs we see how little is known of the working woman's attitude towards compulsory service for women. If this were not so we should have in the Press some stronger reflection of her objection and of its grounds. We should not have the *Times* engaged at column's length in preparing the way for Universal National Service, setting out the advantage of Registration for all purposes, and inquiring towards the close with a bland impartial air: "Would the Englishman's inherent objection to being registered, docketed, and numbered prove fatal to such a scheme?" That writer is evidently quite guiltless of any knowledge either of the greater "objection" felt by a large class of Englishwomen, or their far graver grounds for such objection. Neither can their grounds have any place in the minds of those ladies who write to the papers begging that they may be "called up."

Our ears have been filled with praises of women's eagerness to be enlisted for War Work—an eagerness not confined (as many working women are apt to think) to the middle class. If the desire to do "war work" has carried thousands of educated women into hospitals and munition works, the same impulse, heightened in many cases by the lure of wages beyond their wildest dreams, has carried into such work so many domestic servants as to affect house-keeping all over the land. A natural impatience with their idleness is shown by those would-be war workers of training and capacity, who wait weary months after registering at Labour Exchanges; or who, after qualifying for farm work, learned of the difficulties encountered by the Agricultural Committees in getting farmers to give women a trial.

Conscription, it is urged, will automatically enlist these would-be helpers. Though unconscious of the bull perpetrated in the proposal to conscript volunteers, those who urge conscription have on their side the undoubted fact that a systematic organisation of women would reveal a new reservoir of national energy—available, however, in the highest measure only if the volunteers are selected and supervised by qualified women. Another argument in favour of conscription is that it would range women *officially* with the national forces, and thus bring women of necessity into a category less easy, some think, to ignore.

The delusion of hope cherished on this ground arises from the ever-present temptation of the more educated, more articulate woman, to consider herself as fitted to judge and to speak for her entire sex. She forgets that she represents a very small fraction of

womankind, and from the industrial employers' point of view, a wholly negligible fraction, *unless he can use her as a bait*. For what purpose? Solely to land the bigger fish: the women of the great working class.

It is well for us to know that the people most important to enlist (from the point of view of industry), those who know most about the matter as it affects the mass, regard the suggestion of conscripting women with a passionate aversion. Grave trouble is in store for those who, ignorant of, or heedless of this fact, or failing to apprehend its gravity, shall undertake the coercion of working women. No one who remembers the slow steps, the long and patient preparation by which conscription of men (for military purposes solely) was approached in this country, will deny that compulsion is inconvenient enough when employed by men upon their own sex. Few, if any, men have the least idea of the bitterness that would be engendered and the troubles that would arise upon an attempt on the part of men to force conscription upon the other sex. This is no impeachment of the loyalty of British women, or the good intentions of British men. It is a restatement of the axiom that you cannot safely legislate for people whose conditions you don't know.

There has for some time, now, been a disposition not only to praise women, but to get the most out of them. To treat them, therefore, reasonably well. The more significant, then, were those discussions in Parliament, which revealed amongst other facts, that not only was a great munitions firm altering the eight hour shift for girls to twelve hours, but had the audacity to ask Government sanction for the change. With what sorry confidence must employers trust to legislators' incapacity to represent the immediate interests of the girls, or the future interests of the race!

The *Times* quotes expert opinion as saying:

"At the very lowest calculation there are over 100,000 women working on munitions of various kinds, who are not yet granted a living wage. Some of the trades in which the workers are subject to the leaving clauses of the Munitions Act, but have no order fixing their rates, are:—

"All electrical engineering trades, which include all telegraphic and cable accessories, electric light, dynamos, and motor work, Marconi work, brass foundries; bolt and nut and screw trades; rope and cable makers; saws and files; all rubber trades; soap and chemicals; the brick trade; and all work at the Potteries."

The debate in the House of Commons elicited the fact that

"in a controlled firm in Southampton a Government award decreed that a woman of eighteen might begin at 2d. an hour, and if her work was satisfactory might, after a year, receive 2½d. an hour, a problematic war bonus of 2s. being paid only on certain conditions.

Owing to the Government award being in the ambiguous form of 'if the work is satisfactory,' it was at the discretion of the employer to withhold the extra farthings if he chose. In November last 120 girls applied for their leaving certificates, as Southampton is one of the six cities of England where the cost of living is highest. The Chairman of the Tribunal stopped the case until a settlement could be come to, but no award has been made yet, and the original scandalous rates continue. The foremen are Spaniards and Italians, who adopt a very harsh attitude towards the girls."

Dr. Tchaykovsky tells of women employed wholly or partially on Government work, who are paid for

" *Safety Fuses*.—11s. a week, now raised to 13s. by arbitration.

" *Linen Cloth*.—Government award of 2½d. per hour to certain day workers.

" *Electric Firm*.—Day rates commencing at 2d. an hour, rising after a year's satisfactory service to 2½d. an hour.

" *N.B.*—52 hours' week at 2d. an hour, 8s. 8d.; 52 hours' week at 3d. an hour, 13s.

"The War Emergency Workers' National Committee reported that there are, 'notwithstanding all the Government's declarations, still thousands of adult women on Government orders, and many of them legally forbidden to leave their employment, earning less than 3d. an hour, or 15s. a week; the trade boards have not yet revised their scale of wages anything like in proportion to the rise in cost of living.' "

This in the face of the accepted fact, emphasised, as Dr. Tchaykovsky reminds us, in the *Times* of September 25th, that :

"The provision of proper meals for the workers is an indispensable condition for the maintenance of output on which our fighting forces depend not only for victory but for their very lives."

Again reverting to our *Times*, we read on December 23rd, in relation to the Munitions Amendment Act of 1915, that

"Section 7, as most people know [!], makes it impossible for any woman to leave work in a controlled establishment without a leaving certificate. If she does, no employer can give her work for six weeks. As leaving certificates are constantly refused to women on wages as low as 10s., their case is very hard if they have the offer of better work in their neighbourhood. They cannot afford to remain out of work for six weeks."

Apologists may urge that, however trying these conditions, they are purely temporary, a concomitant of war, destined to disappear with the coming of Peace.

To believe that is to be blind and deaf. If from this quarter and that comes praise of women's work, come whispers also of the fixed intention to keep these armies of docile workers at their post. If on fairer terms, who can believe that these fairer terms will

be accorded without a struggle, when the worker is no longer at a premium, and the work no longer held to be vital to the nation?

No special facilities are required to grasp the significance of such accounts (the Press has teemed with them) as that which appeared in the *Daily News* of November 15th last, under the heading *Women Shell Makers*.

"The most noticeable feature of the armament works—by which I mean the great establishments normally engaged in producing weapons—in both of the districts with which I am now dealing, is the employment of women. In one they have been employed, to some extent, for years, but the number has now been greatly increased; as I mentioned above, there are some 6,000 of them.

"The manager, who is justly proud of his khaki feminine troop, and knows exactly what every girl is doing, showed me one who had increased [her output] from 30 to 130, another from 40 to 150, and so on.

"The automatic increase of output thus achieved by practice alone has an important bearing on the product of newly-organised resources, if it is allowed to operate freely, as it is with women. I saw a girl doing a particular operation on a lathe which had been previously worked by a skilled man; she was turning 150 per shift, against his 30. The champion of the factory is a girl who is machining the copper bands on shells; her 'record' is 1,014 in a ten-hour shift, or, say, 101 per hour. And each shell has to be lifted into position and lifted out again. The weight raised in an hour can be easily calculated. These are Scottish girls.

"All managers and foremen in these war workshops prefer women to men, not because they are 'cheaper'—for they are not, in the sense usually meant, and it would make no difference to the manager if they were—but because they do their best to help and put no artificial obstacles in the way of the highest results."

Mere unintelligence would expect employers to forgo, in the future and at other tasks, workers of this description.

A significant conversation took place not long ago between a woman merely "looking round" and the manager of one of the munition factories, he, full of those approvals to which working women are growing accustomed, showing with conscious pride the improved conditions and the generous manner in which the Welfare recommendations were being carried out. "I was opposed to all this at first," he admitted. "And you are not now?" "Certainly not. *It pays*." "How can it?" said the woman, thinking of the cost of building and furnishing a Rest Room, and improved conveniences of divers sorts—"how can all this pay for so short a time?" "But it isn't for a short time," the manager said. "We see now that girls are all right." He told the sort of work which in peace time would supersede munition-making. It could all be done by girls. They learned new processes easily. And girls were so easily managed!

Where docility, unwatched, unfriended, may land women, we do not have to "wait and see." If we did, some light could be shed by the experienced head of a great Women's Employment concern. She was called on the other day by a lady gardener: "Why don't you send me any more students?" "Not to be had. All making 'munitions.'" But she held that, like Bopeep's sheep, they would "all come back." So many had been back already. Health temporarily broken down. "We must go and get well, and then, our 'old work—please find us posts.'"

What of those girls who are not given their discharge in time?

These are not matters of which men can judge. They will be victimised by the plausible, and will not know how to distinguish.

But Docility will serve the hard taskmaster only so long as the docile-born are not fired and led by the freer spirits. British Docility will in time learn the Australian and New Zealand lesson.

Meanwhile, we must not lose sight of the fact that the war has not created, but merely accelerated the influx of women into industries formerly carried on solely by men. How little this is understood may be read in the trade union resolutions that leak into print, even in these congested days. Working men fear this flood of new labour. In this fear they take the sure way to render the new labour formidable by shutting it out of the great Unions, and leaving it no choice but to be cheap. They cannot yet see that the only formidable women-labour is the unorganised labour.

Men of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, who, by a majority of 4,799, voted this January against the admission of women to their society, and the scores of similar resolutions by other bodies, leave out of sight the terrible [!] proficiency of the new woman worker, her growing popularity with employers, and the danger, if her organisation is discouraged, of employers forcing her into undercutting men after the war.

Those working men are, indeed, innocent who think that all the agreements ever made with employers or with Governments, (or made with however honest intention) to revert to pre-war conditions, will save the working man from bearing his part in the law of Progress. The stream does not flow back.

A wiser form of protest was registered at the 16th Annual Conference of the Labour Party, by that highly intelligent group, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers who recognise that, owing to industrial changes, it may not be practicable to secure in all cases absolute and literal restoration of every trade union custom. The Engineers are prepared to regard the restoration of any custom as a matter of negotiation, if good reason can be shown for regarding restoration as impossible on account of changes which must be in their nature permanent.

Of this nature is the participation by women in much of the work hitherto done solely by men. Men's unions should take action on the dangerous fact that women alone are as yet too underpaid, too untrained in corporate action, to safeguard themselves *and their brothers*.

For that is what it comes to! The results of this sort of industrial injustice cannot be segregated. They spread, they invade, they overwhelm. No one can plead for women without at the same time pleading for men. When men realise that injustice to women is a menace to men, they will look more carefully into it; or (taking the wiser way, which is also the shortest cut) they will ask qualified women to help them to prescribe for the common evil. When the fact has been fully grasped that women are in industry to stay, men will not only make the best of what they now, taking the short view, consider a bad job—they will, however unwillingly, be agents in making a good job of the co-operation of the sexes.

Though the war is not responsible for the widespread tendency of women to invade new fields, the war has enormously increased the part played by Parliamentary and other interference with the conditions of their industry. We do not for a moment say that such interference is consciously inhuman. Its inhuman results arise from the same cause as inspires the male trade union discrimination against women: Ignorance of what is at stake.

To consider this fact closely is to understand the intensity of the working women's aversion from the idea of conscription. In final summary, the danger they see in the proposal seems to arise from three quarters.

First, that same *docility of women*. A docility which under the infinitely less dangerous conditions of the past has been so traded upon.*

Second, *Lack of Organisation*. Unorganised women will be compelled to keep hours which have overtaxed the strongest men, and will submit to other conditions against which men have appealed to their powerful unions and been sustained in striking. Lacking a highly organised and well-financed trade union backing, women will find themselves defenceless. They will have to work under conditions laid down by male employers, and be refused discharge except under crushing penalty. Inevitably, the thinkers among working women are enemies of conscription by a power that will not act against the interests of the rich—a power that will not coerce brewers and distillers for the country's good—a power which (through ignorance

* In view of the new powers exercised by Parliament and delegated so lightly, see the *Woman's Trade Union Review*, July and October 16th, and debates in the House of Commons on Women in Munitions, March 28th, 29th, and 30th, and during April, 1916.

rather than ruthlessness) is ready to coerce the future mothers of the race to the undoing of the nation.

Third, and crowning objection to the conscription of woman : *Lack of direct representation.* Her hours, her pay, are bargained for between three bodies : Employer's Associations, Men's Unions, and the Board of Trade. In not one of these is there a woman, nor any representative chosen by women. If a measure of conscription is brought forward, and women resist it to the point of depriving the measure of usefulness, they will not do this either out of fractiousness, or lack of patriotism. They will adopt that course because there are long heads among their leaders ; and those leaders know that so unavoidably pernicious is the conscription of the unrepresented that its operation is indistinguishable from Slavery. The door above which that word is written opens upon Horror. Not to be set out in these pages are the grounded fears affecting the discrimination already threatened, as between men and women suffering from the same disease.

Let any legislator but take the trouble to sound these deeps, and he will not lightly advocate conscripting an unrepresented class *of the other sex.* For whatever may be said in favour of Democracy agreeing to conscript men who have a voice in the decision, there can be no palliation of the outrage of conscripting an entire sex which is forcibly prevented from having the smallest share in making so momentous a decision.

ELIZABETH ROBINS.

THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES.

A TURK once related to me how on the plains of Konia he met some shepherds with their half-famished dogs. He wanted to throw the dogs something to eat, when the shepherds interposed, saying that if once they touched food from strangers they would no longer obey. "So," he added, "it is with our treatment of " Armenians."

When the great war broke out Turkey proclaimed neutrality. While few were deceived, it allowed sympathisers with the Entente, who included all the Armenian race, to vent their feelings, perhaps with a lack of caution, though little could affect a decision long taken. Between Armenians and the Committee of Union and Progress the rift was complete, since the latter followed the footsteps of Abdul Hamid, without even the occasional moderation due to his nervous apprehensions.

To the Western mind a massacre presupposes a prior condition of hatred so intense as to cause men to forget their normal restraints. In no other way is it explicable. There have never been wanting apologists who, while deprecating excesses, professed to understand the occasional outrages of the Turk, indignant at being exploited by the more economically developed Armenian. But though the Armenian is more developed, such a conclusion by no means follows. There is no evidence to indicate the existence at any time in Turkey of any widespread hatred or resentment. On the contrary, abundant testimony from the interior of Asia Minor shows that never had there been less fanaticism than in the period immediately preceding the massacres. Armenians and Turks were everywhere living side by side, usually on the best of terms. No one is more tranquil nor more submissive than the Turk, none less easily stirred to wrath. How, then, was the devilish paradox possible among a people so peace-loving and tolerant, possessing so many sympathetic and lovable qualities, and living in harmony with its Armenian neighbours, that in the space of a few months there should have taken place wholesale massacres which have surpassed in horror all the other horrors of this war? The Oriental sees action with a directness which often startles the Western. Such directness is mainly due to the absence of restraints, visible

and invisible, which, like lenses to vision, have become the safeguards of life and property in the West. In the Orient, in spite of the new Parliamentary veneer, Governmental ideas are not unlike what they were in Europe centuries ago, in the days of the massacres of the Albigenses, or even when St. Bartholomew was a policy of statecraft.

After the revolution the Young Turks gained fresh credit from Europe, partly because they were masters of the situation and also through disgust at Abdul Hamid. But their leaders had been bred in Macedonian adversity. They had seen the principle of nationality run riot over that distracted province and had been the great losers in its name. The lesson of the Balkan Wars, stamped on their intelligence, was not a far-sighted policy of reconstruction, broad foundations of tolerance which should call into service every element of the Empire, but a narrow domination of the Turk enforced by whatever means appeared necessary. Abdul Hamid had aimed at preserving Turkey as a Moslem State, submissive to the despotism which he believed paternal. And because certain Armenians were refractory to this, and entertained separatist aspirations, he massacred them half openly, half surreptitiously. The new Turkish nationalism, built up in the dress of Europe, but with the spirit of Asia, was to prove far more ruthless than Hamidianism. Turkey, half Asiatic and half Balkan, had become European only in the sense of enforcing a rigid discipline in place of the haphazard methods of the East, which often prove a mitigation.

When war began the Russian Armenians responded cheerfully to the Russian mobilisation, and their wealthy merchants in the Caucasus equipped a body of volunteers from among former refugees and exiles from Turkey. Later, in private talk, Talaat explained the massacres on the ground of revenge. To these Armenian volunteers he attributed Turkish disaster at Sarakamish, the Turkish expulsion from Azerbaidjan, and the loss of Van. The explanation was an afterthought; yet if the acts of the volunteers were not the cause they undoubtedly embittered the feeling. The native press was purposely stirred by tales of cruelty and massacre committed by these volunteers—many, doubtless, true—for the corps was composed of desperate men whose wives had been outraged and families murdered, and who fought with wild fury and repaid their oppressors in like coin. When they seized the Governor of Van, who had gained sinister fame by riveting iron horseshoes on to the feet of Armenians, and was called "the blacksmith," it was said that they meted out a like punishment to him. Hence tales of Armenian outrages on the Moslems were widespread among the Turks, and were sedulously spread by officials.

The policy of Armenian extermination was conceived in far colder blood, planned methodically and carried out scientifically. Why delay? Turkey, who had been ready to stake her all against Russia, was by no means so eager for war with England and France. Months after the rupture arms had not been measured. The fear of the English Navy was immense. The expedition against Suez had ended in disaster. The Persian Gulf and Basra were lost. An entire army had perished in the Caucasus. The prestige of the Committee was then at its lowest ebb. Turkey, left to her own devices, with the burden of an unpopular war, with an unpopular and unrepresentative Government, face to face with seething discontent within, an uncertain Bulgaria threatening from the North, and the menace of Russia, was in no condition to enforce any such wholesale policy of murder as the Committee had in mind. When in February, 1915, the Allied Fleet battered down the ancient walls of Seddulbahr a semi-panic seized the capital, and every preparation was made for transferring the seat of government to the interior of Anatolia. Even the Embassies of the Central Powers had selected their residences at Eski Shehir. The Turkish treasure and archives had been despatched, and at Haidar Pasha, on the Asiatic side, trains were in readiness for instant departure. It seemed at the time only a question of hours before the British Fleet would sail up the Marmara.

Then came March the eighteenth. The attack, half driven home, ceased with the loss of three battleships. They were old and of slight value, save for the lives of gallant sailors. But the historical test of great occasions is rarely measured in terms of men or of material. One great overwhelming fact impressed itself on the Turkish mind in such a way as to form a basis for all future reasoning. The Allied Fleet had failed to force its way through the Dardanelles, the Straits were impregnable, therefore they could do what they liked. The tragedy of the sinister policy was contained in this deduction, for "what they liked" meant the extermination of the Armenians.

In its inner workings the Committee of Union and Progress still remains a secret organisation. Its ramifications are numerous, but all are controlled by a small inner circle of elect. It possesses certain intermediaries with the outer world. The most conspicuous of these is the Minister of the Interior, Talaat Bey. Talaat, not long ago, justified the Armenian policy on the ground of fear. In the days when he and the other Committee members were revolutionaries, he said, they had learned the methods of secret organisation from Armenian revolutionary societies with whom they then worked as allies. "I know what they can do, and I fear 'them,'" Talaat declared in private conversation. But this was

only half true. Had the feeling been one of fear alone the life of every Armenian in Turkey was safe. It was because they did not fear them sufficiently, or rather because they found them isolated, deprived of support from the Entente and of sympathy from Germany, who remained complacent and acquiescent, to her eternal shame, that the massacres became possible.

Talaat stands out as the directing power in this policy. From him emanated the vast organisation, the details of execution, the oral and written instructions. But though the major guilt is his, though it is impossible for those who saw him during all those terrible months not to realise that he was himself in monstrous sympathy with the policy of extermination, yet he shared this fully with the other members of the Committee, Doctor Nazim and those who worked in the dark and held the leash over Talaat as he held it over Turkey—for his position was by no means so omnipotent or secure as many believed abroad, nor was the policy one so universally endorsed. No great discussion proved necessary. The policy of deportation and massacre was simply extracted from the pigeon holes where it had long lain dormant. Against Greeks, as well, it was to begin. There were wholesale expulsions from the Marmora and Bosphorus, and misery befell entire populations, for thousands were then cast adrift, expelled at a moment's notice from their homes. But the movement stopped short at massacre. Fearing its reaction at Athens, Germany intervened in time to arrest it, while doing nothing for the Armenians. The Germans have declared that their efforts herein were powerless, and that the Turks would not listen. It is altogether likely that to justify these statements the German Government will one day publish copies of its notes and memoranda on the subject, notes of a kind which those who have had experience in Oriental diplomacy appreciate at their true value, but which may satisfy their own people. The guilt was deeper, and, under the plea of not interfering with the internal affairs of an ally, nothing effective was done. That the German Embassy inspired the policy of deportation, as many Turks believed, is unlikely, though it was carried out under the plea of military necessity and the military direction was theirs. But that German officials were well aware of what the deportations meant, and with nervous apprehension refused to take effective steps to stop the massacres, is certain. A high German official at Constantinople expressed as his doctrine that any man could offer his life for his sovereign, but that one must be ready, if necessary, to sacrifice honour as well. The question of honour as he conceived it probably never presented itself to his mind in connection with the massacres, though many Germans keenly felt the shame, and were revolted at what went on. The German official view was to

obtain from Turkey the fullest possible assistance she could render, and to do nothing which could in any way impair this. Such assistance had already exceeded all expectations, and the success of the Ambassador's efforts was great enough to cause his admirers to discern in him the next Chancellor. But the price paid for this assistance included the blood of some six hundred thousand murdered Armenians.

In the interior of Turkey there were kindly German missionaries who, working with the American missionaries, did what they could to obtain relief. It was reported from Cilicia that the German consuls there would gladly have interfered except for the stringent orders received not to mix with "internal affairs." It was easier for German officialdom to believe, or profess to believe, in a widespread Armenian conspiracy and the necessity for its repression. On the plea that a widespread revolutionary movement organised from Russia existed amongst the Armenians, military necessity was said to require that they should be deported to regions where their presence would cease to be a menace. New homes, it was stated, would be provided for them at Zor and in the desert land, through which flows the Euphrates. Such was the official euphemism; though the grim humour of paternal solicitude which usually covers the most barbarous massacres in Turkey was abandoned for an armed policy of deportation, and its implied sequel, extermination. Asia Minor was to be rid of all Armenians and made into a purely Moslem bulwark. "It is possible that 'among the Armenians who suffer some may be innocent,'" said Talaat, "but how can I feel sure that they will not be the guilty 'ones to-morrow?'"

As little or no hatred existed between the races, the hope of licensed loot came in aid to arouse instincts of brutality. When a naturally wealthy community was ordered to leave its homes and to carry away only movable effects, which were later plundered, it meant wholesale expropriation, followed by robbery and murder. Those who left tried to sell their land for a tithe of its worth, while for months afterwards Armenian stolen goods crowded the market. Yet this was the smallest aspect of the tragedy. The diabolical plot aimed at making the Armenians run the whole gauntlet of Asia Minor, where the country had been aroused to murder. The scheme was, first, by expelling them to transfer their wealth to the Turks, and then, by slaughtering them on the roadside, to have massacres take place without witnesses and to throw the blame on the Kurds if any reports should reach the outer world. The few Armenians who could get through, and out of a population of over a million and a-half a small and variously-estimated fraction have done so, were at liberty to find new homes

in the desert, where, impoverished and enfeebled, hemmed in by fanatical Arabs, they would no longer be a menace to the purity of the Turkish Empire under the beneficent rule of the Committee of Union and Progress.

Orders were despatched to all the provincial authorities to carry out this devilish intention, accompanied by verbal instructions to organise the murder of the men, wherever possible, by Kurdish bands. To the eternal credit of certain Turkish officials such orders were not everywhere carried out. At Smyrna, where no massacres have taken place, Rehim Bey, the Governor, proved powerful enough to resist their enforcement. In Syria, where Djemal wielded viceregal powers, in spite of his heavy hand, and though deportations have gone on, there was no actual murder. At Bagdad, where the Armenian community was small, Suleyman Nazif, the Vali, vouched for its peacefulness, and refused to lend himself to persecution. Shortly afterwards he was broken, as was Reshid Pasha, the Governor of Angora. When the latter was directed to carry out the persecution against the alleged rebellious Armenians, he replied that if their sedition were proved he would hang them with his own hand, but, because he could answer for their innocence, he could not enforce such a policy. He was removed, and in his place were sent a boy and a new chief of police, who, between them, organised the massacre which took place in the railway station at Angora.

In disentangling the fragmentary, and often haphazard, evidence about the recent massacres, the accounts obtained in most instances filtered through to Constantinople long after the occurrence of the crimes. Occasionally news did not leak out for months. It came from many sources. The writer will always remember the impression made upon him by one who, returning from an extended tour in the interior, brought the first warnings of the impending massacres, which he had learned from friendly Turks who were against them but powerless. He described the measure of the preparations then being made, and, as in the particular districts he had traversed Kurds were few, bands of murderers were being recruited from among gaolbirds. Ancient pistols and bombs had been collected to parade as evidence of the thwarted revolution. Even among cultivated Turks the talk of Armenian conspiracy was in the air, for there was a willing credulity, if only to condone excesses, and few were courageous enough to express disbelief.

The massacres were not simultaneous. The extent of territory and the vastness of the scale were too great to permit this, and the Government's ferocious energy proved insufficient to arrange all for the same time. Moreover, occasional officials were found

among subordinates who, while not daring to disobey orders, endeavoured to bring some mitigation to the horror of their execution. Massacres, however, began in late April or early May, 1915, and went on until, north of Aleppo, very few Armenians were left out of the million and a-half who had lived in Asia Minor, save in the Capital, at Smyrna, and in some places along the Bagdad Railway, from which they have been deported since. Usually the expulsions were carried out by police and constabulary, but often soldiers were necessary to enforce them. Against the Zeitoun region, where in 1895 the Armenian mountaineers defied Abdul Hamid, the authorities had always nursed resentment. They offered to arrange a surrender under treacherous promises, and, having cajoled the more timorous to accept this, destroyed the villages and expelled the population. Amid the horrors of the deportation babes were born by the roadside. Many, abandoned by their mothers, some of whom had died from their abrupt delivery, were picked up by a kindly German woman missionary. The wretched population, half-starved, though compelled to find fodder for their cattle, which had been requisitioned by the Government, were driven, more like wild beasts than human beings, eventually to disappear, while even the name of Zeitoun was replaced by the Turkish-sounding one of Suleymanieh.

The reports of this expulsion were the first to reach the Capital. It was not then realised that this only formed part of the vast scheme of murder, but soon the tales came in thick and fast from every quarter, surpassing each other in horror. So many reports from eye-witnesses have already reached the outside world that it seems unnecessary to dwell at any length on such harrowing scenes. Where over a million souls have suffered each one has had his history, though most went to death without witnesses. Yet one or two accounts may be narrated. At Erzerum the entire Armenian population was ordered to leave at brief notice. They were allowed to take with them only what they could carry. Among the deported was one family, the wealthiest in the place, whose daughters had been educated at Constantinople and could speak English. Twenty-five members of this family left Erzerum. Hardly were they out of the town before they were beset by Kurds, who murdered the men, and even the aged grandmother, and robbed the others of everything. Three weeks later only fourteen of this family still survived, and the oldest living male was eight years of age. The men had all been murdered before their eyes, the women violated at every village, and stripped of everything, till their guards, in pity, had to borrow rags from Turkish women to cover them. A Turkish lady travelling toward the Capital passed the melancholy caravan. She stopped her carriage, and,

thinking she too would like to kill an Armenian, at the guard's suggestion pulled out a revolver and shot one unfortunate. At every station Turks, accompanied occasionally by physicians, came to examine the women, and, when they found likely ones, would take them away to their harems. A foreigner, who saw these poor wretches at one stopping place, described them as more like animals than human beings, fighting for the bread thrown them by their guards, while mothers would implore strangers to take their children.

At Harput the process was somewhat different. Here the Armenians were arrested wholesale and thrown into the prisons. When these were full the occupants, many of whom had been tortured to extract confessions of conspiracy, would be led away at night into lonely valleys and there murdered. Not to waste cartridges, their murderers finished them with the bayonet. Thousands were slaughtered in this way. The Armenian professors at the American College, men of foreign education and high character and devotion, were involved in the fate of their race, and massacred, in certain cases after torture, for no other crime than that of being Armenians.

The melancholy tragedy extends in its grimness over the whole of Asia Minor. Its details are infinite, for where hundreds of thousands perished, though most died in silence, the tales of others hovered back like ghosts. The very few travellers who passed through that land of murder had horrible stories to relate of entire districts where the bodies of Armenians lined the roadside. At other times Armenians were done away with by drowning. There are lakes which engulfed thousands and precipices over which multitudes were driven. One authenticated report, even more revolting than the others, described Armenian boys being thrown into a stream and then shot by the soldiers when they found that some could swim and were struggling in the torrent. Throughout Turkey a silent and utter despair seized this unhappy people. To the question why they did not revolt the answer is easy. The able-bodied among them had long before been mobilised in those labour battalions which, without weapons, were solely employed under Moslem guards in building roads and trenches. Where the entire country was under arms and martial law, organised resistance became impossible, and artillery soon got the better of the few sporadic attempts made in despair, as at Ourfa, or in the ancient stronghold of Mithradates. A few of the more audacious spirits tracked across the roadless mountains to join the Russians in the Caucasus. But their numbers were small, and the great mass submitted with the silent resignation of the East. At Ismid, when the expulsions began, the Bishop, clad

in his finest sacerdotal, led his flock, chanting the hymn which the Israelites are said to have sung when they fled out of Egypt. And thus they departed, mostly to their death.

The method adopted at Constantinople was more cautious, for there were there too many witnesses. Only provincial-born Armenians, or those whose fathers were of provincial birth, were expelled. These would be rounded up in batches of one or two hundred and sent in despair toward a fate unknown. The Armenian deputies, Zohrab and Vartkes, were arrested in the first stages of the persecution. In earlier days both had worked with the Committee of Union and Progress, and had befriended its members in times when these needed befriending. One of the great members of the Committee, to-day a Cabinet Minister, during the counter-revolution, found refuge with Vartkes, who saved his life. But when approached in turn for aid he would do nothing. The two deputies were sent ostensibly to Diabekr. But on the road Zohrab died of "heart disease" and Vartkes from "a fall from his horse." As a Turk remarked, with grim humour: "It was altogether likely that, when murdered, he should have fallen from his horse!"

Enough has been said to indicate the gruesome nature of the vast tragedy. Details have been published elsewhere, and will for long continue to filter through. But the fiendish spirit in which the death of some six hundred thousand human beings was perpetrated can never adequately be realised. In all this war of horrors it must remain the crowning horror. Nothing has equalled the silently-planned destruction of a race, nor can German officialdom easily escape its terrible share of responsibility for association by acquiescence in this crime. The Armenian race in Asia Minor has been virtually destroyed. Along the Euphrates some tens of thousands of refugees may eke out a miserable existence, and are even now attempting to recreate homes. To these must go forth the first aid when aid becomes possible. At Constantinople, at Smyrna, and in Syria there still live many Armenians, though whether the end of the war will find them there is questionable. But, wherever they are, England, France, and Russia should, at the proper time, realise what they have suffered as victims of the ill-success of the Dardanelles expedition, and the great heart of America should go forth to them in their misery.

LEWIS EINSTEIN.

(Attached, till recently, to the Staff of the United States Embassy at Constantinople.)

THE PRESENT FINANCIAL POSITION OF RUSSIA.

IN view of the very close financial relationship of Great Britain and Russia, brought about by the circumstances of the war, no question has a more vital interest for this country than the future financial outlook of its great debtor. The war at once presented the Russian Minister of Finance with three supreme problems:—

- (1) The replacing of the revenue from vodka as the result of the prohibition of the sale of that commodity;
- (2) The actual financing of the war;
- (3) The devising of measures with regard to meeting the interest and other obligations incurred in connection with the loans raised at home and abroad.

(1) With regard to the first problem, little need be said. It is already solved; already the matter is a *fait accompli*. The 1914 Budget estimated a revenue of 936 million roubles from vodka. By raising the incidence of old taxes and by the introduction of new taxation, this loss has been met so that the returns in the last issued ordinary Budget show no deficit, but, on the contrary, a credit balance. In considering the financial side of vodka prohibition, it is only right to emphasise the extraordinary results experienced by the State Savings Banks. Previous to the war they could show an annual increase on deposit of between 40 and 50 millions of roubles; since the war the increase has been more than 100 millions *a month*—for June, 1916, the figure was 170 millions. These stupendous figures are due, primarily, to the abolition of vodka—the populace does not drink, and so has saved that amount of money—and then to the Government allocations to the wives and families of soldiers, which are large in the total.

(2) Towards financing the war, Russia has already, since the beginning, taken credit for 23 milliards of roubles. To-day she is spending more than a milliard of roubles a month. How is this met? Obviously, but still from her point of view exceptionally, by loans raised at home and abroad. Quite recently she raised at home a ten-year loan of 3 milliards of roubles, and considers herself justified in pointing to this as evidence of the great capacities of the Russian home market. Certainly, by comparison

with the days before the war, the results are very striking. Then she could raise an internal loan for two to three hundred millions annually with difficulty; to-day she has raised internal loans, including the one referred to above for 9 milliards. If the amount of one-year Treasury Bills is also added, the total raised within the country exceeds 11 milliards of roubles. All these sums are required directly for purposes of the war, but it was also necessary to make provision for the construction of railways, and the Government placed an internal $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. loan of 350 millions in the autumn of 1916, secured on the railways, for the building of additional railways. This in itself was a unique performance, as it constituted the first railway loan raised in Russia. Hitherto she has generally gone to Germany for such advances, and the prospect of a successful home loan was scouted by many. The loan, however, was placed in three days, and gives an indication of a certain internal strength, and the existence of available capital.

This leads to the one point of weakness in the Russian position. The Russian internal market is not so adapted as the English or French for the placing of immense sums of short-term bills. Accordingly, they are placed by the Government with the Imperial Bank of Russia, and in discounting these bills the Bank is compelled to issue paper money. That is the weak point of the Russian Government finance, due to local conditions very different from those obtaining in France or Great Britain, and creating consequences regarding the future which demand the greatest forethought and care on its part. The first object of the Ministry of Finance after the war will naturally be to call in as many of these notes as possible, but as this paper money is based upon its gold reserves, the latter tend to be guarded with increasing jealousy. Every rouble sent out of the country in gold weakens the basis of the paper circulation, and lessens the prospect of the possibility of an early restoration of the currency to its normal basis after the war. So much for the Russian point of view on this aspect of the question.

It is in dealing with the question of the future—her relation to these 23 milliards of borrowed roubles, that we realise the strength of Russia's financial position. She is engaged in a war whose strain, however, is simply serving to educe her strength. This appears in a remarkable way when we consider the ordinary revenue for the month of August in the last four years. Thus:—

In August, 1913, it was 293 million roubles						
„	„	1914,	„	127	„	„
„	„	1915,	„	224	„	„
„	„	1916,	„	295	„	„

That is to say, the revenue for the month of August in the third year of the war was actually greater than in the corresponding month of the year previous to the war. The same result is seen when we compare the total results up to October 1st of the year before the war with a similar period in the last two years. Thus:—

The total ordinary revenue for 1913 to 1st October was 2,400 millions					
"	"	1915	"	1,950	"
"	"	1916	"	2,800	"

That is to say, the revenue for the same period was nearly a milliard better in 1916 than in 1915, which as ordinary revenue is a rather remarkable performance.

Latterly, the greater proportion of the money raised in Russia for war purposes has been spent within the country. The last year has been marked by a very greatly increased development of her own industrial activities, which not merely strengthen her position in relation to the conduct of the war, but will also exert a distinct influence on the world markets of the future. In the early stages of the war, for example, Russia had not a sufficiency of drugs and medicaments—these, together with surgical instruments, she got almost entirely from Germany. In the interval she obtained much from her allies, and from America, but more and more she tends to make these things for herself. This growing independence extends in every direction, particularly, for example, with regard to railway locomotives and cars. All this activity is conducted not merely with a view to present needs but also with the ulterior purpose of developing her great natural resources, *e.g.*, the forests, that represent such riches, after the war. The Russian believes that his will be the only country in a position to export timber in great quantities after the war.* The crops also represent another important exportable asset, and there are many more. It is his strong belief that the mutual interests of our two countries call for the closest co-operation. In the words of the highest Russian financial authority: "It is not merely English capital that we desire, but "active co-operation—partnership—in this great enterprise of "developing the natural resources of Russia. The outlook is on a "future such as dawned on the United States of America at a certain "stage in its development. Indeed, Russia will be one of the first "countries to recover from the financial and economic disabilities "of the war."

An examination of the recent budget reveals the existence of an estimate from a new source of revenue—*viz.*, income-tax. The first projected scheme for a Russian income-tax was elaborated

* There is, however, another side to this aspect of the question. See, *e.g.*, the writer's *The Self-Discovery of Russia*, pp. 223, 224.

by Mr. Shipoff during the years 1905-1907, and was definitely submitted by Mr. Kokovtseff in 1907. The scheme, however, was referred to a commission, where it remained a considerable time and did not pass into law. In the summer of 1915, Mr. Bark, the present Minister of Finance, asked the Duma to take up the matter and pressed it. It passed the Duma in August, 1915, and the Council of the Empire in the spring of 1916. Beginning with an incidence of 1 per cent. on incomes of 850 roubles the rate runs to 12½ per cent. The results will probably greatly exceed the estimated 130 millions of return from it, as the estimate was based on calculations of five years ago. The introduction of an income tax and the abolition of vodka are the two principal financial and economic reforms of the reign of Nicholas II.

Commencing, however, with incomes of 850 roubles, the income-tax will not touch the peasant class as a whole, and, on account of the enormous distances, it would not at present pay to collect it on incomes lower than that figure. But the immediate problem for the Russian Ministry of Finance is how to get back from the peasant population a due proportion of the enormous gains that they have made. These remain with them because under present conditions there is no temptation for them to part with them. In any case the peasant is an individual with simple needs, and with wages high, vodka savings, and the lure of rising prices for his saleable commodities, he is no hasty seller to-day. Further, it is really difficult for him to find anything to buy; cloth, boots, and all hardware manufactures are required for the army, so that the peasant literally cannot get these articles or agricultural implements or galvanised roofing for his cottage. Every home industry is producing to-day for the army, and when the war is over there will be enormous home demands to be met, which promise a maintenance of good business conditions and many possible sources of Imperial revenue. At present nothing can be done with the peasant by way of direct taxation, but certain lines of indirect taxation suggest themselves. Sugar, for example, has, up till now, been very slightly taxed; indeed, it must be one of the very few commodities which are cheaper in Russia than in Great Britain, selling at 23-24 kopecks a lb. for loaf and 18-19 kopecks for granulated (in Petrograd) in November, 1916. One result of vodka prohibition has been a very marked increase in the consumption of sugar in all forms and connections, and it is very probable that an attempt will be made to reach the peasants' surplus indirectly through his fondness for sugar.

It is, however, on the policy of an enormous increase in railway construction and extension that the most assured hopes for the financial future of Russia may be placed, because in this way she

can give employment to great masses of her population and tap her vast natural resources, and so obtain the wherewithal to liquidate her loans. Outside of the country it is difficult to realise how sometimes, for months at a time, it is impossible to bring goods from a distance to the nearest railway station owing to the lack of passable roads. Accordingly, the development of transport by waterways, the construction of high roads, and the multiplication of railways is a large part of the immediate task of Russia; as far as railroads are concerned, she has already faced it since the commencement of the war over a length of 30,000 versts. With regard to future outlays, sympathetic consideration has been given to the proposals to furnish foreign capital to Government and municipal enterprise on a profit-sharing basis, in place of the old-time loan with its fixed rate of interest.

So deeply has the importance of the railroad factor been impressed on the Russian mind through various circumstances of the war, that there has been a tendency in many quarters to criticise Mr. Kokovtseff's supposed niggardliness, as Minister of Finance, in connection with the development of the Russian railway system, and so, indirectly, to blame him in part for the situation in which Russia found herself from the point of view of transport. It may be questioned, however, how far such criticism is merited. After the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, Mr. Kokovtseff's great aim was to keep the Russian Budgets as free from deficit as possible. With this purpose in mind he practised a method of economy in every direction, and was undoubtedly reluctant to budget large sums for railway construction. As a result his budgets were good, and the financial and economic consequences of the Japanese War were speedily surmounted. His budgets were admirable from the Treasury point of view, although perhaps disappointing to particular Departments; nevertheless, the mean of railway construction, even in Kokovtseff's time, was very considerable, and compares quite favourably with that of preceding periods.

The potential strength of Russia's natural resources may be realised in connection with her forest areas alone. These amount, roughly, to 800 million dessiatines.* There are regions, however, where the difficulties of transport and labour are far beyond any immediate degree of negotiation. Thus the 400 million dessiatines of the Yakutsk Government may be eliminated for the present. But the remainder consists of tracts of very valuable timber, some of which has not been touched for a century. In her forest areas and mines alone Russia has much more than sufficient potential wealth to meet her war bill of 30 milliards of roubles. Hitherto

* 1 dessiatine = 2.7 acres.

there has been no circumstance compelling her to realise her riches ; it has been done in a casual, almost lazy, way. Henceforward there will be a definite stimulus to widespread systematic exploitation. Again, the increase in taxation will drive the landowners, great and small, into more intensive cultivation of their land : on every hand the standard of cultivation and development will be raised.

One final word may be added with regard to the present state of the exchange. When, in 1897, after an era of depreciated exchange, dating from the Russo-Turkish War, Count Witte fixed the value of the rouble at 2s. 1d., against the older value of 3s. 2d., he merely legalised an already long-existing state of affairs. He did not create a new situation ; he regularised a situation which he found. In the opinion of many competent judges, however, his action was mistaken : he should have waited, they say, and in time the rouble would have recovered its former value. But Witte was a man of action, and he wanted to introduce the gold standard at once, and acted accordingly, thinking that it was not possible to return to the previous conditions. To-day quite another belief pervades the minds of those chiefly responsible for the financial destinies of Russia. Whether it be by the issue of an internal loan after the war, to facilitate the retiral of the present issue of bank notes, so disproportionate to the gold reserves, or by some other method, Russia will await a return to the pre-war level with confidence.

J. Y. SIMPSON.

"OUR SONS HAVE SHOWN US GOD."

A BOY whom the writer of this article knew said one day to a missionary with whom he was staying in Central Africa, "Did Up-Up (God) make me?" "Yes," was the reply. "Did Up-Up make the buzz-buzz (mosquito)?" "Yes." He waited a moment and then said, "Why does Up-Up let the buzz-buzz eat me?" His questions put into homely language the problem which men have been trying to solve ever since they became capable of reasoning, and to which the present outbreak of destructive violence, the greatest that this earth has witnessed, has given new emphasis. The thought in the mind of the African boy was this. If there is a Being outside and above me, who is sufficiently great and powerful to have created me and the world in which I live, this Being ought to have been able to shield me from purposeless suffering or discomfort.

Had the boy, after obtaining his answer to his first two questions, addressed the third question to one of his own heathen teachers, the reply that he would have received would have been, the Being who made you and the buzz-buzz is not uniformly benevolent, but is swayed by fancy and impulse, and metes out pleasure and pain to men even as an African chief metes out life and death to those who are his subjects.

This answer would have afforded to the African boy an intelligible solution of the difficulty as it presented itself to him, but for us the premises on which it is based are conditions of despair. Few intelligent persons can reconcile themselves to the thought that their lives are the sport of a Being who is indifferent to, or can take pleasure in, their sorrows and sufferings. If for us there be any solution of the problem, it must lie in quite a different direction from that suggested.

Before we attempt to consider what we believe to be the Christian interpretation of the problems that this war has accentuated, let us note the impression which it has produced upon the minds of an extremely intelligent theist whose name and writings are known in Europe and America. Sir Rabindranath Tagore, to whom we refer, and whose poems have won for him many friends and admirers, has recently paid a visit to Japan, which he undertook

in the belief that he had a message to deliver to its people. His message was the outcome of his interpretation of what is happening at the present time in Europe, and the gist of it may be gathered from a few brief extracts taken from an address delivered to a large gathering of students in Tokyo. Speaking to them he said, "The vital ambition of the present civilisation of Europe is to have the exclusive possession of the devil. All her armaments and diplomacy are directed upon this one object. . . . Are we to bend our knees to the spirit of civilisation which is sowing broadcast over all the world seeds of fear, greed, suspicion, unashamed lies of its diplomacy, and unctuous lies of its profession of peace and goodwill and universal brotherhood of man? . . . Does not the voice come to us through the din of war, the shrieks of hatred, the wailings of despair, through the churning up of the unspeakable filth which has been accumulating for ages in the bottom of this civilisation—the voice which cries to our soul that the tower of national selfishness, which goes by the name of patriotism, which has raised its banner of treason against heaven, must totter and fall with a crash, weighed down by its own bulk, its flag kissing the dust, its light extinguished." The duty of a prophet, to whom the present war is primarily the "churning up of the unspeakable filth" of European civilisation, must obviously be to warn those to whom he speaks, lest they should come to a like perilous condition, and a warning to this effect constitutes Tagore's special message to the Japanese. He bids them look back to their glorious past, and draw their inspiration from its old traditions and its old religions, and not from the life and religion of Europe.

If Tagore's premises be correct, if the war has demonstrated the failure of Christianity in Europe, the Japanese would, indeed, do well to hesitate before they adopted the Christian faith as their own.

We are, however, fain to believe that what this war is demonstrating is not the failure of Christianity to reveal the goal of national and individual life, but the failure of theism and of every religious faith in the world, other than Christianity, to provide an interpretation of the present crisis which can enable men to face the future with courage and with hope.

It is a relief to turn from the thoughts of failure and disaster contained in Tagore's speeches to those embodied in Mr. Wells's last novel, "Mr. Britling Sees It Through." The writer of this article is far from being an admirer of Mr. Wells, or of his outlook on life as revealed in his former books, but he is constrained to admit that this is one of the most illuminating books that the war has produced. Mr. Britling, a typical English gentleman, held at the beginning of the war theistic views in regard to the nature

and character of God similar to those which Tagore accepts, although his outlook on life was less serious and noble than is that of the poet. His only son, on whom all his hopes were centred, is killed in the war, as is also the German tutor, Heinrich, who had been a member of his household at its outbreak. Mr. Britling had formerly thought of God as an omnipotent Being who could have prevented its occurrence, and who must, therefore, be regarded as directly responsible for the unspeakable horrors which it has involved. The death of his son compels him to revise his traditional beliefs, and, after a long intellectual and moral struggle, he finds, or, as he himself says, he is found by God. The process by which this discovery is achieved is summarised in the words addressed to the father of his German tutor, "Our sons have shown us God."

Speaking to another, whose husband had been reported killed, and who at the beginning of the war was "a happy atheist," he says, using disjointed language, "It is so easy to understand that there is a God, and how complex and wonderful and brotherly He is, when one thinks of those dear boys who, by the thousand, by the hundred thousand, have laid down their lives. Aye, and there were German boys who did the same. The cruelties, the injustice, the brute aggression, they saw it differently. They laid down their lives, those lives of hope and sunshine. It's so plain to me. If there was nothing else in all the world but. . . the love that I bear Hugh—if everything else was cruelty and mockery, and filthiness and bitterness, it would still be certain that there was a God of love and righteousness. If there were no signs of God in all the world but the godliness we have seen in those two boys of ours, if we had no other light but the love we have between us. . . ."

In the course of a long letter which he writes to the parents of Heinrich, he says, "I do, indeed, believe that our two sons have died not altogether in vain. Our pain and anguish may not be wasted. Indeed, they may be necessary. Here am I bereaved and wretched—and, I hope. Never was the fabric of war so black; that I admit. But never was the black fabric of war so threadbare. At a thousand points the light is shining through."

And, even as he penned this letter, "he felt a Presence of which he had thought very many times in the last few weeks, a Presence so close to him that it was behind his eyes, and in his brain and hands. It was no trick of his vision; it was a feeling of immediate reality. . . . It was the Master, the Captain of mankind, it was God there present with him, and he knew that it was God. It was as if he had been groping all this time in the darkness, thinking himself alone amidst rocks and pitfalls and pitiless

" things, and suddenly a hand, a firm, strong hand, had touched his own. . . . It was the crucial moment of Mr. Britling's life. . . . There was no need to despair because he himself was one of the feeble folk. God was with him, indeed, and he was with God. The King was coming to His own. Amidst the darkness and confusions, the nightmare cruelties, and the hideous stupidities of the great war, God the Captain of the world republic, fought His way to Empire."

Mr. Britling found salvation as he came to understand that God was in a real sense struggling alongside him, that He was not a tendency, or a divine atmosphere, but a living Being, who had been revealed in Jesus Christ, and was struggling to find through human self-sacrifice akin to His own a completer realisation of His love.

In answer to the question, "How can you believe in God who kills my Teddy and your Hugh—and millions?" Mr. Britling replies "The real God of the Christians is Christ. . . . Some day He will triumph. . . . But it is not fair to say that He causes all things now. It is not fair to make out a case against Him. . . . God is not absolute. . . . A finite God who struggles in His great and comprehensive way as we struggle in our weak and silly way—Who is *with* us—that is the essence of all real religion." It is easy to criticise the unguarded language in which Mr. Britling expresses his belief, but the thought which he is trying to express offers a solution, the only conceivable solution, of the moral problem which this war has helped to accentuate. The creed which the progress of this war forced Mr. Britling to accept is distinctively Christian. We cannot indeed imagine the possibility of a religious agnostic being converted to Buddhism or Hinduism by passing through the experience which befel him, nor do we find it easy to conceive that any other of the great religions of the world, or any system of philosophy, can furnish an adequate solution of the moral problems raised by the war. According to the belief of the Hindus, which is embodied in the Vishnu and Bhagavata Puranas, the world is at the present time in the Age of Wickedness (Kali Yuga), which is to be followed by the Age of Righteousness (Satya Yuga), but, as the present age has still 427,000 years to run, the anticipation that it will be followed by a better age does not afford us much help in view of the immediate present. Moreover, the Age of Wickedness is due to recur again when the Age of Righteousness and other ages shall have passed.

Mohammedanism might offer an explanation that would be acceptable to whichever side may prove victorious in the present struggle, but the explanation which it would provide embodies

no assurance that, as a result, the world as a whole will make an advance towards the recognition of higher and more divine ideals.

On the other hand the explanation suggested by Mr. Britling, in so far as it affects individuals, is one that holds good equally for the victor and the vanquished. Thus we note that he is able to offer the same interpretation and the same consolation to the parents of his German tutor that he has learned to appropriate for himself, contenting himself with the brief statement relating to the atrocities committed in the war, "they (the Germans) saw it differently."

The writer of this article is not a "pacifist." He believes that the British Empire would commit an unforgivable crime against humanity if it were a party to any peace that can be achieved until material guarantees are forthcoming that the crimes which have been perpetrated during the course of this war shall never be perpetrated again as long as the world lasts; but having said this he is free to plead for a sympathetic consideration of the German prejudices and of the attitude towards England which at present characterises a large proportion of the population of Germany. It is pathetic to think how little the improvements in means of communication that have been attained during the past century have done to help the peoples of Europe to understand each other. How little have railways, telegraphs, and other discoveries contributed towards breaking down the barriers that separate the nations of Europe. Of the revelations made by the American journalist, Mr. Curtin, in the columns of the *Times* the most pathetic, and at the same time the most discouraging, are those which demonstrate what we believe to be the complete misunderstanding of English aims and of the English character. As we read them we wonder not that the war has come, but that it was so long postponed. For, if English aims and the English character are what a majority of the German people are being taught to believe that they are, Germany would have been justified in declaring war against England long ago. It is trying to the temper of an Englishman to hear from Mr. Curtin that millions of German children have been taught a song which begins with the words,

"O Engelland, O Engelland,
Wie gross sind Deine Lügen;"

a song, moreover, of which the first two lines are less unkind than are any of the others, but the knowledge that the coming generation in Germany will start life with bitter prejudice against the people of Great Britain, so far from encouraging us to adopt a corresponding attitude, should cause us to redouble our efforts to be fair to the achievements and virtues of the German people. We are bold to believe that by far the greater part of the ill-feeling entertained for

the English by the German people is the result of ignorance. We have therefore welcomed the action of the British Government in according to the German prisoners in England kindly treatment such as has never previously been accorded to prisoners of war, our hope being that the many thousands of Germans at present in Great Britain will help to counteract the misunderstanding of its peoples that at present exists, and to pave the way, if not in this generation, at least in that which will succeed it, for mutual friendship. After the war England will form part of the Continent in a sense which was never before true. This union, of which the construction of a Channel tunnel will be an outward symbol, will intensify the obligation that rests upon all of us to put away our insular prejudices and to force ourselves to understand and to appreciate all that is good in the centre as well as in the Eastern and Western sections of the Continent. If our hopes are to be realised, if peace and goodwill are ever to be established—we cannot say re-established, for national jealousies and national hatreds have never been absent since the disintegration of the Roman Empire—what attitude does it behove us as individuals to cultivate?

In an article that appeared in the pages of an English religious weekly, entitled "The German Professional Mind," written, we regret to say, by a dignitary of the Anglican Church, who hails, however, from the American side of the Atlantic, the writer says:—

"Our deliberate conclusion is that this ghastly war has revealed, among other things, the appalling hollowness of the claim for German supremacy in criticism and theology, and the incredible fatuity of leading British and American theologians . . . and our prayer is that this war . . . will shake all confidence in Germanic criticism."

We do not like the use of strong language, but if the words "incredible fatuity" can rightly be ascribed to anyone it must be to the man who through ignorance, or prejudice, fails to recognise the work accomplished by those with whose political or religious opinions he disagrees. We hold no brief for German theological criticism, and with many of the claims made by its representatives we disagree, but no one who has attempted to get back to the earliest existing authorities in any branch of history or historical research, can ignore, save at his own cost, the work that has been done in the same field by German scholars. During the last two years the writer of this article has been trying to get into touch, as far as lay within his power, with the earliest existing sources of information that throw light upon the missionary efforts to which the conversion of the various countries of Europe was due, and he has had forced upon his attention the good work which has been done by German scholars in every branch of this field, much of which has hardly

been touched by English historians. The character depicted by Browning in "A Grammarian's Funeral" has its counterpart in the best representatives of German scholarship to-day, for it is in literary research that the best and most attractive side of German "thoroughness" has found scope for its activities. By learning to appreciate the decades of laborious toil which many a German scholar has devoted to "settling *Hoti's* business," and to the elucidation of "the enclitic *De*," we may learn to understand one of the best features of the German character and may at the same time free our minds from dwelling upon manifestations of German thoroughness of a wholly different kind. Suggestions have recently been made in English newspapers, some of which seem likely to be carried into effect, that the study of the German language should be banished from English schools, and that the study of other languages should be substituted for it. Language is the greatest of the artificial barriers that separate nation from nation, and to abandon the study of the German language would be to abandon all hope of appreciating what is best and most attractive in Germany, or of uniting ourselves in bonds of friendship to the German peoples.

In a future state of existence we anticipate the complete removal of the barrier which the use of even a common language creates between us and our fellow men. Heaven, it has been well said, will be the joy of complete mutual understanding. It often happens to-day that two persons, who are both actuated by kindly feelings, misunderstand each other's motives and each comes to believe that the other entertains feelings of hostility towards himself, whereas if they could reach each other's thoughts, they would be impelled to embrace one another. We cannot hope that in this world our powers of telepathy, or of thought-reading, can be developed to such an extent that they will be able to supersede the use of language, or to check the errors that arise from its imperfections. Of One alone who has lived upon this earth could it truthfully be said, "He knew 'all men and needed not that any should testify of man.'" Unlimited knowledge in His case did not prove incompatible with unlimited love.

There can be no hope of the permanent establishment of the Satya Yuga upon this earth until the members of each nation are prepared to make efforts, corresponding with the military efforts which they are now making, to break down all artificial barriers and to destroy mutual misunderstandings. The writer is an optimist, and his optimism has increased as the war has progressed. Despite all present evidence to the contrary, he believes that this war will bring the world many steps nearer to the accomplishment of the divine purpose for humanity. But if we are to take our part in the

fulfilment of this purpose we must march with our faces towards the light.

The last house at Land's End in Cornwall bears on the side which faces the traveller who comes from England the inscription, "This is the last house in England," but if the traveller passes on and looks back he will read on the further side of the same house the words, "This is the first house in England." The first inscription he reads as he faces the ocean over which the sun is setting: the second as he faces the abodes of men and the rising sun. If the first suggests to him thoughts of a completed goal and of a sun setting beneath the boundless deep, the second speaks to him of the life and habitations of men irradiated by the approaching dawn. The inscriptions on this house suggest to us the two different points of view from which the present world-wide war may be regarded. If we read what seems to be its import as it confronts us when brought face to face with it, and as we gaze out upon the lowering prospect beyond, we seem to see the words inscribed, "This is the final result to which European civilisation has led"; but if in imagination we pass beyond the present scene and look back upon it from its further side, the inscription will be found to read, "This is the starting-point in the progress of mankind towards the realisation of new ideals and of new hopes, and towards the completer manifestation of the Sun of Righteousness."

CHARLES H. ROBINSON.

ALSACE - LORRAINE.

AT the opening of the year 1871 France, overwhelmed by numbers, abandoned by Europe, was obliged to treat with her conqueror. Under pressure of necessity the National Assembly, met at Bordeaux, sacrificed the three *départements* which subsequently became the Reichsland of Alsace-Lorraine. Before leaving the conference hall the deputies of these three *départements* read out the following protest:

“ We declare null and void an agreement which disposes of us without our consent. To claim our rights will always be the object of each and all, in whatever form and to whatever degree our conscience shall dictate. Your brothers of Alsace and Lorraine, who have been separated at this moment from the common family, will preserve a filial affection towards France, no longer at their side, until the day when she comes to take her place by them once more.”

And on February 18th, 1874, at a sitting of the German Reichstag in Berlin, the spokesman of the fifteen deputies elected in the annexed countries, made the following declaration, after recalling the pronouncement of the highest German authority in international law, Professor Bluntschli, of Heidelberg, a pronouncement which is thus formulated in his code of International Law:

“ For a cession of territory to be valid, there must be acknowledgment on the part of the people inhabiting the ceded territory and exercising political rights in it. Such acknowledgment can never be passed over in silence or suppressed, for peoples are not things without rights and without wishes, whose proprietorship can be transmitted.”

The speaker expressed himself in the following words: “ In choosing us all, such as we are, our electors have specially desired to declare their sympathy for the French nation as their own, and their right to dispose of themselves.” The rough reception which these declarations had in the assembly showed that the *élite* of the German nation were devoid not only of generosity but of the commonest courtesy.

During the forty years following these virile and dignified protests, not a single demonstration of equal force in a contrary sense has taken place in Alsace-Lorraine. Our fathers' protest has thus kept its full strength and value.

Even since the beginning of the present war, whilst Alsace-Lorraine has groaned under a reign of terror, Prussian brutality

has not succeeded in wresting from the Parliamentary representatives of Alsace-Lorraine the loyalist declaration which it wanted to set against the protests of 1871 and 1874. The assembly confined itself to assessing the economic damages which would be inflicted on Alsace-Lorraine by any change in the actual régime. And yet it was only the more timorous, the more doubtful elements amongst our countrymen who were in a position to speak out, those who have more or less openly "rallied" to the German régime. Indeed, in spite of apparent Parliamentary immunity, any vote tending towards the separation of Alsace-Lorraine from Germany and towards a return to France would be considered high treason. The most that one can, or ever could, openly demand is autonomy for Alsace-Lorraine, and her elevation to the status of the other States in the German confederation. Even these aspirations are considered by the German Government and people as a revolt, and as an injury to their prestige.

From the German point of view I can hardly give a clearer or more striking proof than in placing side by side the two following declarations:—In 1871, General von Werder, the incendiary of Strasburg, speaking to a young Alsatian pastor, said: "I hate 'the Alsations because they love France.'" At a sitting of the Reichstag, on January 20th, 1914, Herr von Jagow, Prefect of the Berlin police, exclaimed: "Germans in Alsace find themselves 'in enemy country.'"

In the first intoxication of the victories of 1870-71, the German had for some months proclaimed with enthusiasm that we were "his 're-conquered brothers.'" As these more or less interested declarations of love found no echo amongst a population passionately attached to France, to French ideas, and to French liberty, a population which in encounters, especially with North Germany, had always exhibited a profoundly democratic spirit, the mask fell, and the true visage of Germania appeared such as we have seen it for the last forty-four years. In their eyes we were manifestly inferior beings, behindhand, half barbarian, to whom must be brought the illumination and the blessings of *Kultur*; and with this end in view we must come under the tutelage of the German Empire. Thus was created in the centre of civilised Europe Young Germany's first colony.

Whether under the dictatorship of the first period, or under the constitution of 1879, or under that of 1911, we lived always under an exceptional régime such as would be unimaginable to a citizen of a free and proud country. At times, as, for instance, in 1888, this régime worked with peculiar harshness and refined tyranny—the atrocious measures taken recently in Belgium since the war can alone give any idea of it—and this with the thinly

veiled object of driving us to acts of revolt.* The population of Alsace-Lorraine has during this long period of trial (*grande ævi spatium*) given proof of such calmness, moderation, and self-control as are almost unique in the annals of history. Never has it placed itself in the wrong by an act of violence, though such an act would have been abundantly excusable, especially in view of the liveliness of the national temperament. With unshakable faith during the whole period the people have preserved their affection for the country they have lost, and have kept their conqueror at a distance, as a brutal and arrogant overlord.

The emigration of our inhabitants into France, which was very considerable in the earlier years following the annexation, gradually diminished, though the rate has always been comparatively high. In 1870 the population of the annexed provinces amounted to about 1,500,000 inhabitants. According to very careful estimates, during the forty-four years which followed, more than 800,000 persons emigrated to France. This figure represents very nearly the increase of the native population during the time. In fact, the population inhabiting the annexed provinces now numbers about 1,500,000.

It will be readily understood that there is no family amongst the inhabitants of the whole region that has not one or several members established in France, whilst the Alsatians who have established themselves in Germany practically do not exist. And if they had listened only to their own inclinations the Alsace-Lorrainers would have emigrated in still greater numbers. But with their robust good sense they very soon realised that each man who left his country made room for a German. Those who remained, therefore, had the foresight to defend their country, their nationality, and their culture step by step against Germanism.

Alongside this native population we find in 1914 about 400,000 Germans and the children of Germans, from all parts of the Empire. This number includes the military (two army corps fully up to strength), the officials, and all above inferior officers. For forty years Germany has poured into Alsace-Lorraine, amongst others, the surplus of her re-enlisted non-commissioned officers to whom she owed civil posts (*Militär-anwärter*). The majority of these immigrants have preserved the nationality of the country from which they came. For in Germany a man is not a citizen of the Empire; he is a subject of one of the federated countries composing the Empire, such as Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Baden, or Mecklenburg.

The school and the army are the two means by which the Germans reckon to Germanise Alsace-Lorraine and win her over to their

* See the avowal of the former *Statthalter*, Prince Clovis de Hohenlohe, in his *Mémoires*.

Kultur; and the task of the school seems particularly easy when one remembers that the majority of the people speak a German dialect. But experience has proved that language is not a decisive factor in constituting nationality. Whilst the young Alsatians have learned the language, the literature, the history of Germany, the barrier which separates them from the newcomers is immovable, and the number of mixed marriages between the inhabitants and the immigrants is quite infinitesimal. In spite of the severe prohibition against the teaching of French in the schools, which by a measure analogous to the treatment inflicted on the Poles, covers even private instruction, the knowledge of the French language has rather made progress amongst the people since 1870, at least in the towns. As for the leisured classes, French is the language used exclusively in family life and in personal relations, and the French spoken is of a purity which would be incredible to our fathers, whose accent was much criticised.

As for service in the Army, it has been, of course, obligatory on all who intended to remain in the country. Although the Alsatian is naturally of a fighting temperament, yet the people have merely endured the servitude. The lack of enthusiasm of the Alsatian soldiers in the German Army has been recorded in melancholy fashion by Professor Martin Spahn of the Catholic Faculty in the University of Strasburg, one of the leaders of the Catholic centre. Writing in the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* for August, 1914, he says of the Alsatian soldiers: "Our patriotic songs, such as *Die Wacht am Rhein* and *Deutschland über Alles* are merely good marching "songs to them."*

The well-to-do classes have for two generations scarcely provided a dozen officers for the standing army. They are almost exclusively sons of the "rallied" and rising officials who, in order to rise more quickly and more surely, have given their children as a pledge of their loyalty. On the other hand these same classes have found hundreds, nay thousands, of officers for France, of whom a great number are now to be found in the higher ranks (General Hirschauer, General Micheler, General Leblois), whilst others with the innumerable legionaries of Alsace-Lorraine origin have distinguished themselves in the Colonial expeditions in which Colonel Moll, Captain Fiegenschuh, and so many others have met with a glorious death in the service of France.

It is not possible to enumerate in detail the various efforts made by the German administration to overcome the dumb and tenacious resistance of the people, efforts in which periods of relative mildness (Manteuffel, Koeller) have alternated with sudden violence and

* Indeed a very large number of Alsace-Lorrainers avoided German military service by taking refuge in France, and since the outbreak of hostilities they have joined the French Army in masses.

excessive persecution. But the following may be mentioned: the trial before the supreme court of Leipzig in 1887 for high treason of Alsatians guilty of having taken part in the *Ligue des Patriotes*; the dissolution of choral and gymnastic societies which had preserved French methods; the severe sentences on the use of national cries and the wearing of seditious emblems; the prohibition of French inscriptions even on tombstones. Twenty years later we find the same persecution of journalists and politicians, of the caricaturists Zislin and Hansi, of the organisation of the *Lorraine Sportive* and its brave leaders, the brothers Samain, of the members of the *Souvenir Français*, a society devoted entirely to the honour of those who have died for their country—and so on.

The two most notorious scandals in the years preceding the war were the affair of Graffenstaden, in which the Government had intended by underhand methods to ruin the Alsatian Society for Mechanical Construction by withdrawing the large order for locomotives which they had placed with them, because they detected Francophile elements, and the affair of Zabern, which engaged the attention of the Press the wide world over, and which, on the eve of the war, threw a vivid light on the coarse and barbarous mentality of the body of Prussian officers and on the omnipotence of the military caste in the German State, all which things the war has since revealed to all the world; but we knew them by bitter experience long ago.

All these incidents and scandals have given proof, if such were needed, that Alsace-Lorraine has remained thoroughly anti-German, and that all her sympathies and all her aspirations have continually gone out towards France. In 1914 we might repeat the words pronounced in the Reichstag on June 30th, 1896, by my comrade in struggle, Jacques Preiss, who has just fallen a victim, a martyr in the Alsatian cause, to the odious treatment inflicted on him by the Germans:—

“The assimilation, the Germanising, of the country has not made a step forward to this day . . . terror governs and poisons our political existence. The Government does not understand the people, and the people do not understand the Government. . . . History will say: The German Empire has succeeded in conquering Alsace-Lorraine materially, but its administration has not been able to conquer it morally, it has not known how to gain the heart and soul of the people. . . .”

DANIEL BLUMENTHAL.

(Former Deputy from Alsace-Lorraine to the Reichstag, Former Deputy and Senator to the Alsace-Lorraine Parliament, former Mayor of Colmar.)

THE EDUCATIONAL USE OF THE SCHOOL GARDEN.

THE time has come for a very large increase in the number of school gardens, and for a considerable change in the method of using them. It is not merely that a much larger number of people should be taught the principles and practice of horticulture, though that is important. There is no one who does not agree that this country must be more self-dependent in the matter of its food supply, and that a much larger number of people must be induced to work on the land. The multiplication of school gardens will help in that direction; but it is not of the teaching of horticulture that we are chiefly thinking. The fact is that a garden may be so used in the work of a school as to have the highest educational value. It may be made to give life and reality to almost every part of the curriculum, and to assist most effectively in the physical, moral, æsthetic, scientific, industrial, and social education of young people. Indeed it would not be an exaggeration to say that almost the whole of the activities of a school might be made to centre upon, and take place in, a garden, and that a great increase of efficiency would follow any such development.

It seems strange that it is only quite recently that it has been thought necessary or desirable that a garden should be run in connection with the teaching of Cookery. There is, surely, a natural alliance between the kitchen and the garden. The vegetables that are cooked in the one are grown in the other. One would have thought that, wherever it was possible, girls would have been taught to cultivate the cabbages they cooked. It is curious to notice that it is only the schools that are attended by the children of the wealthy that have their garden mistresses, and that teach girls the practical management of the ground. The gardens attached to the Council schools are used exclusively for boys. Yet all girls who are old enough to learn Cookery are old enough to learn Gardening, and our own experience shows that they very much like to do it. We have seen, during 1916, a kitchen garden worked by girls of an ordinary Council school, and no work was more enjoyed by the girls, or better done. Of course there are things

which girls should not and could not, do; but these are very few. It must be worth while to give to girls a knowledge of the pleasure and profit to be derived from a garden, and the natural way to do this would seem to be that they should themselves cultivate the things that they use in the Cooking Class. This would, of course, mean that the institutions for the training of teachers of domestic subjects would have to be provided with gardens. As far as we know this is very rarely the case at present. Cookery teachers who want to learn gardening have to go to Swanley, or elsewhere, for a course of instruction. The fact is that in our schools we are far too much given to cutting up the instruction into "subjects" with little or no communication with each other; the consequences are sometimes almost ridiculous. What we should like to see in this country is a generation of housewives who not only really can cook, but who can completely manage a garden of such a size that it supplies most of the vegetables and flowers that a working-man's house requires. When Lord Bacon said that "a garden is the purest of human pleasures, the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man," he was not, probably, thinking much of Woman. But he ought to have been. If all cities were garden-cities, all villages garden-villages, and all housewives gardeners as well as cooks, this would be an infinitely happier world—especially for women.

A very determined demand is being made for the more extensive teaching of Science. Not less urgent is the necessity for an improvement in the methods of teaching it, and especially in the methods of instruction in the first stages. There has been a fashion of starting all such teaching by a series of lessons on measurement, volume, density, specific gravity, and so on. That can hardly be called an attractive approach to Science, and, however logical it may be, it is wholly unnatural. The garden offers a natural approach to science on several sides. Take Chemistry, for example. One cannot go far in the cultivation of a garden before one begins to use chemicals. "Liming" is universally necessary. When the lime is being placed upon the garden a boy wants to know why. What is lime? How is it obtained? What does it do to the garden? Why is it called "quick" or "slaked"? All these things one really wants to know, and there is the teacher's opportunity for giving his lesson in Chemistry. Life is imparted to the study. Lessons are seen to have something to do with the practical affairs of life, and not to be merely "something out of a book." The chemistry of air and water, carbon and carbonic acid, nitrogen and nitrates, potash, sulphates, phosphates; sand, clay, iron; ammonia and its compounds; the phenomena of decomposition, solution, evaporation—all these arise as matters to be studied

because of what is seen and done in the garden. It would be perfectly easy to prepare a syllabus of a first course in Chemistry that would arise out of the affairs of the garden, and for which the instruction could mainly be given on the ground.

The same may be urged with regard to Light and Heat. How is it that these are regarded as subjects to be studied, in the first case, indoors and without reference to any living thing? Their first importance lies in their influence upon, and necessity to the maintenance of, life and growth. How far can one go in a garden before some question of heat or light is met offering to the teacher an opening for exciting interest and imparting information? Here is a hand-light; why is it warmer under the glass than outside? Most people imagine that they know, but few do. This is the teacher's starting-point for a talk about the nature of heat and its transmission. Again, one must understand all about thermometers of all sorts if one is to be a gardener. Snow and soot raise the subjects of absorption and conduction of heat. The effect of frost upon the soil, and the means of preserving plants from frost, demand scientific explanations. It is in the garden, too, that one should show the connection between light and life, light and colour, temperature and evaporation, temperature and growth, and all such matters. If these things are approached in the first place as matters of life and death to plants, and of success or failure for the gardener, there is some likelihood of their appearing to be worthy of attention. And after all it was in some such way as this that these subjects were first approached. We have too much cut off our teaching from actual things and made it an affair of words, so that science is a question of conjuring experiments and of examinations, and not at all connected with Nature. We teach about capillarity by means of little blocks of salt and sugar, in a classroom; but the practical importance of it lies in the soil, and it is not unconnected with the farmer's practice of rolling the ground and the gardener's use of the hoe.

We cannot help thinking that when we come to what is now-a-days called Nature Study, and to Botany, a garden is quite indispensable. Here our school gardens have not been used at all as they should. In past years Botany has largely been learned by children in class-rooms, from books and diagrams and dried specimens, and that even where a school garden was at hand. In a few cases it has been otherwise. Why should not elementary Botany be wholly a garden and outdoor subject? A considerable portion of the garden should be given up to small beds each planted with members of one Natural Order, or with plants selected to illustrate one or more definite points. For example, a bed may contain red, white, and alsike clover; peas, beans, and lentils;

monkey-nuts, lupins, lucerne, vetches, sainfoin; and other *Leguminosæ*. Gorse, broom, and laburnum will be found on the borders of the garden. Another bed may contain tomatoes, potatoes, tobacco, petunia, physalis, and other *Solanaceæ*. In the same way there will be beds of *Labiates*, *Rosaceæ*, *Scrophulariaceæ*, and the rest. Indeed, there are very few things mentioned in an elementary text-book of Botany that may not quite readily be grown in a fair-sized school garden. It must be better to study these things from the living, growing plant than in any other way. Pupils may learn for themselves by direct observation. What could be better, for instance, than to send pupils into a garden charged to find out the different ways in which plants climb? Bean, hop, clematis, nasturtium, ivy, virginia creeper—all will be in the garden, and the pupils will visit each and make their own observations, reporting in words and in drawings.

Nowhere else is there so much opportunity for making children investigators. We want to stir up the spirit of enquiry; we want young people to devise experiments which shall answer questions; that is, we want to make them discoverers. A garden offers endless opportunities for this, especially if foresight is exercised when the planting is being done. Ask questions of this sort: Do the roots by which ivy clings to a wall feed the plant? Arrange an experiment to find out. At what rate does a sunflower grow? Can a hop-plant be trained to climb round a pole in the same direction as a kidney bean? Which is better to use as seed—potatoes that are fully matured or immature ones? There is no end to the number of such enquiries; and the necessary experiments can be invented and carried out by the scholars themselves. Surely this is good teaching method. Nowhere else can the child be so readily led to wonder and to enquire, as in a garden.

There should, of course, be in every school garden a section devoted to plants of economic importance. We could name a garden where fifteen little beds—perhaps each two square yards—are sown each with a different useful grass; where wheat, barley, oats, rye, millet, maize, sugar-beet, flax, hemp, and mustard each have a place; where a series of small plots illustrates the rotation of crops; and where there is a small plantation with specimens of some thirty British forest trees. Of late there has been a good deal of talk about medicinal herbs; these should have a considerable plot in a school garden. A pond might often be provided, and aquatic plants grown and pond life studied; whilst in some places it should not be impossible to cultivate trout.

The school garden gives rise to a demand for what the schools call "Manual Work." Often instruction is given in woodwork and metal work with little reference to any real necessity of life.

Boys make models; why should they not make *things*? A man who can make his own frames, build his own poultry house, glaze a window, solder a watering can, and do all such jobs, is in an enviable position. It is worth much to have boys doing these things not as lessons or "specimens" or "models," but because they are wanted and are to be used. This is what we mean by making the work of a school depend upon, and arise out of, the garden. We really must try to bring the work done in our schools back into touch with reality; we must cease trying to be elaborate and get back to simple natural ways of doing things.

It will be seen that we are suggesting that the provision of school gardens, and some reform in the way of using them, would lead to more time being spent by teachers and children in the open-air of the garden. That would certainly be desirable. If it is good for the physically defective to be sent to open-air schools it must be good for normal children to be out of doors. But what we are here concerned with is that it is educationally better, that better methods of teaching can be employed, that opportunities can more easily be made for co-operative or team-work, that self-discipline is far more easily arranged for, and that the natural restlessness of a child can be more readily turned to account. Especially we would emphasise the fact that in a garden work becomes "meaningful," "purposeful." How much better, for example, to measure one's own garden-plot and find its area, with and without the path, than to do a sum about it out of a book? How much better to *see* a square pole, or rood, or acre than merely to learn the words? How much more "sense" there is in keeping the accounts of your own garden than in dealing with some "made-up" figures! Or if you are to discuss rainfall; or maximum, minimum, and mean temperatures; or any kind of meteorology—how much more real it all is if you have taken the observations in, and made your charts and calculations with reference to, your own garden. "Summer Time" presents no difficulties to girls who have entered the revised figures upon the sun-dial in the school garden. Direction is quite clear when one has studied the weather-vane in, and made an accurate map of, the garden in which your teacher discusses these things. It is really extraordinary, too, how large a proportion of what is done in the way of arithmetic in schools can be applied to, or begin to be studied in, the garden. Properly employed, a school garden is the very best class-room imaginable.

We referred above to the moral, æsthetic, and social influence that might be exerted by the school garden. This would seem to be evident. What would be the result if children from the slums of our big cities could receive such education as they get in a school garden or garden school? The humanising effect of such associa-

tion with beautiful living things would be of untold value. And where will one learn patience, foresight, thrift, cleanliness, economy, and altruism so well? It is an unwritten law that in a garden one works "that he may have to give to him that needeth."

In a village the school garden might well become a centre for a good deal of social intercourse. Boys and girls have their own plots to cultivate; fathers and mothers should be quite free to come and help out of school hours. There would be much more of sympathy between the school and the home if parents and teachers met casually on common ground with some common interest. Moreover, it is worth a good deal to get teachers associated with their scholars in this social and informal manner. The farmer might quite reasonably look to the school to do his seed-testing for him, nor need there be any great reluctance for help to be given to him in any time of emergency. The other month a certain small farmer was almost in despair about getting up his potatoes. In desperation he wrote to two large elementary schools near by, asking if they could help in any way. Now why should not the schoolmasters have taken a dozen boys each and given a day—Saturday perhaps—to help with those potatoes? The school time usually given to physical exercises might well have been omitted that week, and, perhaps, also the time given to nature study. The boys would have had a lesson in patriotic altruism. But no; neither of the schoolmasters sent any reply to the man's appeal. That small-holder is not likely to feel very enthusiastic about the education rate.

We dare not take the children off the school premises, to the farmer's field or the neighbour's garden wall. Yet this would certainly be the way to get people to believe in the schools and feel some interest in them.

Arithmetic, Geography, Botany, Nature Study, Drawing, Elementary Science—these are all subjects in which much of the work could be made to arise naturally out of the garden and be done in it. Other things, too, could be studied there. Sitting accommodation and shelter would make needlework and reading possible there; whilst a very large amount of literature could be, and ought to be, connected with the life of the garden and field. In every case the possession of a garden opens the way for new and better methods of teaching, and for more humane ways of handling a class. And what an opportunity these gardens would give for the holiday months! Of course, garden-schools would not be closed. There will be, in the new time, streams of children going out to them for holidays—real holidays, when happy and instructive hours are spent among bees and flowers, vegetables, and fruit. There will be fruit-picking and jam-making, sleep and play, work and liberty. The girl who comes home from the great boarding-

school loves and enjoys her home garden. For the dwellers in the congested areas, the school garden must take the place of the home garden till the latter is provided.

In the coming days we shall make all country schools garden-schools. We shall cease to build barrack schools in the congested areas of towns. Instead, a ring of large school gardens and garden schools will encircle the towns, and to these the children will be carried by tram and train each day. Then, perhaps, a new spirit will arise in our country. A generation will come that will not be denied its right of access to the soil, a generation that knows Nature and loves her; an educated generation, finding its pleasures and its profit in the beautiful. We may even return to that golden age

“ ere England’s griefs began,
When every rood of ground maintained its man.”

J. EATON FEASEY.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER. By J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY ...	521
2. REVIEWS	527
THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE; CARDINAL MERCIER, THE PHILOSOPHER; INSECT LIFE; ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS.	
3. SHORTER REVIEWS :—"Jan Smuts," etc.	537
4. NOTICES OF BOOKS	540
5. POEM :—"Here is No Room for Tears." By CLOUDESLEY BRERETON	544

PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER.

THE coming of spring after a long, hard winter is a very wonderful business. The oak of course puts not its trust in the most assured thaw, and the ash is perhaps even less trustful. The oak has faith in a really prolonged burst of March sunshine. The ash has faith only in a really prolonged burst of March rain. The oak-buds swell in the sunshine, the ash-buds in the rain. The reason that April is so changeable a month is that it may meet the demands of these ancient trees. May can be what it likes if April is serviceable with brilliant sunshine and frowning rain-clouds chasing each other, shadow after shadow gliding across the green winter heat. In February the woods and the moor and the farms begin to think about the year's growth. The green of the mystic elder puts to shame the holly and the ivy and even the late autumn blackberry runners which adventure into the spring of the new year. If February be well behaved, then the dykes and the streams and the rivers are well filled with melted snow, and the land is ploughable for the spring wheat and the men and horses come home from the plough in the lengthening evenings, tired with wonderful days when the milky skies shimmer—morning, noon, and evening—with new light; when the turned earth is rich and brown and full of worms; when the plover follows the plough and the horses, seeking hoof-hollows to lay her eggs in; when the sparrows are noisy as they were noisy in the autumn, noisy with a multitudinous buzzing and thrilling that is like unto the sound of a hive in labour; when seed life begins to stir in the warm under-woods, and buds to burst their swelling sheaves; when the woodland paths grow wondrous and mystical in morning and evening lights; when winter is but a Parthian foe with his bow ill-strung

and his arrows feathered with snow. Such a February gives us the March and April that Pharaoh loves and the daughter of Pharaoh adores; the weather of great, kindly, warm winds, of fruitful showers, of buds and little leaves in their legions, of purpling hedgerows and multitudinous birds, of new green grass, of endless wind-swept hard roads, of woods that are thrilling with life and hearts that are beating with hope. No wonder that Pharaoh loves, and Pharaoh's daughter adores the month of April. But who are these Egyptians, and what know they of an English spring, of the elder and the birch and the thorn, the oak and the ash, the common and the moor, the wood and the never-ending road, and the little meadow in the deep valley between two great woods that the sun shines through morning and evening? What know they? Why, indeed, they live here and have so lived for four long centuries; and they came, did John Faa, and Miriam Faa, his wife, and Helen—Helen indeed—his daughter, up out of Little Egypt long, long ago; and when the tribe of the Faas came up out of Egypt, one branch floated off to the Scottish border and one to this happy Western valley.

There is a tragic pathos in the annals of an alien race that has settled in strange lands and has never mingled with the inhabitants thereof. There are, of course, many instances, though from these we must exclude the cases where the alien people is the dominant race. In such cases the pathos is the pathos of home sicknesses, of the ancient Greek or Roman, of the modern Englishman, yearning for a glimpse of Athens from the sea, of the Appian way, of a Kentish orchard. But where the alien people is also a subject race, then indeed they have flung themselves down by the waters of Babylon and wept. Race memory is long. The Jew, after all these centuries, at the back of his soul, despite the flesh-pots of Egypt and Alexandria, of Rome and the Levant, of Paris and London, of New York and San Francisco, yearns for that city on the seven hills where Solomon sat in all his glory. But the gipsies, the Egyptians, Pharaoh's people, Bohemians (call them what name you will, name of contempt or fear) are perhaps most of all figures of tragedy. There are no more mysterious people on the earth, and the mystery is written in their eyes, darker and more inscrutable than the eyes of the Jew. In this people are united something of the quality, something of the faith, much of the faithlessness of the races through whom they have passed in their secular pilgrimage from East to West. But they are also a people apart. Their own name for themselves, Artzigan or Zigan, which we have corrupted into Zingari and even into Tinker—for the gipsies were the travelling smiths of the Middle Ages and are in some fashion the travelling smiths of to-day—means, it would seem, the "touch-me-

“nots,” the people apart, and the name is older than that of Rom, which they adopted coming North from Constantinople. They have ever been a people apart. The forces that drove the Indo-European race Westwards at some later date caught a Himalayan or North Indian tribe into its scattering whirlwind, and in the early centuries of our era the impulse drove the tribe South and West down into Persia, whence it drifted into Asia Minor and then split in twain, one section reaching Egypt and Northern Africa, while another passed into Greece and into the Byzantine Empire and so North into the Balkans, a great and multiplying company. Here and there the tribe found a resting-place. In Roumania a section of it took root, but the main body slowly forged North and West, a vast army of travelling smiths and makers of baskets, conjurers who learnt their art in the East and Byzantium, tumblers, acrobats, fortune-tellers, card tricksters, mesmerists. As a race it adjusted itself to the needs of its environment, took kindly to successive tongues, creeds, and even laws, left traces of its blood and its erratic genius in every region, until at last it came with the Renaissance and with the murmurs of the approaching Reformation of religion into the West of Europe. It was a strange coming into strange lands. In 1417 the Egyptians are in Germany, wandering everywhere, and adding a new mysticism to a period when mysticism and the weirdest superstition were at their height. In 1427 they are swarming over rich and wonderful France. They rapidly became a permanent, irradicable element in the life of Central Europe, and in 1473 the wise Emperor Sigismund gave them safe conduct. But persecution was their lot, and they suffered a worse fate even than the wandering Jews. In 1500 the dark strangers crossed into Britain, perhaps to flee from the horrors of Germany, where they were broken on the wheel and beheaded. In England and Scotland they moved about with freedom for half a century, were, indeed, almost welcomed in Scotland, and their chief was recognised by the King. It was during the period of freedom that Pharaoh and his wife and his sons and his daughters, his tents and his instruments of art, floated into this remote and hidden Western valley where they have remained ever since, permanent settlers and freeholders in a sense, though they ever, when law and custom were not too dangerous, floated out in the month of March to Salisbury Plain, or even to Ketbroke, near Blackheath, in the county of Kent, where the Egyptians for centuries held their annual Parliament or Pow-Wow, as is the custom with tribes that think of home. It is true that the law became harsh in 1531, 1555, and in 1563, when these “outlandish people calling themselves or “being called Egyptians,” and any who joined “the fellowship “of such Egyptians” were banished the realms of England and of

Wales under pain of trial for a capital offence without benefit of clergy. The death penalty was not removed from the Statute Book until 1830. Until that year to be, or to be of the fellowship of an English gipsy in an English lane, was an offence that smacked of the gallows-tree. In Scotland the law, under James VI., who loved not witches, was harsh in fact as well as name, and many sons of Pharaoh were hanged, and many daughters of Pharaoh were drowned, for such was the fashion of the Stuart mind. But persecution in no way stamped out the Egyptians here or elsewhere. They spread over the world, ever moving West and South, and to-day, when they have reached Australia and soon will be in Asia again, there are perhaps 700,000 of them the wide world over. Truly a wonderful race and not to be despised, and, more especially, not to be despised in the person of Helen Faa on this bright March morning on the upland by her valley, where the winds from two seas meet.

She is of an ancient lineage indeed. For four full centuries she and hers have lived in this valley, and that is but a small fraction of the days since they looked back with yearning eyes past the foothills of the Himalayas to the sentinels of Asia and the roof of the world. But she is English through and through. It was the first race she had met that shared her own hunger for adventure, her own stolid determination to win through to some undefined goal, her passionate loyalty to something she could not understand. In four hundred years she had for the most part thrown off the foreign garments she had acquired in Persia, Greece, Byzantium. She had reverted to her type, that Indo-European type, which she possessed in common with the English, but she was still dark, still a woman of mystery, still the owner of the smile that Titian painted, still a soul apart, a Zigan; one who cried with her whole consciousness to the sojourners of the land, "Touch me not"; she, that is to say, her race, of which she is the serene and perfect type.

It is not unimportant to picture Helen Faa on this fine April morning, for she is part of the spring, the very spirit of spring, and has something of the graceful tulip flower in the colours that she adorns and in the trim and ordered manner of her upright gait, nonchalance in fetters, and the balance of her dark, well-favoured head. There are two ways from the South to the hidden valley of the Egyptians: one way is to breast a steep, wind-blown, grassy hill a thousand feet high, and then to cross a narrow belt of forested highland, and then a strip of heather, and then to drop down an almost sheer woodland path that winds into the very heart of the gipsy settlement, as it lies, tented, by a pool of shining water. That is one way; another and a longer way is to walk West along your own valley for two miles or more to the place where the streams

of the two valleys meet. At this spot there is a little bridge which, when crossed, brings you into a tunnel of beech trees, and through this neck or tunnel you pass into the valley of the Egyptians, the long, narrow valley that at last opens out into a spread of lush meadow land with a dancing stream and a shining pool which has mirrored the tents of the Egyptians for over four centuries. Both ways are wonderful ways; wonderful in their lovely vistas and unexpected visions of distant hills that rise up, beyond the walls of the valley, sharply outlined and untroubled by mundane things. On a small scale it might be a nook of a valley in the approaches to the Himalayas and those bleak hills, the beginnings of the roof of the world. Helen, as befits the daughter of a chief, regards the valley and the approaches over the hills as her own, and often roams them, nor disdains to cross the palm of a stranger who crosses her woodland path. Her appearances and disappearances are disconcerting enough. Here, for instance, on the very height of the hill, whence the woodland path falls to the encampment, is an open windswept space that folds in long grassy hillocks. A young man, a stranger, leaping and running from one deep hillock to another, is suddenly faced by an inscrutable figure with folded arms, whose demure smile is rendered almost wonderful by the shining, dark eyes that seem to pierce the wanderer's soul: Mona Liza grown very young. A sprig of willow palm is in her hair, which is bound back with a red ribbon. Her comely dress is slashed with brilliant colour and girdled with a blue belt. A willow wand lies between her arms. At her feet, on the grass, are the court cards of a pack. On her right shoulder is, strangest of creatures, a squirrel. The young man started at the vision in the desolate place.

"A fine morning, young sir," said the Vision, unfolding her arms and playing with the willow wand, "and a fine meeting for 'you.'" Her English was so perfectly modulated as to make it certain that it was a taught and not a mother tongue. "Why for 'me?'" said the young man, rather sheepishly. "Hist!" said she to the squirrel, and down to the ground it leapt, whisked a card with its tail and vanished. Helen then touched the card with her wand, and lo! it sprang up to her hand.

"Will you have your fortune, young sir; shall I cross your 'hand with silver?'" "Rather!" said he. She was as tall as he, and she looked into his eyes with a bold, pitying look. "Are you 'sure you will have your fortune? 'Tis not every young sir who 'will face his fortune.'" "I am not afraid of you or my fortune," said the victim rather rudely. "Oh, Sir!" said she, and curtsied. It was the curtsy of a Queen to a King, and the young man coloured with shame. But the enchantress never lifted her eyes from him, even when she crossed his hand with silver. "Look!"

said she. And he looked at the card. "Look!" said she, and her voice was hard and commanding, and her black eyes flashed. "I see," said he. "I see myself as I am! How *did* you do it? Now I am growing older, older, tired, old, famous." "Look!" said she. "It is the Abbey," said he, "and I hear . . . " Far away he heard a phantom laugh. He was alone in the young spring weather, and the larches nodded in mockery.

This young officer, home from India,* waiting for France impatiently, as he walked on reflected on this curious interview with a strange seriousness. He recalled things that he had heard of in India, and he felt hardly inclined to laugh. He determined to bring to the spot a young Gurkha officer, who was in camp not far away, and with whom he had come from India. It so happened that this young officer called on him that very day; and before sunset together they climbed the hill. He told the Gurkha nothing, but determined that, if possible, he and the Vision should meet. He knew of the encampment far below, and was ready to penetrate the tents of Pharaoh if necessary. But Fate is stronger than necessity, and after they had passed the hillocks and were by the green verge of the wood, the Gurkha suddenly stopped. "I know this place," he said. "But you have never been in 'England before.'" "It is not England," he answered, dreamily, "it is . . . " and he named a village nestling under the shadow of the Himalayas. "But this is madness!" "Oh no, young 'sir!'" said a clear, foreign voice that he recognised, and behind them was Helen. She and the Gurkha looked at each other in wonder, and then she said, in accents of strange humility, "What 'would my lord?" And bent her head to hide her face.

Then he spoke, but not in English nor in any tongue that the Englishman knew. Slowly he spoke, as if to see if by any chance she understood. Slowly she replied, as if fearful that he might not understand. And her voice was full of music. Then the Englishman understood the strange scene. East and West, indeed, had met; and strange, indeed, after a breach of perhaps 1,500 years, they, at first with difficulty but soon with ease, understood one another. It was not the bastard Romany that she spoke, but the pure tongue strangely preserved in this valley of the Zigans, of the people set apart, and the Gurkha, a scholar, recalled the earlier form of his own dialect. Strangely alike they were: splendid specimens of the same race that time and space, fate and fortune, had held apart until the consummation of things. They were unconscious of the Englishman who had brought them together in that spot which was, indeed, a mystic counterpart of their own land.

Presently she pointed down the steep pathway to the shining mere and the tents of Zigan. But he shook his head. "Farewell,

"my sister," said he in English, and, taking a ring from his left hand, he placed it on hers, "and remember."

"Farewell, my Lord, my brother," said she, and, unclasping a bracelet from her arm, she placed it on his. "It will preserve you from all perils and bring you to our own land again." Then she turned to the Englishman and, looking him full in the face with her bold black eyes, said, "Fear woman, face fortune, fare well."

And she fled "while unseen hands were hanging the night around them fast": she, Pharaoh's daughter.

J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY.

REVIEWS.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.*

The final volumes of the Cambridge History of Literature mark the completion of a task of considerable magnitude, representing in some fields of work great research, in all fields the provision of quite invaluable bibliographies, and also representing a mass of considered judgments, not, indeed, always acceptable, but always worthy of serious consideration, on an immense range of persons and themes. Nothing quite so effective as this Cambridge History has hitherto been available for the use of the student. It is essentially a student's book, and can form the basis of research. It is for this reason that we are inclined to lay stress on the bibliographies as the most significant and important part of the series. These collections of authorities are of priceless value to the student. They will save him from the futility of going over well-tilled land, they will show him the problems that require research, they will in all cases frighten off the dilettante in research work. As to the scheme of this work, as, indeed, of the *Cambridge Modern History*, we have always frankly been opposed to it. It cuts up history into more or less satisfactory monographs; even with the best editing (and we desire to congratulate the Master of Peterhouse and Mr. Waller on their notably successful labours) there is no resultant picture, since each author, if he is honest, which we assume, must retain his point of view, which may or may not be in the picture; while the work as a whole has not, and could not have, even if an archangel were editor-in-chief, the stamp of one

* *The Cambridge History of English Literature*. Edited by Sir A. W. Ward, Litt.D., F.B.A., Master of Peterhouse, and A. R. Waller, M.A., Peterhouse. Volume XIII., *The Nineteenth Century*, II. Volume XIV., *The Nineteenth Century*, III. (Cambridge: At the University Press, price 9s. net per volume.)

great personality, a condition precedent to a work destined for immortality. In some ways it might be contended that the troop-method of writing history is less dangerous in the history of literature than in the history of affairs; the student is less disturbed by conflicting estimates and by composite pictures. But in fact the literature of a nation is a unity, and it is subject to the same laws of presentation, since it reflects and affects the literature of politics, as the history of affairs. The ideal in both cases would be to secure a man of the stamina of Gibbon, the honesty of Gardiner, the insight of Maitland, and to supply this super-historian with the material and the evidence from which he could produce a work of art in which style and judgment should be the outstanding qualities of a great picture, a full estimate of governments and men, as the elements of evolving national and international life.

Such an ideal can hardly be achieved, but certainly the editors of these fourteen volumes have done all that is humanly possible to supply the materials and the evidence. In the last three volumes they have been specially tried, for here they have attempted to bring the great English literature of the nineteenth century into proportion with the whole scheme, and to supply critical estimates of the men and women who have built up the Georgian and Victorian contribution to our great record. In the twelfth volume we met Scott, Byron, Shelley, and Keats, we walked with Hazlitt and Lamb, de Quincey, Jane Austen, saw something of the Oxford Movement, of the Evangelical and Broad Church Movements, of the growth of history as a science, of scholarship as an international asset. For some inexplicable reason Wordsworth, possibly the greatest pure poet of the nineteenth century, is excluded from this volume, and is left in the limbo of the late eighteenth century. A better instance of the dangers of the troop-method could not be given. Again, the thirteenth volume opens with a chapter on Carlyle who, to be honest, is so discredited to-day as a historian, as a stylist, as a man of judgment, that a note of disproportion is at once struck. Ruskin, an infinitely greater man, is dismissed in under nine pages, and Newman (in Volume XII.) has less. The influence of Ruskin and Newman on the sum total of English life has been and is enormous, that of Carlyle is dead beyond precedent in a case where personality exercised so widespread and remarkable an influence. Mr. J. G. Robertson declares that Carlyle's optimism "tossed fitfully on a vast ocean of pessimism . . . acted as a tonic on the national life of the Victorian era." In fact, our own age is far more pessimistic than the Victorian Age, and in some ways we have to thank Carlyle for this, for Carlyle's vague deism certainly did not make for reasoned optimism. To write of Carlyle "as the greatest moral

"force in the England of his day" is an unmerited slur on his far greater contemporaries. We freely recognise the many notable qualities of Carlyle and the really wonderful influence that he exercised very often for good. But his influence was evanescent; it was vague, and not really idealistic; it was theatrical; it was based on a philosophy that was a strange jumble of philosophic creeds expressed in a tongue that was certainly neither English nor good Scots. As a historian he was a dogmatic romanticist, and yet he was the man who idealised that dreadful creature, Frederick II. of Prussia. Carlyle's greatness consisted in his own really striking personality which he imposed upon the nation, and, incidentally, did something to awaken the nation from the cult of comfortable, selfish materialism. But in this field he was the least and not the greatest of a great band of workers.

The essays on the Brownings and the Tennysons will be read with profit and instruction. A real effort is made to secure a balanced judgment. Of Tennyson Mr. Grierson writes: "Since Shakespeare, there has been no poet so English in his prejudices and in his love of the soil and scenery of England, her peasants and her great soldiers and sailors . . . passionately patriotic and troubled, above all, by a fear that democratic England was less jealous of her honour than of old, more intent on material welfare and peace at any price." For our own part we think that it would be difficult to overrate the influence that Tennyson has had on English life. A great artist without great dramatic power, but yet possessing a unique gift of visualisation in non-dramatic form, he touched the hearts of the people as few poets have done; touched them in a sense that Carlyle never touched them: made purity, honour, unselfishness, patriotism in the highest sense the ideal of the people, and thus did more to build up the generation that is now fighting the malign influence of Germany and her thinkers than perhaps any other Englishman. Mr. Grierson declares that "Tennyson was no seer like Blake or Wordsworth," but the fact remains that he had the same ideals as Blake, the same passionate patriotism, the same seeking for a better land, and certainly in his noblest work he expressed his visions with a serenity of genius which made him the Virgil of England.

The influence of Browning has not yet shown itself on the surface of national life, but we believe that he has given form, as Dante gave form, to a conception of human and divine love which will eventually prove as vital in national life as the influence of Tennyson. His great philosophic and humanistic cult of love as the centre of all his thought and song (the point is well made by Sir Henry Jones) has deeply penetrated the thinking heart of our nation. His influence has done more to counteract modern

materialism than the work of any author of the Carlyle school. Browning's men and women are alive with love, and his cult, often set forth with exquisite art, has done great things in forming a nobler national outlook. The work of Tennyson, Browning, and Ruskin in enlarging the English mind and heart was nobly seconded by Dickens. Mr. Saintsbury makes this clear enough. To him Dickens is one of the "greatest and most unique figures" in English literature, one who represents English "courage, "independence, individuality, imaginative freshness, and "activity"; he gave back these qualities to the English race "with an unstinting fertility of device, a dæmonic energy, an "actual power of artistic creation in certain kinds, to which there "is, perhaps, no parallel in our literature and certainly none in "any other." To these names as a joint great national influence we are tempted to add the name of Matthew Arnold, of whom Mr. Lewis Jones writes with sympathy and appreciation, if not with enthusiasm. Arnold grasped the need for a larger national life, and he preached the need in every line of verse or prose that he wrote. He was not really a stoic, though he stood for hardihood and the noblest outlook. "In spite of these councils of fortitude, "we find the poet himself often possessed by a wistful yearning "to 'make for some impossible shore'—'agitated,' as he says of "Marcus Aurelius, and 'stretching out his hands for something "beyond—*tendentque manus ripæ ulterioris amore.*" It is this great yearning, this infinite idealism, which is the permanent note of the great English literature of the nineteenth century.

These volumes give us masses of material on the lesser writers as well as on the purely literary poets such as Swinburne and Rossetti, on technique, on historians, biographers, orators, philosophers, journalists, on the literature of science, on the growing literature of our great Dominions. The volumes are a treasure-house of material, and will on that and other grounds be greatly valued.

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CARDINAL MERCIER, THE PHILOSOPHER.*

This Manual of Modern Scholastic Philosophy, chiefly from the learned and subtle pen of Cardinal Mercier, comes at an interesting moment, the moment when the recapture of Belgium and of Louvain from the hands of the Germans is becoming certain and

* *A Manual of Modern Scholastic Philosophy*, by Cardinal Mercier and Professors of the Higher Institute of Philosophy, Louvain. Authorised Translation and Eighth Edition by T. L. Parker, M.A., and S. A. Parker, O.S.B., M.A. With a Preface by P. Coffey, Ph.D. (Louvain), Professor of Philosophy at Maynooth College, Ireland. Vol. I. Cosmology, Psychology, Epistemology (Criteriology), General Metaphysics (Ontology). (Kegan Paul, 10s. 6d. net.)

in sight, the moment when the human philosophy of Cardinal Mercier, who has faced the Germans with the same contempt with which he would face an error in logic throughout their persecution of his land, is going to justify itself. Here we have his philosophy of thought and of faith, and a great theme it is, full of supreme idealism. In his preface to the English edition he writes:—

“ Or, les événements sinistres de ces deux dernières années ont secoué les âmes. Le besoin d'idéal, d'une part, est devenu plus impérieux. Quiconque a senti que le Droit, l'Honneur, la Vérité habitent une autre sphère que la force brutale, appelle, de toute la puissance de son être, un Absolu. Ces millions de héros, qui, sur les champs de bataille font ou sont prêts à faire le sacrifice de leur vie; les peuples, témoins émerveillés de leur héroïsme, ont entrevu autre chose que le rêve d'une poésie charmeuse; leur volonté, si pas encore leur raison, a dépassé l'empirisme agnostique et affirme la nécessité et la réalité d'un monde transcendant, dont la philosophie sera contraint de rechercher la nature.”

We must have idealism in life if life is to be something more than brief comfortableness. Moreover, as Professor Coffey writes in his preface:—

“ Surely the shock of a world-catastrophe will be followed by graver and deeper heart-searchings about the guiding principles which have been ‘civilising’ peoples by ripening their human forces for mutual slaughter and annihilation. The cult of material might and its supplanting of moral right, the gospel of individual self-sufficiency and emancipation from religious restraints, the deification of the State and extinguishing of the lights of heaven—have *these* tendencies and achievements heralded human progress, or have they brought on humanity a terrible nemesis? Perhaps the cry of a chastened Europe will be: Back to Christ! Back to the *Christian Philosophy of Life*! Let us hope so.”

Cardinal Mercier, in his “Introduction to Philosophy,” gives the student a clear and non-technical and very useful account of the significance of philosophy, and of its place as an instrument of scientific progress. It is not a particularised science, but it is a science—is, indeed, the science of the sciences, the science which deals with the objects and relations of all the sciences, “until finally” it arrives at notions so simple that they defy analysis and “so general that there is no limit to their application.” But the function of philosophy tells us two things; one that a complete philosophy cannot be the product of one mind; and second, that at any time we can only have an approximate philosophy of the absolute since new sciences and methods of thought are ever appearing. But a true philosophy is always peering among the hidden causes of things, generalising, reconstructing, opening up

reality. If we can but get at causes we can see more truly the *causa causans*. There is, therefore, a close relation between philosophy and theology, the Queen of the Sciences. But there is nothing repugnant between philosophy and revealed truth. "Philosophy," the Cardinal rightly tells us, "is a study formally independent of all authority," but nevertheless the Christian scientist and philosopher may not "show a complete disregard of the teachings of revelation." The Church lays down "the dogmas of revelation," and if the philosopher "finds his conclusions at variance with revealed truth as proposed to his belief by legitimate authority, he is bound alike in the interests of faith and of scientific truth to trace back his enquiries until his difficulties find a solution in accord with the teachings with which at first sight they seemed to conflict." Cardinal Mercier declares that there is no question of abdicating the rights of reason. "We who are believers do not admit the possibility of such a contradiction. To answer the unbeliever, we must make an appeal to experience. . . . We confidently assert that there never has been found a manifest conflict between a dogma and a certain conclusion of science." Either the dogma or the conclusion has been wrongly stated. No doubt this is true; but the difficulty that the Church of Rome has been in is that she has, in fact, dogmatised wrongly on scientific questions, and has persecuted men who stood for observed facts. We write this with no desire for criticism, but merely as an instance of the fact that the Vatican does not always stand for all that is wisest or best in Roman Catholicism: as, indeed, this war shows.

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INSECT LIFE.*

Dr. Shipley has managed, in sad days, to introduce the lighter side of life into the study of science. His gift of humour makes him a born teacher. He creates interest by the ancient device of vivid contrasts. His essays on the Minor Pests were widely read with delight and instruction. The almost universal ignorance as to insect pests had become a real danger in days when the insect seemed to be fighting man with his own weapons. But no one who has read Dr. Shipley is likely to forget the little ways of pests that are common indeed and dangerous. We are not only taught to admire the beauty and complexity of the insect, but how, where it is possible, to extirpate the creature. These new essays will,

* *Studies in Insect Life, and Other Essays*, by Arthur Everett Shipley, Sc.D., F.R.S., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. (T. Fisher Unwin, 10s. 6d. net.)

therefore, be welcomed, though we can guarantee that no one will read the opening papers on the head-lice, the body-lice, and the bed-bug without recurrent shudders. "The irritation due to the body-lice weakens his host and prevents sleep; besides there is a certain psychic disgust which causes many officers to fear lice more than they fear bullets." No one but Dr. Shipley could open with such a prolegomena, or mourn, as he does, the difficulty of rearing lice in captivity. "Lice are very difficult to rear—when you want them to live they die, and when you want them to die they live and multiply exceedingly"; as, indeed, the Egyptians knew in all their quarters. Wigs and powdering of the hair may both have been defences against *pediculus capitis*. How taste changes! When lice were common members of society it was indecent to talk of them. Now, when they are largely under control, it is difficult to talk of anything else. But bees, even honey bees, are a pleasanter theme. The community of the honey bee is an amazing humourless Germanic business. Every one lives for the State, and the State seems to have no goal at all except the production of more bees to live for the State. The worker bee is an extraordinary person, a veritable Martha. The one act in her life that seems to show an æsthetic sense is when she finds the egg-laying queen and hums before her and feeds her. The queen has two passions—egg-laying, which is a habit, and jealousy, which is a characteristic. Yet even jealousy yields to loyalty to the hive. Two queens in mortal combat will cease their struggle if they reach such a position that each can at a blow kill the other with the stroke of the sting. The hive must at all costs survive. Dr. Shipley's account of the honey bee is of absorbing interest. How has such a creature, with such exact and exacting remunerative habits and powers, been evolved, and to what purpose? In the making of a comb

"All seems unorganised, undirected, confused, and without guidance. There is no foreman builder, there is no experience, for many of the builders have scarcely emerged from the pupa stage for three days, there is no means even of seeing, for the inside of a hive is pitch dark. Yet the bees produce with machine-like rapidity and mathematical accuracy a cell so uniform in size that 'au moment de l'établissement du système décimal, lorsqu'on chercha dans la nature une mesure fixe qui pût servir de point de départ et d'étalon incontestable, Réaumur proposa l'alvéole de l'abeille' (Maeterlinck, 'La Vie des Abeilles,' p. 134). Bees and wasps have also learned that to obtain most space with the use of least material and consequently less labour the columnar cells should be six-sided in cross-section. The vertical comb of bees consists of two layers of cells back to back. The bottom of each cell is a three-sided pyramid, just the shape that is seen when the eighth part of a cube is removed; on the six edges thus shown the six sides of the cell arise."

But what is the goal of it all? Mere reproduction under the most perfect mechanical conditions is not a goal in itself. Is this the tendency of humanity? Is this the goal of the perfect state? We, with Dr. Shipley, prefer "*Bombus*, the Humble-bee."

"It is altogether a more human and a much less exasperating insect. It has none of the cold glittering efficiency of the wasp or the maddening perfection of organisation of the honey bee. You feel that you might appeal to the better feelings of *Bombus*, but that it were useless to do so to *Vespa* or *Apis*. The queen, again, has something of the mother in her. She is not reduced to an egg-producing apparatus, which lays eggs with the regularity and inevitableness of a recurring decimal. The queen humble-bee broods over her young, tends them and feeds them. The workers work as hard as any *Apis*, but they seem less self-conscious about it, and the drones have the grace to provide during their brief life for themselves. It is true that the nest is more untidy, more littered than the hive; the domestic economy is Irish, not Dutch, but, after all, what would life be without litter?"

Perhaps, then, after all, untidiness may save our souls alive.

Dr. Shipley's paper on "The Romance of the Depths of the Sea," an adding up and setting down of the material gathered, *inter alia*, by the Norwegian research ship, the "Michael Sars," is profoundly fascinating. Who realises that the Ganges and the Indus carry out their mud a thousand miles to sea; that the Pacific has a water pit exceeding by nearly three thousand feet in depth the height of Mount Everest; that light, in some fashion, penetrates the sea to a depth of 1,000 metres, that the great deeps are full of life? "Many deep-sea animals have become sightless; others, as they approach the bottom, develop larger and more efficient eyes, sometimes standing out from their heads like binoculars, or even borne on the ends of stalks, as is the case in some of the eight-armed cephalopods (squids) and the larvæ of certain fishes." This fact makes the mind dream of inhabitants of terrible remote regions of space, who, instead of inventing telescopes, have grown them and survey the deeps of interstellar regions by the adjustment of an eyelid.

Dr. Shipley takes a curious point about the relation of rhythm and life. Living matter is always rhythmic; "there is a definite repetition of action at more or less definite intervals." Again, there is a tidal rhythm, and "this rhythmical change has impressed itself upon many marine organisms." Again, there is a rhythmical change of temperature, of intensity of sunlight, of salinity of water. "All those features have a profound influence on the life of the ocean; and a remote influence on land animals whose ancestry was marine." But have the rhythmic motions of

the earth itself no significance; the wobble of the pole, and so forth? We wish we could refer further to the essays on sea-fisheries (an important theme to-day) by the late Sir John Murray; Grouse Disease, Zoology in the Elizabethan Age, the Revival of Science, and the remarkable concluding paper on the physical and psychological significance of Hate.

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ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS.*

Dr. Higgins has issued a very timely and admirable book on the subject of the right of merchant ships in time of war to defend themselves against attack. From early in the seventeenth century, Great Britain, in the case of her own ships, has enjoined this course, and, in fact, during earlier centuries the merchant ship was armed as a matter of common precaution. We are told that "during the Napoleonic wars, it is evident that trading vessels frequently went armed, both those of subjects of belligerent as well as those of neutral States, and the right and duty of all belligerent merchant ships to defend themselves was recognised by the Prize Courts of England, France, and the United States." Even in time of peace the ships of the English and Dutch East India Companies were armed against pirates. This certainly went on until 1834, and probably much later. The practice was never disclaimed in international law, and Dr. Higgins tells us that "American Secretaries of State in 1877 and 1894 gave the opinion that there was no international prohibition against an American ship carrying guns and arms for self-defence in the South Sea Islands, and the laws of the United States did not forbid the carrying of guns and ammunition on a schooner which entered Haytian waters, so long as no hostilities were committed against the persons or property of foreign powers with whom the United States were at peace." In the case of the *Panama*, in 1899, arising out of the Spanish-American War, the United States Supreme Court declared (Gray J.) that "arms and ammunition are not contraband of war when taken and kept on board a merchant vessel as part of her equipment and solely for her defence against 'enemies, pirates, and assailing thieves,' according to the ancient phrase still retained in policies of marine insurance." Dr. Higgins usefully draws attention to the opinion of Dr. Hans

* *Defensively-armed Merchant Ships and Submarine Warfare*, by A. Pearce Higgins, M.A., LL.D., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. (Stevens & Sons, Ltd. Price 1s. net.)

Wehberg, a German jurist, who in a work published during the war states that "the resistance of enemy merchant ships to capture" would then only be unlawful if a rule against this had found "common recognition. But, in truth, no single example can be produced from international precedents in which the States have held resistance as not being lawful." Dr. Higgins concludes that "at the outbreak of the present war it was a recognised rule of international law that merchant vessels were entitled to defend themselves against enemy attack, and for such purpose they were entitled to carry arms and ammunition." It is true that certain German writers, Dr. Schramm (the legal adviser to the German Admiralty) and Dr. Triepel, the Professor to the German Academy of Military Marine, declared in 1913 that defence at sea was as unlawful as was defence by unauthorised forces on land, and that the officers and crew, unless enrolled in recognised military forces, are liable to be dealt with by criminal law. There is, in fact, no common ground to sea and land warfare in this or many other matters. The sea is a highway common to all nations, and every wayfarer may defend himself from attack if he, in fact, is engaged in lawful traffic. We prefer to put the right of defence on that ground; but we may also rely, with Dr. Higgins, on custom and practice. The argument of the Dutch writer, Professor von Eysinga, that, having the means of defence, the merchant ship may resort to attack is really, if we may say so, no argument. A merchant ship may attack if defence can only be secured against insidious attack by taking the initiative. Dr. Higgins' doctrine of "defensive-offensive" action seems to go as far as this, and the view is one that the United States is certainly adopting. A merchant ship followed by a submarine has not only the right but the duty to sink at sight.

Dr. Higgins discusses the German Naval Prize Regulations as to armed merchant ships. Apparently, the line taken by these regulations is that an *unarmed* merchant ship may not defend itself. "It was apparently because the *Brussels* was unarmed and attempted to ram a German submarine that Captain Fryatt was shot as a *franc-tireur*." Yet "there is not the slightest doubt of the legality of resistance" in the case of an unarmed ship. The attitude of neutral powers during the war is discussed at length. Only one Power, Holland, "has refused to admit defensively-armed merchant ships into its ports on the footing of ordinary merchant ships." There is, in fact, in international law no limitation even to the armaments that may be used. The truth is that submarine warfare on commerce can only be used in piratical fashion, and commissioned ships that act as pirates must be treated as pirates and sunk without mercy on any sign of approach.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Mr. N. Levi, of Pretoria, in giving us his volume entitled "Jan Smuts : "Being a Character Sketch of Gen. The Hon. J. C. Smuts, K.C., "M.L.A., Minister of Defence, Union of South Africa" (Longmans, 7s. 6d. net), has certainly found a live subject. General Smuts was born on May 24th, 1870, the son of Jacobus Abraham Smuts, a former member of the Legislative Assembly of the Cape of Good Hope, and his wife, Catharina Petronella de Vries. The boy was christened Jan Christian, and "Oom Jannie" he is to his friends, and "Jannie" to his familiars to-day. He was brought up on farms in the district of his birthplace, Riebeck West. In Riebeck village he was educated, and his teacher, Mr. T. C. Stoffberg, was destined to be his political opponent in later years. In 1886 he passed to the Victoria College at Stellenbosch, where he did well, and secured the Ebdon scholarship at the Cape University. Thence he passed to Cambridge, where "he "took both Parts I. and II. of the Law Tripos at the same time, was "placed first in the first-class of each," and won the George Long prize in Roman Law and Jurisprudence. This was in 1892. In 1894 he secured the Middle Temple prize for Constitutional Law. Mr. Smuts returned to South Africa in 1895, and at once began practice in the Supreme Court at Cape Town, and also took up journalism. He effectively defended Mr. Rhodes from charges of opportunism and corruption, but, of course, he resented with all his might the famous Raid. In fact, Mr. Smuts and Mr. Rhodes never met socially at all, or had any personal acquaintance : so Mr. Levi tel's us. During the South African War Mr. Smuts obtained a command under General De la Rey, and saw a good deal of fighting. At Vereeniging he stood for peace, and strongly argued in favour of it. In 1905, Lord Selborne referred to "Mr. Smuts, the brilliant lawyer, the brilliant soldier." He certainly had achieved fame in peace and in war. In 1905 he came to London, and later in South Africa he stood for racial conciliation. In due course, Home Rule for South Africa came, and this Great War has shown General Smuts as one of the chief leaders of a Dominion that, given wisdom and good temper, should prove one of the great forces of the future.

* * *

Mr. Roger Ingpen has in this great tome of over 700 pages ("Shelley "in England: New Facts and Letters from the Shelley-Whitton "Papers," Kegan Paul, 15s. net) brought together from a solicitor's office papers that throw light on the earlier life of the poet Shelley. These papers come from the offices of Messrs. Withall & Withall, the successors to Mr. William Whitton, the solicitor to the Shelley family, and in particular to Sir Bysshe Shelley and Sir Timothy Shelley, the grandfather and father of Percy Bysshe Shelley, the poet. The editor is able to print a few of the poet's business letters, and many family documents; he is able to clear up certain doubtful facts as to the ill-treated Harriett Shelley's death and burial (though the burial-place does not seem absolutely ascertained); to tell us the story of the death of little Charles Shelley, Harriett's son; to trace Shelley's grandchildren through Harriett's daughter, Ianthe Shelley, "who "married, on September 27th, 1837, Mr. Edward Jeffries Esdaile, by "whom she had two sons, Charles and William. The latter became a "clergyman, and died in 1915." It would be interesting to know if he or Charles left children, for the stock of Percy Bysshe Shelley has possibilities. But the new material, though it throws some new light

on Shelley as a boy and an undergraduate, and proves that he married Harriett in Edinburgh, certainly does nothing, or little, to give the reader an idea of a man of genius. Perhaps it makes him out more of a boy than the wretched record usually succeeds in doing, and he was not altogether intolerable, for his old grandfather and the Duke of Norfolk were kind to him in the days when his father and his father's solicitor were alike adamant. The two unpublished letters of Byron are useful, and the reproduction of the Duc de Montpensier's portrait of Shelley as a boy is really valuable. But, on the whole, the book is bulkier than its historical value justifies, and we much doubt if the raking of solicitor's archives is on the whole desirable, at any rate in the detail here revealed. But Mr. Ingpen has performed the tiresome task thoroughly, and a few more facts are available for the definitive life of Shelley.

* * *

A book, "Hope in Suffering: Memories and Reflexions by a French "Army Chaplain," translated from the French "*Les Douleurs qui "espèrent*" by Gemma Bailey, with a sympathetic introduction by Canon Scott-Holland, D.D. (Melrose Ltd., 4s. 6d. net.), is sure to be widely read—still more so when the author is the Abbé Klein, whose "Diary of a "French Army Chaplain," crowned by the French Academy, has already reached a fourth edition. "Hope in Suffering," as he tells us, was written at the suggestion of an English friend on the question of the war and the Love of God. This book will be welcomed by all who believe in the "Entente," in the reality of our common objects, our common sacrifices. But the intense patriotism of the French, their passionate love of France, and the magnitude of the sacrifices they are making, are far beyond anything we have in England. To a French man or woman, France is not only an ideal, but a reality, and in the words of Canon Scott-Holland, "this intense recognition of the sacrifice "asked, in living terms of flesh and blood, grasped with the precision "of a Latin consciousness, has given to the resistance of France a "moral dignity, a spiritual force, which stands alone in the war." We learn from the Abbé of what this devotion is capable through the Cross of Christ and the living faith of the Catholic Church. The types of character are well chosen, and whether they are the peasants from Finisterre or the clever well-read schoolmaster, the gallant young Englishman or American, each and all are treated with the same sympathy and admiration of the great sacrifice so nobly made. Who could have foreseen that in forcing priests and candidates into the ranks, the Government would have ensured the wonderful results of which the Abbé tells us, not only of the devotion, but the courage of the soldier-priests, and the religion they have brought into the Army? The pictures of happy family life, of friendship as well as affection between husband and wife, of the quiet heroism with which the women have shouldered their heavy burdens, are given with the discrimination and sympathy which characterise the Abbé's writings. Much in these "souvenirs" is too sacred to discuss, but they will well repay perusal. To us in England who have hitherto been spared the horrors of invasion, it is difficult to realise the tragedies of happy houses surrendered, sufferings and privations bravely borne, and lives ruined and desolate. For the English and Americans the Abbé has a warm regard, and does full justice to their courage, endurance, and never-failing cheerfulness. The Irish naturally have a warm place in his heart. The notice of Rupert Brooke is very striking.

The sixty-sixth volume of "The Story of the Nations" ("Denmark and Sweden," by Jon Stefansson, Fisher Unwin) maintains the high standard of an invaluable series. Dr. Stefansson, who is an Iclander and Lecturer on Icelandic at King's College, has written the story not only of Denmark and Sweden, but of Iceland and Finland, with wide knowledge, striking impartiality, and a complete command of idiomatic English. In a laudatory Preface, Lord Bryce justly declares that the history of all the Northern countries deserves far more attention than it has received from Englishmen, not only because of our close connection by blood, but also on account of their contributions to political liberty, literature, and science. Our author is justifiably proud both of the epic past and of the strenuous present of the States whose fortunes he relates. Denmark, he declares, is on the way to becoming the freest and best-governed country in Europe. Iceland, to which Denmark has wisely granted Home Rule, has a national flag and an University, and extended the suffrage to women in 1915. The story of Sweden, with her wonderful Vasa Kings, who made that country a Great Power and the saviour of the Protestant cause, is told with spirit. "A nobler figure than Gustavus Adolphus," contends our historian, "never stood in the forefront of a nation's life." Though Sweden has lost her empire to Russia and Germany, and has failed to retain her hold on Norway, she is still powerful, respected, and prosperous. In the meeting of the three Scandinavian Kings and their Foreign Ministers at Malmö, early in the war, the author sees with satisfaction "the old idea of a United Scandinavia standing out 'stronger than ever in the hour of danger.'" The closing section of the book is the saddest. It is much to be desired, writes Lord Bryce, that the Russian Government in its dealings with Finland should appreciate the value of the principles of liberty and self-government which Denmark has applied to Iceland. Dr. Stefansson writes of "the 'Russification of Finland' without mincing his words; but he ends on a note of hope. "Finland is confident that she can hold out till the 'Government of Russia has become so liberalised that justice is given' her. She will then again become a contented and loyal member of 'the Russian Empire.'"

* * *

Sir James G. Frazer writes an Introduction to the volume on "The Reconstruction of South-Eastern Europe" (Chapman & Hall, 7s. 6d. net), by Mr. Vladislav R. Savic, who acted as the correspondent of "The Daily Telegraph" in the Balkans in the dramatic years before the outbreak of the present war. Sir James tells us that the author "pleads for the formation of a strong and independent Southern Slav State, to be composed of all Southern Slav peoples of pure blood, and established by the Allies as a result, and a most important result, of their victory. This plea he bases on grounds both of justice and expediency. The measure which he advocates is just, because it conforms to that principle of the freedom and independence of all European nations, both small and great, the safeguarding of which our statesmen, with the full assent of our people, have proclaimed to be our principal object in the war." It is expedient as creating a buffer-State of importance against all encroachment by Austro-Hungarian ambition. Consequently Sir James Frazer commends the book "to the candid consideration of the British public and British statesmen." The author declares that "Peace in Central Europe can be secured in two different ways: by German conquest—and it would

"be a peace of graveyards—or by setting free the down-trodden nationalities in Austria, and uniting them with their kinsmen in Italy, Serbia, and Roumania. Such a peace would be the peace of progress and liberty." Mr. Savic traces the history of the Southern Slavs, their relations with Austria-Hungary and their immediate neighbours, their aspirations and economic possibilities. "Who are the allies of Russia and the Slavs? The true European nations; the best representatives of the Aryan genus. In fighting Germany and her Mongol allies they fight for the Slav place in Europe. They are helping Russia and the Slavs to strike off all still lingering traces of the Mongolian yoke. With their help the Slav world will realise its synthetic mission in becoming a bridge connecting West and East. . . . The Southern Slavs will never forget the enormous sacrifices which Russia sustained for their freedom and happiness." The following is the picture of South-Eastern Europe that Mr. Savic sees after the war: "Bohemia with about twelve million inhabitants, Hungary with about nine million, the Southern Slav State with about fourteen million, Albania with about one and a-half million, Greece with six million, and Bulgaria with five million. Constantinople and the Straits must belong to Russia, because she is the only European State, beside Roumania, for which the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles represent a vital interest. And it goes without saying that Roumania should be given full guarantees safeguarding her interests. Salonica will be a free international port under British and French control."

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. Harold Spender's new novel, "The Dividing Sword" (Mills & Boon), is written with the ease and power which distinguish all his books. Count von Adelhaus, a German Rhodes scholar, has finished his career at Oxford, where he has learned to love England and English ways. The alliance is still further strengthened by Maisie Lambert, who visits her brothers at Christ Church, and in a few short weeks finds herself a German Countess. While enjoying their honeymoon at Ventnor, war descends on their young and happy lives like a thunderbolt, and strikes them to the earth. The Count, who is the soul of honour, would fight for his country, but refuses to enter its service as a spy. He remains in England; but England is in no mood to discriminate between those who love and those who hate her. The young couple busy themselves in the East End, finding happiness in comforting distressed aliens like themselves. After the "Lusitania" riots, the Count asks to be interned; but the officers with whom he is thrown treat him as something like a deserter. He escapes, is tracked, catches a glimpse of his wife without revealing himself, finds temporary shelter on a Norfolk farm, is evicted, and finally lies down to die of exposure like a hunted animal. Adelhaus, with his upright nature, and Maisie with her loyal, loving heart, are finely drawn characters, who deserve a kinder fate than to be stricken and severed by the dividing sword.

* * *

The Polish Review, edited by J. H. Harley (Allen & Unwin, 2s. quarterly), will be welcomed by all who sympathise with the sufferings and aspirations of a gifted race, and who desire to know more of them. The barrier of language has prevented the more intimate relationship

which binds us to most of the Latin and Teutonic nations; and good books on contemporary Poland are lamentably few. In the first number of the new quarterly we find an introductory survey by the Editor, a striking tribute to Sienkiewicz by Monica Gardner, and articles on "Poles and Germans," "Poland and Europe," and "Education in Poland during the Great War," by various Polish contributors. The volume closes with brief reviews. The fact that the Polish question concerns Europe as a whole as well as the Poles and their three partitioners, is now becoming more generally recognised; and students of the Review will learn from its pages better than from any other source what the race is doing and thinking and planning and hoping. The nation has lost its body but kept its soul; and every lover of liberty and nationality must fervently pray that the day of resurrection is at hand.

* * *

Art-music in Russia dates from the unison chants of the Orthodox Church, directly descended from the Greek Christians. Secular music was banned in the Middle Ages. The first attempt at a Russian School of Music was made in 1756, but the real founder was Glinka in 1836. Before his time, only Italian music had entered Russia. When Berlioz visited Petrograd in 1817, he was *fêted* like a monarch. Still more does Russian music owe to Liszt, from whom was learnt richness of harmony and orchestral *timbre*. This interesting book, "A Great Russian Tone Poet: Scriabin," by A. Englefield Hull (Kegan Paul, 2s. 6d. net), tells us that on Christmas Day, 1871, Alexander Scriabin was born. His father was Consul at Erzeroum, and his mother was a brilliant pianist. His passionate love of music was early shown, and every hour that could be spared was spent in composition. The new school to which Scriabin belonged was thought dangerously revolutionary, and for some years his compositions were rejected, as were those of Gluck, Handel, &c., before him. He left Moscow in 1903, and in 1908 settled in Brussels, where he was well received. Here he spent five years—probably the happiest of his life. A visit to London was a brilliant success; and he returned to Moscow, where, after a short illness, he passed away, and a national funeral was accorded him. He was an exceptionally refined artist, absorbed in his own ideals of expressing the very best that was in him.

* * *

In "Letters from the Little Blue Room" (C. W. Daniel Ltd., 6s. net), we have what purport to be a series of letters "by an elder sister" to her brother who came over with the first Canadian contingent to "serve in 'the war to end war.'" The book is dedicated to the author's brothers in the First Canadian Cavalry and the First Black Watch. The opening note of the book is "The Boy's" farewell to the little Blue Room. "'Dear little old den!' he said, softly. 'When shall I see it all again?' 'I shall always write to you from here,' said Pauline. And these are her letters." Well these letters appear to be written by two people, one a rather smart literary person, who does the cheerful, cheery, breezy elder-sister business to her brother in camp or a-field, and the other a pacifist, who assures the said soldier-brother that "this orgy of killing and destroying is wrong." "The 'Spartan Mother' . . . is a rare, shy bird"; that this is "a 'stupid war'"; that it is "a very big, deliberate untruth" to say that every Britisher takes naturally to soldiering; that the V.C. represents "circus feats of bravery"; that "the war was a mistake, a 'colossal blunder on the part of the millions who allowed it to

"happen." This book is clearly an anti-war manifesto cast into an ingenious and unusual form, and is therefore a most undesirable book at the time when England is fighting for a great and righteous cause.

* * *

The Rev. James Marchant, F.R.S., the Director of the National Council of Public Morals for Race-Regeneration, in his book, "The Master-Problem" (Stanley Paul, 5s. net), shows the wide and terrible record of prostitution in the world to-day, a record that is really heart-breaking! But, happily, "there are among us enlightened and "undaunted men and women who are bringing to bear the allied forces "of science and religion upon this ghastly pall of immorality." If we may say so, Education must also play its part. Ignorance is responsible for a vast percentage of immorality and prostitution, and sound moral and religious education will do much to cleanse the world. We are told that in the last three years commercialised vice in America "has received a crushing blow." We hope it is permanent, but all that Tammany connotes often revives in the Great Republic. Permanently organised protection of the weak is needed, and the method must be better organised than the dreadful system that it has to fight. Canada seems to have grasped the problem, but the great cities of Europe have not even faced it in their own borders, though Scotland Yard and other police forces have really attacked the international traffic. It is quite clear that we need not only police effort and organised effort, but a new sense of personal responsibility on the part of owners of property and employers of labour. The Bishop of Birmingham in a Foreword writes: "If once we can rouse people to a sense of the "awfulness of all these evils with which this book deals, we shall, I "believe, find that the mass of humanity will be active on the side of "reform." We hope that the book will have the widest possible circulation. The evil can only be met by the facts becoming common knowledge. Meantime, cannot London be cleansed? Why is not the whole West End made "out of bounds" for the younger officers? This would be the case if they were undergraduates.

* * *

We must note the publication of "Aircraft of To-day: A Popular Account of the Conquest of the Air" (Messrs. Seeley, Service & Co., 5s. net), by Lieutenant Charles C. Turner, the aviator and aeronaut. There are sixty-two illustrations and diagrams, including a really horrible frontispiece of "A raiding Zeppelin dropping bombs at night "on a city." It is useful to have a record of this sort from the pen of a practical flying man which shows us by description and also in diagrams the principal machines used during the great war. Mr. Turner thinks that presently bombing by aeroplane from great distances will be feasible. In fact, a German sea-plane has been over London. Mr. Turner also looks at peaceful developments. Postal carriage by wings will come very soon, as will the exploration of vast unknown regions such as South-East Arabia, Tibet, New Guinea, South America (Bolivia and Central Brazil), and unknown ranges of ocean. It is an inspiring thought, and seems certain of realisation.

* * *

We must draw attention as a matter of record to Mr. John Rickards Mozley's work entitled "The Divine Aspect of History" (Cambridge, at the University Press, 36s. net, two volumes). The negative side of this very lengthy work aims at showing "the unhistorical character "of the Biblical miracles; the miracles of healing, in the New Testament, being admitted to be exceptions in some degree, and to contain "some truth." The positive side of the book "lies in its vindication

"of the main current of Biblical teaching as unique in its spiritual truth, especially the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth." It is getting on for sixty years since Mr. Mozley became an undergraduate at Cambridge, and this book of his, fitly published by his own University Press, reflects the flux of learning and opinion, scholarship and faith, that have swept more than once through the University in Mr. Mozley's time. We have not the space here in which to attempt to argue any one of the many themes in history as it is related to science and religion put forward by Mr. Mozley, though frankly his point of view is not ours. But we agree with the late Mr. Henry Sidgwick that it was Mr. Mozley's duty to give "a careful account" of his opinions. This he has done.

* * *

This pretty story, "*Benoit Castain*," by Marcel Prévost, translated by Arthur C. Richmond (Macmillan & Co., 2s. net) of Alsace-Lorraine, graphically describes the insidious machinations of the Germans, the perfection of their spy system, and the cleverness with which their tools were chosen. The treacherous entry of the Uhlans into the quiet country villages, and the idyll so soon to become a tragedy, are well told. The characters are good, and the book is worth reading; the tone is absolutely pagan from start to finish, and as such is very typical of life before the war.

* * *

Prince G. E. Lvov, the new Russian Prime Minister, in his capacity as Chief Representative and President of the Russian Union of Zemstvos, has written an Introductory Note to the Report recently issued of the Union's activities during the war. (P. S. King & Son Ltd. 1s. net.) Prince Lvov tells us that "the Russian Union of Zemstvos has thrown out a broad net of innumerable institutions at the four fronts of the Russian Army, in the interior of the country, from Vladivostok down to Archangelsk and Erserum, in the Allied countries of England and France, and beyond the Ocean—in distant America . . . The Union's work has acquired all the significance of State work, for State work it really is." The idea of the union of these Rural County Councils came in with the Russo-Japanese War, and the Union then formed lasted on, doing needful social work. At the outbreak of the present war, war work again was taken up, beginning with the relief of sick and wounded soldiers. Twelve million roubles were contributed, and soon, despite some opposition, after organising hospitals, hospital trains and food-providing units, the Union took on the charge of medical work as well as industrial and engineering work in immediate relation to the activities of the Forces of the Emperor. The Union also undertook the supply of linen and clothes and other hospital necessities, a vast undertaking. This was the beginning of commissariat work for the Army on a huge scale. In fact, this union of local authorities took over and successfully carried out the work of half a dozen Government Departments. A greater tribute to the organising capacity of the Russian mind, and the power of unselfish and uncorrupt combination, could hardly be imagined. Of course, the local government tradition is a very ancient one in Russia. But so it is here, and yet we may doubt if any combination of local authorities in England could have done the work that the Union of Zemstvos has done during the war in Russia. If this is a foretaste of the future that future will be great indeed.

In the article on the Brenner Pass, by Mr. F. Baillie-Grohman, in the March issue of this REVIEW, the footnote on page 377 contains a reference to "the Hand in the Mountains." This should read "The Land in the Mountains."

HERE IS NO ROOM FOR TEARS.

(IN MEMORIAM.—A. E. S.)

DOES the mother bird lament when her brood take wing
 And no more frequent, as of yore, the well-built nest?
 Does the doe make the welkin ring
 When the growing hind no longer seeks her breast?
 Why, then, should we weep or wring
 Our hands, or wear mourning bands?—
 Because she has finished her quest?
 Because she is now at rest,
 Or 'mid the ranks of the blest is wandering?

Here is no room for tears
 For one who in the fullness of her years
 Had reached the allotted span,
 And kept alight her candle bright
 Of faith in man.
 No matter what the gloom,
 No matter what the night,
 That, like a pall, hangs o'er our hemisphere,
 Half lazaret, half tomb,
 She saw in her own soul as in a glass
 That Death a furnace was,
 Through which, if man but gladly pass,
 It burns up all the dross of hate and crime
 And leaves the essential soul, whiter than rime,
 To seek another sphere.

And then she had great Pity,
 Pity that brings us to the Heavenly City,
 Leading through man to God;
 Pity for all that suffer and are down-trod;
 Pity that falls like rain
 On the parched heart with its refreshing dew,
 Washing away each stain,
 And recreating it anew,
 With kindly Humour as its sun,
 Thus to complete the work by Pity done.
 At peace with self, into a world distraught,
 A sense of peace she brought;
 Blessed with that second sight,
 Whereby the Pure behold the Infinite,
 She saw in her own soul,
 We cannot take our Hate into the grave;
 'Tis Love alone can bridge the Stygian wave;
 She saw
 As Life and Death's inexorable Law,
 That each must fight
 For what in his own soul appears the right,
 That each is born his fellow-men to save,
 To live for them, to work for them, be brave—
 Yea, unto Death itself—that thus alone
 Can we with the Eternal be at one.

CLOUDESLEY BRERETON.

The Regulations issued by the Government restricting the supply of paper make it necessary slightly to reduce the number of pages in the "Contemporary Review." By closer printing the Editors intend to provide precisely the same amount of matter as in the past.

Readers are requested to place their orders with a bookseller or newsagent, as otherwise it is impossible to guarantee a sufficient supply.

THE REPORT OF LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH'S COMMITTEE.

ON July 19th, 1916, it was announced that the Prime Minister had appointed a Committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Balfour of Burleigh, to consider the commercial and industrial policy to be adopted after the war, with special reference to the conclusions reached at the Economic Conference of the Allies, and to the following questions:—

(a) What industries are essential to the future safety of the nation; and what steps should be taken to maintain or establish them?

(b) What steps should be taken to recover home and foreign trade lost during the war, and to secure new markets?

(c) To what extent, and by what means, can the resources of supply within the Empire be prevented from falling under foreign control?

The following resolutions, dated February 2nd, 1917, were published as the first report of the Committee:—

1. In the light of experience gained during the war, we consider that special steps must be taken to stimulate the production of foodstuffs, raw materials, and manufactured articles within the Empire wherever the expansion of production is possible and economically desirable for the safety and welfare of the Empire as a whole.

2. We, therefore, recommend that H.M. Government should now declare their adherence to the principle that preference should be accorded to the products and manufactures of the British Overseas Dominions in respect of any custom duties now or hereafter to be imposed on imports into the United Kingdom.

3. Further, it will, in our opinion, be necessary to take into early consideration, as one of the methods of achieving the above objects, the desirability of establishing a wider range of custom duties which would be remitted or reduced on the products and manufactures of the Empire, and which would form the basis of commercial treaties with Allied and neutral Powers.

I have placed the reference to the Committee and their interim report together at the head of this article in order to exhibit the more clearly the remarkable contrast between them. The Com-

mittee was appointed in order to consider the policy which should be adopted after the war. Their second resolution recommends that H.M. Government should at once declare themselves in favour of Colonial Preference. The first resolution contains little to object to, but it is unfortunate that the Committee have not felt able to specify the experience to which they refer, or the arguments which have led to their conclusion. Until they do so, the first resolution remains absolutely valueless.

To many of us the experience of the war proves the exact opposite of the conclusion at which the Commission state they have arrived. From the very beginning of the war the Protectionist countries found it necessary to break down their fiscal barriers. It is Free Trade England which has acted as the banker of the Allies. She has raised for herself and for them vast sums of money, and (with, it is true, a certain small departure from her established fiscal principles) she has succeeded in raising a revenue of no less than £570,000,000. Such an achievement would go far of itself to justify her economic policy. In time of war it is not necessarily to our advantage that we should draw our food supplies solely from within the British Empire. Our chief shortage, especially during the last eighteen months, has been of ships; and our task would have been much easier if we had a supply of wheat within easy reach of our shores, whether it came from land within the British Empire or not. The greater the distance of the port of shipment the longer does it take for each cargo to reach our shores, and therefore the fewer cargoes per ship engaged. The voyage from Australia take four times as long as that from Canada or the United States, and under modern conditions it is evident that our real interest is nearness of the supply rather than its nationality. In normal times it is impossible to draw supplies from too wide an area. A drought in Australia may be counterbalanced by a superabundant harvest in Argentina. It is, indeed, the numerous and widespread sources from which we have drawn supplies that in times of peace have kept down the price of bread. Nor is it possible to foresee the new elements which science and war may bring to the problem in the future. The methods, both of attack and defence, may undergo a radical change. No one, for instance, foresaw the problems which were created for our Navy by the piracy of the German submarines. The existence of a Channel tunnel would have altered the position materially. Even when the happier days of peace return we shall not be relieved of our most urgent duty—the provision of cheap and abundant food for our people.

Some Tariff Reformers, indeed, think it desirable that the United Kingdom should be made, as far as possible, self-supporting, but such an idea is chimerical. Of course, the British farmer with better education could produce much more from his land than he does at the present time. No doubt his methods are inadequate. But there is no system of farming known to scientific agriculture which would enable this country to depend entirely, or even mainly, upon its own supplies for food. In this we differ, fundamentally, from the agricultural and less densely populated countries whose

names are adduced in support of this theory. The price of food-stuffs is now the main preoccupation of every household in this country. There is very little hope that, for years after the war, they will return to anything like their old price. It is, indeed, impossible that they should. Three times a day will every man, woman, and child of the working classes be reminded of this increase in their expenditure. Can anybody believe that they will tolerate the imposition of any unnecessary taxes which would increase the price of food?

These resolutions of the Committee are no less remarkable for what they omit than for what they include.

The Economic Conference of the Allies at Paris was called together in order to consider the steps which should be taken by the Powers of the *Entente* in reply to the threats of a Zollverein between the Central Powers of Europe. The fears of the *Entente* were not supported by any evidence, nor will they be removed by the recommendations of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee. One question which was under consideration at Paris is hinted at in the terms of the reference. "Key industries" is a matter of vital importance, and is one which must be considered carefully by Free Traders with an open mind. National security is vital. But the more important and far reaching the question at issue, the more essential is it that legislation should be deferred until its nature and conditions, and the various methods proposed for dealing with it, have been exhaustively investigated. At present no definite answer is forthcoming to the question: "What is a key 'industry'?" The Committee appear to regard the term as including the greater part of our foreign trade—all foodstuffs, raw materials, and manufactured articles which can be produced within the Empire, and are economically desirable for its safety and welfare. If this definition is to be accepted, it will be prudent, before taking action, to await such further information as the promised enquiries and consideration of the Committee may enable them to supply. Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee is disappointing in the little assistance which it gives to the discussion of a question which only twelve months ago loomed large in Protectionist newspapers.

Although the second resolution recommends Colonial Preference, the Committee takes care, in the seventh paragraph of their covering letter, to state: "The Dominions have not asked, and we "do not understand them to ask, that duties should be imposed "by the United Kingdom for the sake of granting a Preference "to their products." It is a curious illustration of the methods of investigation adopted by a Committee appointed to consider trade policy after the war, that they should recommend the immediate adoption of Colonial Preference, for which the Dominions have not asked. It is interesting to learn, from a later sentence in their covering letter, that they "propose to consider later" the subject upon which they have already made a definite and confident recommendation. If the policy of "wait and see" has its drawbacks, surely there are others no less considerable in that of recommending first and considering afterwards. In determining

the value to be attached to the report of this Committee, it is well to repeat that its resolutions are not, as yet, enforced by any arguments at all. Even Mr. Chamberlain, in his great Protectionist campaign, submitted arguments in support of his policy. Now Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee think any arguments unnecessary. We are given no more than a covering letter of ten short paragraphs enclosing the resolutions.

It has always been easy for Tariff Reformers—ever since 1903—to state in an attractive, though ever varying form, the objects of their campaign. In old days there was no one who urged with greater force than did Lord Balfour of Burleigh the contradictions involved in the loose statements which passed then for arguments, and which he now puts forward on his own account. It is melancholy that in 1917 we should find ourselves back again at the very beginning of the whole fiscal controversy with the same historic cry as that of Mr. Chamberlain in 1903, "If you want to give a preference to the Colonies, you must put a tax on food." Nothing else, indeed, is possible.

Paragraph 5, with its mention of the Colonial Conference in 1902, brings us back particularly to the old controversies which were started by Mr. Chamberlain. At that time the duty upon wheat which had been imposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in order to produce the revenue to pay for the South African War, was still in the minds of the members of the Conference, and the suggestions which were made were that preferential treatment should be given to the Colonies upon that duty. But there never has been any offer from the Colonies nor any request on their part that we should burden the people of this country for their benefit. Even now it is not out of place to remember the elementary fact that out of twenty-one Parliaments of the British Empire only one (Manitoba) resolved in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. The fact is, that while some people when they talk of preferential tariffs think of Free Trade within the Empire as their goal, Tariff Reformers mean liberty to the Dominions to tax our produce while we are to give a preference to theirs.

Nor must we forget that if we extend the hardships of a protectionist tariff to the consumers of this country, they will demand something in return. Mr. Chamberlain suggested the schedule of forbidden industries. That was not, however, a proposal which found the least approval in any one of our self-governing Dominions. Indeed, so unfavourable was the reception it met with, that it has been silently omitted from the later editions of Mr. Chamberlain's speeches. But some return we ought to have. There will be at once squabbles between our manufacturers and the exporters of produce from our Dominions. The Colonial Preferences upon British goods are largely of an illusory character. Our merchants will point to them with renewed emphasis. It is quite impossible to imagine that our present relations will survive friction of this kind, and we must look forward now—as we Free Traders have always looked forward—to disputes within the British Empire if once Colonial Preference is instituted.

Now the Committee adds to Colonial Preference the idea of

custom duties "which should form the basis of commercial "treaties with Allied and Neutral Powers." The Committee is wise in not entering upon any more definite recommendations. No one knows better than an old Free Trader like Lord Balfour of Burleigh the difficulties in which he would be involved. The covering letter indeed recognises them. Paragraph 9 runs as follows:—"In this connection it will be necessary to examine "closely the effect of imposing duties upon any articles which are "used for manufacturing purposes in this country, especially in "connection with our export trades and the shipping and ship- "building industries. Measures must be devised to safeguard the "interests of the consumer and the rightful demands of labour. "The special position of India, as well as of Egypt and the Sudan, "will require consideration; and account must be taken both of "our commercial treaty obligations and of the bearing of the pro- "posed policy upon the interests of those countries our trade "relations with which are of special importance." Here are no less than eleven qualifications!

Nothing of all this, however, appears in the resolutions, and perhaps the Committee may have recognised that implicit in them lies the whole range of a Protectionist Tariff. We may, at any rate, conclude that the famous scheme of the London Chamber of Commerce is based on similar ideas. That scheme includes a four-fold tariff, the lowest scale being for produce grown within the United Kingdom and rising by successive steps as against the British Empire, our Allies, Neutrals, and Enemy Countries. This is, indeed, a curious moment at which to penalise our Allies. France and Belgium might well feel some surprise if we accompanied our protestations of admiration with a tariff directed against their goods. They might repeat the old lines:—

"It is all very well to dissemble your love,
But why do you kick me downstairs?"

The practical difficulties inherent in such a multiple tariff are fatal to it, and have been already thoroughly exposed in the admirable little book of Mr. J. A. Hobson, "The New Protectionism." Moreover, the entry of America into the war has completely destroyed the whole scheme. The neutral goods competing with our own, against which this tariff was directed, were very largely from the United States of America, and now that these have become our Allies in common with so many other nations of the world, the quantity of these goods will be comparatively negligible.

Free Traders hold that Colonial Preference penalises our Allies and our enemies alike, though in graduated doses, and this opinion is not at all inconsistent with the theory that a duty is paid by the consumer, but its tendency is also to reduce imports wherever they come from, and thus—other considerations apart—the exporting country is injured. France already shows her fears of those who would change our present friendly relations with her into economic war. M. Yves Guyot, writing on March 5th, points out how far the prohibitions lately announced by the Prime Minister have a protective influence. They were placed upon the list in order to save tonnage. Seven classes alone representing value 62 per cent.

of the prohibited articles take only 9,700 tons. Seeing how many of our ships return empty, it is difficult to think that a real desire to help our Ally would not arrange without great difficulty for the admission of these goods whose sale to us would be of real benefit to France. They represent over £15,700,000 in value.

We have already seen in India one result of the Protectionist rally. Tariff Reformers complain that the Cotton Duties which India has imposed are not of the kind which they wanted. Indeed, we have good evidence that that is so.

Speaking in Lancashire in 1912, Mr. Bonar Law said:—"I say that we have claims on India. We have done India great service, and we have a right to say—and without hypocrisy but openly—we have a right to say that we are entitled to fair-play in the Indian market. That is our proposition. We say to India, 'If you want to put on tariffs, put them on against the rest of the world, but be a Free Trade country to us, and we will be a Free Trade country to you.' That is my policy for India."

And Lord Curzon, speaking at Manchester on January 4th, 1910, said:—"The Government of India is in the last resort vested in the House of Commons. It is exercised by the Cabinet and by the particular member of the Cabinet appointed to be Secretary of State. He is in the last resort the real Government of India. Is it likely that any Secretary of State will rise in the House of Commons and seriously propose that India should be allowed to treat this country as, for instance, it might Germany or the United States? It would be a declaration not merely of fiscal independence—it would almost amount to a declaration of hostility between the two countries."

We must remember, moreover, that much of the best Indian opinion is against these duties. In the *Times of India* of February 3rd, 1917, a writer quotes this from Mr. Gokhale:—"It is my deliberate conviction that, in our present circumstances, a policy of Free Trade, reasonably applied, is, after all, the safest policy for us. . . . That being so, I do not think we should go in for the advocacy of Protection, as such, in the present state of the country, and I, for one, will not be a party to such advocacy."

The real interests of India are those of the consumer, and the interest of the consumer is cheapness. There are few countries in the world where the margin of living is so small as it is in India. There are few countries, therefore, where it is more important that the necessities of life should be as cheap as possible. Those—whether they be Lancashire manufacturers or Indians like Mr. Gokhale, who wish to see the profits of the millionaires in Bombay taxed more highly and the clothing of the poorer classes of the people admitted free—surely have the interests of the people of India at heart.

The whole of this matter of the Indian cotton duties is an example of the difficulties which come with the abandonment of Free Trade, and which are recognised by Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee. The goods against which the Indian manufacturer wishes to be protected are those exported by the British manufacturer, and the same is the case with the producer in the

Dominions. It is against the manufacturer of this country that the tariff is imposed, and that is why the so-called existing Preferences are largely illusory. In Canada, British goods entering that country are dutiable, as a whole, on a higher scale than those which come from the United States. For many years we have given to our self-governing Dominions the power to impose such taxes as they think right, even when those taxes are directed against this country. We see the results on the battlefields of Gallipoli, of France, and of Belgium. The case of India has always been different inasmuch as she was governed in these matters from Whitehall. Indeed, the extracts which I have quoted from Mr. Bonar Law and Lord Curzon show conclusively that even very lately they were not prepared to allow India to protect herself against British goods. They both took care in these extracts to protest that such a thing should not, and could not, happen. Now, however, Lancashire is presented with a *fait accompli*, and there is every prospect that the duties which are imposed this year will, in future, be increased against Great Britain. It is difficult to understand how Lord Curzon can seek to justify the present duties, in regard to which he has a special responsibility as an ex-Viceroy of India and as a Member of the War Cabinet. Here we have him in 1917 approving duties which in 1910 he denounced in the strongest terms. If any Lancashire manufacturers placed implicit confidence in him in 1910 they must be sadly disillusioned to-day.

The capture of Baghdad has been one of the finest achievements in the war, and though no one may say at present what is likely to be its ultimate destiny, it is, at any rate, certain that if it be added to the British Empire it will be administered from India. Lancashire men who have fought in Mesopotamia will think themselves poorly rewarded when, on their return home, they find penalties imposed upon the goods which they make and send to the market they have secured for us. But it is not only of our own people that we have to think. If, in the last fifty years, Great Britain has added large territories to her Empire with the good will of Europe and America, it has been largely because other countries have known that they would find throughout our Empire equal facilities for trade and commerce. We cannot expect that they will look, in the future, upon similar acquisitions with the same acquiescence if they think that equality of access will be denied to them. So long as Great Britain remains a Free Trade country she has every right to recommend and enforce the same policy in India. It is impossible for her to enforce it if she herself becomes, as Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee suggest, a Protectionist country. Here we have, in the conclusions of these resolutions, all the evils of a Protectionist system. We should lose the most favoured nation treatment throughout the world. Neutrals would be thrown into the arms of our enemies, and our trade would suffer accordingly.

It is amusing to notice how popular the word "abstract" is becoming in this connection. All principles are being described as "abstract," and we are adjured by these Neo-Protectionists not to become servants to "abstract" rules. It is becoming almost

as much a term of abuse as "Cobdenite" or "backwoodsman." As a matter of fact, it would be difficult to find anything more "abstract" than the report of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee and their covering letter. There was nothing concrete in the way of argument, of example, or of statistics. So long, however, as effect follows cause, principles must remain dominant in fiscal affairs as in others, and it would be foolish indeed for a commercial nation to ignore "abstract" principles in order to adopt the financial *obiter dicta* of vested interests.

The facts of the matter are plain. Three times has Tariff Reform been rejected by the people of this country at General Elections at which it was one of the chief features. The frontal attacks—so to speak—have failed. Now the Tariff Reformers are trying to "out-flank," or to "nibble" away the Free Trade position. Last year the Protectionist Colonial Secretary in the Coalition Government imposed an export duty upon produce of our West African Colonies. This year the Protectionist Secretary for India supports Protectionist duties in that country. Many Tariff Reformers have looked upon the resolutions of the Paris Economic Conference and those of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee as marking the end of Free Trade. For my own part, I confess myself an impenitent Free Trader. What was economic truth before the war will remain economic truth after the war, and the only new arguments which can be brought forward to support the change must be based rather upon political necessity than economic advantage. Those arguments, when they are produced, we shall all be ready to consider.

In the meantime, we have to prepare ourselves for another fight, in which the same arguments will be repeated as those which were used from 1903-1910. Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee is a sign of the times. Here, in its most crude form, is put forward the old panacea of Tariff Reform, based upon Colonial Preference, and extended throughout the whole range of a tariff. What the people of England thought before, they are likely to think again. The Labour Conference in January last showed that the working classes of this country are fully alive to the position. It is the same old controversy with the same old arguments, and it is likely to end in the same triumph for Free Trade.

BEAUCHAMP.

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

WHEN I came back to Oxford from Petrograd in the beginning of April, I was astonished at the strange notions and rumours circulated in England on the subject of the Russian Revolution. To mention but one fact out of many, a leading paper had an article by a well-known writer in which almost every word jarred on one like false notes in a tune. "The events in Russia will come as a greater surprise to the millions there than in England. Indeed, British public opinion has helped a very great deal to bring about the success of the movement." "If the Tsar has, indeed, abdicated, he has acted nobly. He could undoubtedly have found forces greater than those at the disposal of the Duma, and fought a civil war." "The Russians believe in revolutions," &c., &c. In any case, these and similar pronouncements are not only awkward, but mischievous, and it is the duty of all those who had an opportunity of following events from a position of vantage to collect and to state frankly their observations so as to enable the British public to form a correct opinion on the greatest crisis in contemporary history. Without attempting in the least to present a complete estimate or detailed analysis of the Revolution, I should like to put before the readers of *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* some facts which have come under my notice, and which seem to me to characterise one or the other main feature of the movement.

To begin with, nothing could be more gradual and inevitable than the growth of the revolutionary spirit in Russia. The public in Great Britain and France was, to some extent, misled by an indiscriminate censorship and out-of-date sentimentalism on the subject of "Holy Russia." But in Russia itself the only people who refused to see and to understand were to be found in the immediate vicinity of the Tsar, within the narrow circle formed by the Court camarilla clinging to arbitrary power. The most dangerous person affected by that curious colour-blindness was the Empress Alexandra. When the intelligent and generous Grand Duchess Victoria, the daughter of the late Duke of Edinburgh, tried to make Alexandra Feodorovna understand that the reactionary policy followed by the Tsar and inspired by the Empress was creating universal discontent and threatening the dynasty and the throne, she was met by a flat denial. "I know you mean well," the Empress is reported to have said, "but you do not know in the least what you are talking about. It is only the wretched intellectuals who agitate against autocracy, in their lust for power and at the instigation of the Germans. The Russian people is with us and will support us." The hypnotiser's—Rasputin's—testimony had more weight in the view of this unfortunate woman than the warnings and entreaties of Grand Dukes like Nicolas Mikhailovitch, of the Empress Marie, or of her own sister Elizabeth Feodorovna. As for the Tsar, he felt what was coming, and at times made feeble attempts to free

himself from the coils of the camarilla; but he was as much fascinated by his wife as she was fascinated by Rasputin and other quacks. *Quos perdere vult Jupiter prius dementat.*

All those who had eyes to see watched the tide of discontent rising day by day. It was not mainly a case of accumulated grievances on account of high prices, lack of bread and fuel, defective transport. Of course, the applicants standing in long queues in front of bakers' shops had no reason to bless the provident efficiency of the administration, and the enforced attendance at these peculiar clubs in wind and snow was not likely to improve the temper of householders and servants. But the talk at such clubs, as well as in the tramcars, in barracks, even at village gatherings, ranged over political topics of a much more complicated kind. It was not only among intellectuals that people speculated on the scope and dimensions of the palace catastrophe to come; on the spread of terrorism; on the connection between home disorders and inefficiency at the front; on German intrigue and the treachery of high officials. Ominous, though simplified, formulas were passed from ear to ear. A great commander had said, "Victory is not the aim at headquarters." The common people had a ready explanation for the dragging course of the war: "How can we expect to win against the Germans with a "German Empress in possession of military secrets?"

The magnitude of the approaching catastrophe, the danger arising from unfathomable currents of opinion and from the awakening of incalculable forces, were not underestimated by the intellectuals. On the contrary, everything was done by the leading politicians of the Duma to avoid a downright conflict with the Tsar. In spite of growing discontent, a golden bridge was held open for the traditional authorities in case they thought fit to avail themselves of it. After the collapse of the munition service in 1915, that would have ruined any other but the stubborn Russian Army, the appointment of an intelligent bureaucrat Krivoshein might have satisfied the reformers. Stuermer was, however, preferred to Krivoshein, because he had been the henchman of Plehve. Even afterwards, the prevailing demand was neither for a Republic nor for a purely Parliamentary Government, but for a Ministry "of Public Confidence," that is, for a set of bureaucratic officials enjoying the confidence of the people—Count Ignatieff, General Polivanoff, Mons. Sazonoff, would have been accepted with enthusiasm as fit representatives of the Imperial Government. The Cadets, a party which had held doctrinaire opinions in 1906, supported the moderate programme of "public "confidence" in 1916, and opposed strenuously the more radical views advocated by the so-called Progressives as well as by the Labour group and the Socialists. On this basis, a *bloc* was formed between the Cadets and their former enemies, the Octobrists and the Liberal Nationalists. It was not the fault of the Duma Majority if a compromise was not effected in the shape of a moderate Constitutional Monarchy.

Such a compromise was prevented not only by the blindness of the Sovereigns, but also by the cynical attitude of the most

influential bureaucrats. Men like Stcheglovitoff, Protopopoff, Kurloff, Beletzky, did not indulge in sentimental fancies as to a mystic bond of affection between the Tsar and the peasantry; but they firmly believed in brute force. They had witnessed and misunderstood the onslaught and the collapse of the first revolutionary movement—that of 1905. They thought that a determined police could cope with any rising by the help of machine guns, and that eventually the propertied classes would side with the Government for fear of expropriation and looting. These calculations proved erroneous, because they did not take into account the immense changes that had taken place in the course of ten years—the altered dispositions of the army, the weakness of a police force left to its own devices, the advance achieved by all classes in political education. It is not of the inevitable disappointment of reactionary schemes, however, that I am treating at present, but of their influence on the policy of the Government. While the Duma leaders were doing all in their power to secure a basis for Constitutional Monarchy, the leaders of reaction were striving with all their might to render a moderate solution impossible. It is only in the light of this peculiar orientation of parties that one can understand the actual course of events. In the poisoned atmosphere of police conspiracy, plots of so-called “provocation” were hatched. It was deemed advisable by belated disciples of Machiavelli to provoke a rising in order to quell it with the help of machine guns and to regain the complete power of Autocratic Tsardom, which had been lost after the Japanese War. With the connivance of the Minister of War, General Belayeff, some 600 machine guns, to a great extent constructed in Great Britain for the purposes of the war, were transferred to the use of the police for the shooting down of the unruly population of Petrograd. Positions were selected for that purpose, notably the upper floors of buildings overlooking busy thoroughfares. Strikes and manifestations were confidently expected on February 27th and March 4th. The factory workmen abstained on these occasions to comply with the wishes of Protopopoff and Beletzky. The actual signal was given at last by the Government itself, which threw 40,000 workmen out of work on March 5th (February 20th), on the pretence that there was not enough fuel and metal to go on with the preparation of munitions. This signal feature of the March movement has been very little noticed abroad, and even Russians have failed to realise its significance. And yet it proves conclusively that all hesitation as to the advisability of a rising at the critical stage of the war was brushed away by the action of the Government. Protopopoff's Secret Service wanted riots—it got a Revolution instead.

The first steps on the inclined plane were characteristic enough. On Thursday, March 8th, the first day of the general strike, the crowds in the streets were in a very good temper, and indulged in good-humoured banter with the Cossacks and soldiers, bidding them go home and mind their own business. On Friday, although stray shots began to fall and the mounted police charged the crowd

on one or two occasions, the seriousness of the situation was not yet apparent. I should like to call attention to one fact which is not without interest from the British point of view.

A meeting of the Anglo-Russian Society had been arranged for Friday, March 9th, at which various papers were to be read on the part taken by Great Britain in the war. I had to deliver an opening speech as Chairman of the Executive Committee; a Colonel of the General Staff was to speak on the deeds of the British Army; General Klado, Professor of the Naval Academy, to explain the *rôle* of the British Navy; and Mr. P. Miliukoff, the well-known Cadet leader, was to describe the progress of public opinion in England in connection with the war. The disturbances had begun on Thursday, the 8th, and the next day it looked very doubtful whether the lecturers or the audience would be able to reach the Kalashinkoff Hall, where the meeting was to be held. It was decided, however, to proceed with the arrangements, and all the speakers, except one, found their way to the appointed place, although we had to avoid the main streets filled with excited crowds. Some 700 persons had assembled, and it was gratifying to note with what interest and sympathy they followed our discourses, and expressed their admiration of the British Allies and their resolve to go on with the war until a decisive victory had been won.

Saturday, the 10th, and Sunday, the 11th, were days when the heaviest toll was paid by the public for the revolutionary demonstrations. The mounted police charged the crowds, machine guns and rifle fire were freely used to clear the streets. The Cossacks, usually employed on such occasions to support the police, showed clearly that they were not inclined to cut down the rioters. Infantry was ordered to fire on several occasions, and did so with evident reluctance. In fact, the Pavlovsky regiment of the Second Division of the Guards, after having fought through the day by the side of the police, mutinied on returning to barracks on Sunday night. This event opened, as it were, the second act of the drama, when the troops gradually went over to the revolutionists. It is well known that the defection of two regiments of the Third Division of the Guards — the Volhynsky and Litovsky, who, on Monday morning, stormed the arsenal on the Liteinaya — turned the scales against the old Government. The very limited support afforded by the soldiers to the police, and the rapid spread of the revolutionary movement through the ranks are, of course, features of the greatest importance in the history of the movement. The facts of 1917 form a sharp contrast in this respect with the occurrences of 1905. The earlier date is marked by the strenuous fight between the troops and the insurrectionists in Moscow. The Semenovskiy regiment, for instance, was especially conspicuous in quelling the Moscow rising in 1905, while in 1917 its battalion, stationed in Petrograd, contented itself with holding the Liteinaya Bridge for a couple of days and then joined the revolutionary force. Of course, it must be remembered that the regiments of the Petrograd garrisons were really represented only by reserve

battalions in training for the army; the first line battalions of seasoned soldiers were at the front. This explains to some extent the reluctance of the men to take part in the fight against the people. Indeed, they were themselves part of the people. Most of them had not been in the ranks for more than a few months, and, from the point of view of the authorities, it was a great mistake to employ these raw recruits to keep order in the capital. But, apart from that, the course of the war had taught many a lesson to simple people in Russia. The soldiers who had been through the retreat of 1915 had very definite opinions as to the War Office which had left them without munitions; the townsfolk and the villagers of all districts of Russia had come into contact with the misery of the fugitives from the Western provinces; everybody was feeling the effects of the devaluation of the currency, of transport and provision difficulties. Altogether, the Tsar's power had ceased to be the unchallenged, dominant element of Russian political life; and as for bureaucracy and police, they were discredited even in their own eyes. In view of such a general transformation, P. Miliukoff was right when he said a couple of days before the outbreak, that if the Duma were driven to adopt extreme decisions, it would have the country at its back. Another feature of the situation was fully explained in a speech of our most eloquent lawyer—V. Maklakoff:—The inertia of the people is great, and it does help to maintain order; but once the order has been disturbed, the weight of the democratic mass will press the more decisively in the direction of the coming change.

I need not dwell more particularly on the many interesting incidents of the next few days. The only thing I should like to mention in connection with them is the curious mixture of good nature and fighting spirit which prevailed in the revolutionary crowds. I have been out on the Nevsky in bright sunshine in a stream of armed workmen and soldiers who filled the whole of the wide street. They were as a rule joyfully excited, discussing the news, eager to join in any street-corner meeting, snatching at fly-leaves scattered by passing motor cars. Suddenly, the rattling noise of machine guns would burst out from some adjoining building, and a sudden transformation of the picture would take place. Some of the passers-by would fall flat on the pavement in order to avoid the bullets, others would disappear rapidly in by-streets, and, in a couple of minutes, an armoured car would drive up and open a fusillade against the hostile building occupied by the police. Swarms of soldiers would discharge their rifles in the same direction, and, in most cases, the improvised fortress was stormed from the backstairs and from side entrances. Such occurrences were quite usual during the revolutionary week—from March 12th to March 18th; and the usual fate of the policemen concerned was certain death. The people were naturally infuriated against them, and these victims of the Government's folly were exterminated like wasps. Some officers were also killed during these days, but they were comparatively few, and the worst outbreaks took place not in Petrograd but in Helsingfors, Kronstadt, and Reval.

Turning now to the immediate consequences of these historical events, I should like to emphasise the fact that up to March 15th, when the Emperor Nicholas signed his abdication, a maintenance of the Monarchy was still possible. The formula of abdication as proposed to the Tsar by Gutchkoff and Shulgin provided, as we know, for the transfer of the title to his son the Grand Duke Alexis. Nicholas II., however, refused to leave his son in the hands of his former subjects. Thereby he cut the thread of the Monarchy in Russia: his brother, Michael Alexandrovitch, very properly refused to accept the anomalous position created for him by the transfer of the Imperial dignity. In this way, one may say that the old Government took care to preclude all possibilities for a compromise with the forces of progress. Before the revolution it discarded all attempts at a moderate constitutional change; after the revolution, it prevented a reconstruction of the Monarchy on democratic lines. This is why a Republic has become the inevitable form of government for New Russia. The Romanoffs have rendered themselves impossible, and there is no other candidature in sight for a Russian Monarchy. No one can seriously contemplate the quest of a new sovereign in foreign countries; the Russians are not likely to imitate the Bulgarians who discovered their future Tsar in a Vienna café. As for the election of a scion of some historical house of Russian origin, the permanent objection against it is the fact that such families as the Trubetskoy or Dolgourouky are mixed up through their many branches with the bulk of the commonalty of the land and could not aspire to the exalted isolation of a reigning dynasty. As a matter of fact, a Republic has become a necessity for the time being; and, if the Extremists of the Left do not foolishly spoil its chances, there is no reason why it should not be successful. A federal constitution of the kind adopted by the United States, would hardly be an appropriate form of government for Russia. Even apart from the difficulty of introducing Federalism into the compact mass of the principal Russian race, the theory of the division of powers with its possible deadlocks, its exaggerated independence of the Executive, and its frequent elections, would never do for a great Commonwealth of the Old world. On the other hand, some system similar to the French, with a six or seven years' Presidency and a responsible Parliamentary Cabinet, would present great advantages in Russia's case. Undoubtedly the halo surrounding a historical dynasty would be absent from it; but it is the Romanoff dynasty itself that has to bear the blame for that national loss. The ceremonial glamour of Imperial tradition could not outweigh the disgrace of what the French have aptly called the *pourriture Impériale*.

Success can, however, be achieved only on one condition, namely, if the Socialist groups which have played a prominent part in carrying out the Revolution realise the duties imposed on them by the victory. Russian democracy has become responsible for the conduct of the State, and any attempt at any one-sided exploitation of the present situation for class purposes is sure to

compromise the results obtained, and, possibly, to open the way for a counter-revolution. The difficulties ahead are enormous. The whole policy of the country has to be reconsidered and re-settled: the various nationalities of the Empire are claiming increased liberty in determining their life; the workers in town and land are striving for all the rights enjoyed by their comrades in the West as regards wages, hours of labour, land allotments, insurance, co-operative action; the long-suppressed fermentation of religious thought and ecclesiastical reconstruction is asserting itself with increasing force; the most momentous issues of foreign relations centring around the war have to be dealt with. And all such problems converge at a time when the main pillar upon which the fabric of the State had been resting for centuries has proved to be rotten, and has to be removed.

Such a situation would not be an easy one under any circumstances, and it cannot be concealed that the "democratic control" under which it has to be approached is likely to complicate matters a great deal. The great bulk of the Russian peasantry is not prepared to discuss and to decide the distant problems of world politics and of social organisation; their range of view is limited to the simple and concrete issues of agriculture, land tenure, business transactions of an elementary kind, national self-preservation in the narrow sense of the word; besides, they are aspiring to an immediate re-settlement of agrarian conditions in favour of the tillers of the soil. The town workmen, a much less numerous body, which has acquired an importance out of all proportion to its numbers on account of its share in the Revolution and its developed class-consciousness, are naturally excited by the victorious struggle, and apt to indulge in extreme schemes of Socialistic reconstruction. The middle classes and the constitutional parties which represent them in politics have certainly acquired a great deal of political experience while opposing the old *régime* and performing useful work under most discouraging conditions; but they have yet to learn the practice of responsible government, and many of them will find it difficult to exert authority instead of criticising and opposing it.

For those who have been witnessing the events in Russia during the fateful March days, all these apprehensions and misgivings assume a concrete shape. We have watched the crowds of workmen and soldiers surrounding the Tauris Palace and thronging the Nevsky Prospect; we have seen the bonfires with portraits of the Emperor Nicholas and Imperial crests piled up on them; we have listened to the discussions about capitalists, speculators, and marauders in the streets; we have read the declamations against international "slaughterers" in Socialistic fly-sheets. Besides, the world knows by this time that Marshal Hindenburg, Count Reventlow, Herr Rohrbach, and the rest are firmly reckoning on the disintegrating influence of the extremist agitation on the Russian front, while that disinterested Socialist, Herr Scheidemann, is offering to Russian "comrades" an olive branch in the shape of a German, Austrian, and Turkish Protectorate over Central Europe; and yet we read every day accounts of the different

policies pursued by the two centres of authority in Petrograd—the Provisional Government and the Council of Delegates of Workmen and Soldiers. All these symptoms ought not to be minimised, and testify to a great and real danger.

It is well, however, in the "troubled times" through which Russia has to pass at the very moment when the world war is reaching a crisis, to keep firmly in view the positive assets on which we may reasonably rely. That elementary instinct of national self-preservation which has led the Russian people out of even more difficult situations—some three hundred, some two hundred, and one hundred years ago—is sure to reassert itself in the face of the object lessons of foreign invasion. Indeed, it is reasserting itself already in the army at the front and in such national centres as Moscow. The Constitutional parties are gradually consolidating themselves in opposition to the Revolutionary ones, and the formation and activity of the Provisional Government is the best proof of patriotic spirit and of the great advance in political understanding in the case of party leaders. The fact that Gutchkoff and Miliukoff, the Octobrist and the Cadet, have joined hands in a policy of national reconstruction, speaks volumes in itself for the immense progress which has been made in Russia in the direction of mature statesmanship. It is no lame compromise that has brought them together, but a profound insight into the needs of the time and a self-sacrificing devotion to a common cause—the service of free Russia. Both have renounced the narrow aims of party advantage for the sake of constructive action. As for the Premier, Prince Lvoff, he stands for the mightiest organising effort made by modern Russia—the stupendous work of the Zemstvos and Municipal Unions, achieved in spite of all sorts of discouraging influences on the part of the old bureaucracy.

A most important point to notice is the fact that the Constitutionalists are certainly not averse to Social reforms. On the contrary, all practical demands of the Labour groups are sure to be supported by them. In fact, reasonable Socialists ought to understand that a high road is opened for the activity of their party by the present political combination, and that their chief interest lies in consolidating the new *régime*. Men like Plekhanoff, the leader of the "Minimalists," or Burtseff, the Social revolutionary, are well aware of this, and it may be hoped that their influence with the working men will prevail. But trouble can hardly be avoided in the immediate future, as the double-headed control of affairs cannot continue indefinitely: the Revolutionists will challenge the Constitutionalists if they are not challenged by the latter.

As things stand, every step in the direction of a National Government is bound to strengthen the hands of the Constitutionalists. Petrograd is not Russia, and no amount of propaganda can give the Petrograd Extremists the leadership of Russian public opinion. Their strength is derived chiefly, if not solely, from the intoxicating influence of the Revolutionary catastrophe. The main line of policy to be followed by constructive statesmanship is clearly indicated: the centre of government must be shifted, and regular

institutions substituted as quickly as possible for the emergency powers of the day. Moscow is the historical centre in which a National Government ought to regain its balance. As for institutions, it is unfortunate that the Constituent Assembly cannot be summoned forthwith on account of the absence of millions of electors at the front.

It seems to me, however, that there are other means by which the Provisional Government might obtain decisive National support. The Duma, elected on the vitiated franchise devised by Kryjanovsky and enforced by Stolypin, would be obviously inadequate as a body representing the country. But the Register of the Zemstvos and Municipal Councils is to be altered on a democratic basis without delay, and it is to be hoped that the Government will at once take advantage of this reform to summon a Congress of Zemstvos and town representatives, on the pattern of the Union Congresses of 1905, to discuss the principal questions of the day. Such a Congress would provide the dictatorial Committee of the so-called Provisional Government with a broad background of organised public opinion on which it could rely in its struggle for law and order. In any case, and whatever trouble there may be in store in the immediate future, the main point has been won: Russia has shaken off her fetters.

PAUL VINOGRADOFF.

AMERICA THEN AND NOW: RECOLLECTIONS OF LINCOLN.

TO-DAY, when the United States has joined in the War for Freedom, there is a certain fitness in the publishing of this narrative of the experiences of a young English girl in 1860-4, the fateful years of the Civil War, when, under the leadership and inspiration of President Lincoln, the American nation was finding its soul in a struggle against the slave power of the Southern States. The narrative is taken from letters written, week by week, to her parents and family in England, while she was living in the house of her sister and brother-in-law, an ardent Republican, a high Churchman, and lover of England, where she had opportunities of seeing and talking with many statesmen and politicians. The narrative suggests many points of likeness between the America of 1860-5 and that of to-day. There was the same prolonged hesitation as to the moral issues of the war, and the same inexorable determination of the country when the decision was reached. For the most part, the letters are a running record of daily life full of many interests and social pleasures. The extracts made from them are almost exclusively such as deal with public events of the time. The sketch of these great events is slight indeed. But perhaps it is worthy of note that even these immature comments, and the eager admiration of President Lincoln which they show, testify to the growing significance of the figure of the President and how steadily and surely he moved to his high place in the annals of his country which he has ever since held. The name of the great President occurs early in the letters—in the very first of them—telling how, after the writer's ten days' voyage, in September, 1860, the *Persia* slackened speed at Hoboken to take up the pilot. The author writes:—

“The passengers gathered in a group, awaiting the first news from shore. As the pilot dropped down from the gangway, his first words were, ‘Filibuster Walker is shot, and Abraham Lincoln is nominated President.’ A gentleman beside me murmured thoughtfully, ‘And who the devil is Abraham Lincoln?’”

A later letter tells how upon her arrival people were asking what the President (Buchanan) would do:—

Dec. 30th, 1860.

“About 9 o'clock Mr. T. K. came in, in a state of great enthusiasm and excitement, with the news of the evacuation of Fort Moultrie by Major Anderson, who, it seems, is a patriotic man, indignant and disgusted by the treachery of the President (Buchanan), who refused to give him any command for securing the safety of his little band from certain butchery—took the law into his own hands, and now, having spiked the guns of the small fort, has removed his garrison to the impregnable Fort Sumter, which commands the Bay and town of Charleston, the headquarters of the South Carolinian rebels. What will the President do? Will he

recall Anderson? The whole North would rise if he did. If he does not he will lose all the favour of the South for which he has betrayed his trust. 'It means conflict,' said Mr. T. K. 'In such a cause I would turn out myself, at the head of 500 men, and work on our line of railway.' "

The next letter depicts the state of things while the policy of Lincoln, the newly-elected President, was uncertain :—

"For the last month, the secrecy preserved by the President and his Cabinet has completely misled men's minds. Now all the world is startled by the most certain sound of warlike preparation. One hears of the chartering or manning of steamers, the movement of troops, and the provisioning of the forts. Though there has been no official announcement as to the end of these preparations, it is not difficult to guess what it is. I think people are glad that the sullen storm seems about to break. They think that there is a better chance of things being settled, and there is a sense of relief from the gloom and uncertainty of the past month. How the *Times* and the *Guardian* run down Lincoln's 'Inaugural' ! "

March (no date), 1861.

"To-day Lincoln is inaugurated, and Buchanan leaves the White House, and hides his diminished head in the safety of his country house. He leaves, followed by hatred and curses. Lincoln's speeches, made on his progress through the Northern States towards Washington, have disappointed people, I think. But everywhere else, in the choice of his Cabinet from both sides of the Republican Party, his quiet determined manner among all the brawling multitude of office-seeking politicians, all has promised hopefully for the future. We are anxiously awaiting the message which will be here to-night, and in which his future policy will be disclosed. A telegram from Washington this morning says he denies the right of secession, means to enforce the collection of the revenue, to reclaim the seized Federal property. All which does not mean compromise."

March (no date), 1861.

"E. C. called for me early, to go to a window for the procession. It passed at 5 o'clock, and went slowly past the house. The street was crowded. Bands played. Feet moving to music always stir my heart ! It was somehow queer and incongruous, for the one thought was how this man was going forward to a fate and crisis in the land, and to some great end, perhaps his own death. I could not help feeling this. How he had come from the prairies of the West, and through the great cities of the East, on to the Capital, drawing nearer and nearer to the strange, great future. There were lines of carriages, and smiling and bowing citizens. I kept my eyes on the one face in the carriage with its four white horses, moving slowly. A dim vision of a hero of the backwoods, who had risen up to be the Chief at such a time of storm had been in my mind. There he sat, a man in a hat, and holding a bouquet ! It was a hard test, but his face was grave and unexcited. It had almost a sweet expression. You have heard, no doubt, how Lincoln's life has been attempted twice. Attempts to throw the train in which he was off the tracks. No one knows who were the perpetrators."

The next extract takes up the narrative at the first stage of the war, when the Southern armies were victorious and the alarm at their progress spread to Philadelphia:—

April 14th, 1861.

“ We are all sitting round the drawing-room table, busily writing. E. has just come in from the library, where he has been writing his *Guardian* letter. There is no need to tell you of the state of excitement we are in here. War has commenced, and everyone’s mind is centred on Charleston. For the last three days it has been our one thought. At breakfast time came the great news. E. threw down the *Ledger*, saying ‘ It is war ! They have fired on Fort Sumter.’ Bombardment had followed. It is all confirmed now, and, further, that the Commander has surrendered at discretion, and is now a prisoner in Charleston. Of course, the South Carolinians are, as the correspondent of the *Tribune* says, in ‘ the condition of hares in March with exultation ’—indeed, they say, singing ‘ Te Deums.’ This reverse will be the last sting necessary to raise the North. New England, particularly Massachusetts, is in ferment. There is a rush of volunteers. Some one said:— ‘ Massachusetts will send 50,000 men, and if that won’t do, she will come herself ! ’ We had prayers *In Times of War and Tumults* in church to-day. How many ties of relationship and friendly feeling among those we know will be snapt by that gun fired on Charleston Harbour ! There can be no thought of reconciliation now. A breach is made which long years can only in part heal. When one a little perceives what this Anglo-Saxon nature is, and the weight of its determined fury, one realises what this contest may mean. *Monday*.—The news this morning is that the office of the *New York Herald*, the organ of the Democratic Party and the late Government, has been attacked, and has been put under a strong guard to protect it from the mob.”

For a time Lincoln did not make clear to the country the true issues in the contest—any more perhaps than did Mr. Wilson in his first years of office.

It is evident from the next extract, which recalls recent scenes in England, that the true issues in the contest had become clearer to the country:—

June 10th, 1861.

“ I hear that Mrs. H. speaks about my ‘ enthusiasm about the American troops.’ I detect the innuendo. She refers, I suppose, to what I said about having seen off the regiment at the railway station. Tell her that you may be quite true to your country, and still feel your heart stirred . . . and feel great sympathy with men who are going to probable death—and that voluntarily—in the cause of liberty and humanity, the best cause that ever made men fight. These men are not the automats of a review. Thousands of them have left their New England fields to fight what they feel to be a barbarous attempt to form a Government whose acknowledged aim is to plant slavery as a basis of Society. These men know what they are fighting for by a sort of instinct, and they go to fight of their own free will. We have had a camp of a Massachusetts company on the slopes below. The Captain is a Methodist Minister ! E. has given them the right to use the spring. We hear their bugles in the morning, and the singing of their evening

hymn. We don't believe that the English Government will acknowledge the Confederacy. It was splendid of M. to write to Mr. Gladstone. And two sheets of polite response ! ”

Lincoln, after his inauguration in March, passed through Philadelphia on his way to Washington. These are the writer's impressions at the time. She was becoming conscious, with all those about her, that the “ Rail splitter ” was a born statesman, ready to meet a great emergency.

Dec. 8th, 1861.

“ . . . dined with us on Thursday. We had music after dinner. The two R.s sang the curious negro hymn which the Massachusetts regiments have sung while marching, beginning :

‘ John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave,
But his soul is marching on.
Glory, glory, Hallelujah ! ’

It goes with a great swing, and the meaning of the words seems to *grow* as you sing them.

“ It pictures, too, the concourse ever moving southward. Oh, there is no need to despair, dearest mother, about the meaning of the struggle ! The end of the abomination of slavery is drawing nearer day by day. No one can doubt it, no one helps seeing it ; nothing can stop it now. Every day the resolve to clear off the great curse grows stronger. Last year, my partner at a dance said ‘ Pray do not call yourself an abolitionist ! You cannot know what it means. ’ . . . Mr. —, who has just come back from England, says his feeling is quite changed. While he was away he felt despair as to the success of the North. But since he has known the spirit here, he doubts no more.”

Among the Quakers there were many “ Conscientious “ Objectors.” But many others obeyed what they thought was a higher call :—

April, 1863.

“ Mr. T.K. as we walked home from the pine wood, where we went to gather violets—lovely tall creatures without scent, but of a heavenly colour—told me that there was great enthusiasm among the young Quakers. Almost without exception they had taken up arms ; in most cases with the full consent of their parents. Some men look on this war as a religious movement ; a crusade against a wrong done to humanity.”

By 1863 the whole nation felt that it had espoused a great cause, and possessed a worthy leader, one whose perfect honesty did not prevent his meeting difficulties with an adroit diplomatic touch :—

No date. 1863.

“ Everyone agrees about the President and his last message. There is a steady growing confidence in him. The truthfulness of his character shows itself in every word and act. How he manages all the violent difficulties of party feeling in Washington is wonderful. He is torn by deputations, ‘ to stand by the Constitution ’ ; by others, ‘ to revise it ’ ; and by others, ‘ to throw it to the dogs ’ ! A deputation of Abolitionists waited on him the

other day. They pressed on him a scheme of immediate emancipation. He listened to them, and said: 'Gentlemen, all you say is very interesting—very true. I agree with you. But you are just six weeks ahead of me.' "

In these extracts the writer records some conversations her brother-in-law had with the President:—

March, 1864.

" E. has returned from Washington. He has had most interesting talks with the President about present affairs. The President seemed pleased to talk about England. He said he believed England would do right with regard to the South, that the Democratic-Bubble-Bursting party was comparatively small, that the great mass of the English people, those that bear the national character, as it were, are strong enough to overcome the Manchester cotton spirit. The President told E. that he believed there was a strong union party in many of the Southern States—even in South Carolina. I have just seen a humming bird, the brightest, loveliest of flitting creatures! "

" E. told a story about a great case—I ought to remember the name, but I don't—in which Lincoln was retained. It was years before he was nominated President. The story was told to E. when he was in Washington by another lawyer also retained in the case, and on the same side. The fee which Lincoln had obtained in the case enabled him to contest the State against Douglas for the Senatorship, and the speeches he made at that time gave him fame, and eventually caused his nomination. Strangely enough Mr. Stanton, the present Secretary of War, and Mr. Seward, were his colleagues in the case. When they met for consultation before they went down to the Court the two were rather aghast at the appearance of the huge, uncouth Illinois man, and when Lincoln said, 'Well, gentlemen, shall we go down in a gang?', Seward said to Stanton, 'I don't want to go down in his gang. Let us go down by ourselves.' But you see they were destined to go in his gang! "

The writer's visit to Washington was in 1864, where she had many opportunities of meeting the chief political leaders, and where it was her privilege to have an interesting talk with the President:—

Willard's Hotel, Washington.

Feb., 1864.

" Washington is the centre of political life, and Willard's is the centre of Washington, whence come the rumours and epidemics of excitement. Here are many families of Senators and Members of Congress during the Session. Then it is the daily resort of generals, and other officers, contractors, politicians, even *poets*, for Walt Whitman, with his long hair on his shoulders, is here. . . There is always somebody of importance to be pointed out as you go up and down stairs. On the first floor runs a wide passage, or corridor, from one end of the building to the other, always crowded with men, men, men. Men of all kinds, who congregate here to hear the last news from the front. Here spring the rumours thick and pervading as the fumes of tobacco, which find their way into every room. An atmosphere of excitement is everywhere, and

everything articulate or silent carries one's thoughts to the battlefield—which is not far off.

"One evening we dined at the Secretary of State's. It was a French dinner with numberless courses, though one could not but be struck with certain touches of dignified simplicity about the house (of the same feeling, I suppose, as makes Mrs. Seward wear no hoops, and a flat topped bonnet). The table was very elegant with old silver and glass. At either end of the table were huge silver 'ice pitchers,' and most of the dishes were silver. I sat next to Mr. Fred Seward, and at Mr. Seward's end of the table. There was very animated talk about the new currency, about the National Bank, and the Army payments. Mr. Seward, eating innumerable olives as he talked, spoke with great energy and decision—with his rather remarkable profile he looked something like a huge bird. A Mr. Morrell, who was the exponent of some system of protection, talked a good deal about the people in the Western States having been reduced to a state of barter, for want of currency.

"All to-day we have spent seeing the great buildings, the making of the "greenback" money—it seemed to be made very easily; the camps, hearing and seeing every moment things suggesting the war, and the thousand interests connected with it; meeting a regiment on the march, or a company of contrabands, men, women, and children, with their black, weary faces, on their way to the Contraband Camp. Here and there we saw a huge black sign, '*Dr. —, Embalmer of the Dead.*'

"We have visited the Capitol, its immense white dome shining like an iceberg through the trees. You reach it by great flights of steps, with here and there a statue to cheer the rather steep ascent—the Indian and the white man in attitudes more satisfactory to the white man than the Indian. It is '*Low the poor Indian*' indeed. You pass down long corridors and passages, and enter the gallery of the Senate. In the House of Representatives fortune favoured us with the most momentous debate of the Session, they say; Valandigham on one side, and Bingham on the Government side. V. is secessionist of the darkest dye. Mr. Bingham's speech aroused great feeling. He dined with us afterwards, and we talked of Ruskin, and Mr. Carlyle, and he had much to say about Aunt Mary—Howitt—whom he greatly admires. We went into the Supreme Court with its row of black-robed judges—the only official costume in the length and breadth of this great land. The Chief Justice, I think it was, who descended from his height, and chatted with Mr. M. We went to the levée yesterday. As the President sent you a special message I must not delay in telling you about it. It was at one o'clock, an hour for bonnets and morning dress. The entrance to the White House was thronged with carriages. We passed through the great hall, and to an anteroom filled with elegantly dressed people. The air was pleasant with the scent of flowers. People stood in groups talking. In the Blue Room beyond, the President stood receiving the stream that flowed towards him, and thence passed into the great East Room, and so out. While the others were busy talking to a number of their friends I watched the President. He shook hands and bowed, only occasionally speaking to someone he knew, or chose to distinguish by his notice. Some-

times he answered a remark made to him. But it was generally, 'Good morning, Mrs. Jones.' 'Mr. Smith, how do you do?' (You see how carefully I write this that you may note the pleasing difference of your daughter's reception!) 'Miss —, of England.' 'Ah,' said the President, and he stooped his great height to look into my face. He looked so kind that I forgot to be frightened. I forgot what he first talked of. Then I blurted out, 'Mr. Lincoln, may I tell you how earnestly my people at home are with you in heart and soul, especially since the 1st of January.' 'I am very glad to hear it; very glad, though I may not know them personally. That is one of the evils of being so far apart. We have a good deal of salt water between us. When you feel kindly towards us we cannot, unfortunately, be always aware of it. But it cuts both ways. When you, in England, are cross with us, we don't feel it quite so badly.' He smiled as he said this, and then he went on quite gravely, 'I wish England were nearer, and in full understanding with us.' Colonel Davies said something about my having been unhappy over the *Trent* matter, and the prospect of war between England and the United States. Mr. Lincoln said that he thought there were three parties in England, an aristocratic party, which will not be sorry to see the Republic break up, a class allied to the South through trade relations, and a third, larger, or if not larger, of more import, which sympathises warmly with the cause of the North.' He turned to me again, and took my hand in his—it *was* a large hand!—and said with great kindness, 'Tell your friends in England this, and tell them I am obliged to them for their good wishes. It is pleasant to have good wishes, and,' he added, smiling, 'I take it there will be no war.' That was all. We courtseyed and shook hands with Mrs. Lincoln. She was dressed in black velvet, black gloves and fan, in mourning for her little boy, who died in the summer. We stood not far from the President for some time, and I watched him with all my eyes. He was dressed in a black long coat that seemed to hang on him. He wore his collar turned down, showing his throat—the reverse of the Gladstone habit. He held one of his black gloves in his hand, and beat it slowly against the other while he was speaking. I could hear all he said. He did not look grand or aristocratic, or even like a very cultivated man, but you knew he was *great*. One felt that he said what he meant to say, neither more nor less. He used very good words, and he half-smiled now and then, like a person who *hears* that what he is saying is good, and a little enjoys it. But when he was silent his face instantly assumed an anxious, careworn expression. But he did not look perplexed. I felt he *was* the man who had written the 'Inaugural,' and that he was the only man who could have done it.

"On the staircase was a boy of about twelve who was doing his best to upset the gravity of the servants handing up the guests, and playing pranks. Mrs. M. spoke to him and he replied politely, and behaved at once with the dignity and propriety proper in the son of a President. I think they called him Thad.

April 17th, 1865.

"On Saturday afternoon I drove into town to post the English letter at the General Post Office. As we entered the city, all fluttering with flags for the late victories, the streets were full of silent crowds standing or moving to and fro, the press

growing denser as we neared the State House. I had to leave the carriage to wait for me in a side street, and make my way for a short distance on foot. As I stood having my letter weighed and stamped a strange sound outside made the groups of persons in the office, and me with them, run to the door, where, from the high flight of steps we looked down on the crowd stretching down the street. I had never heard such a sound before. It was hoarse, and like a long growl. There was a movement in the crowd, a group of policemen were vigorously defending with their clubs three men, evidently the objects of the anger of the crowd. I could see the pale, terrified faces of the three men. The crowd were bent on lynching them. Men shouted that they were Secesh sympathisers. They had shouted *sic semper tyrannus*, when the news came that the President had expired.

"The P.O. clerks came and called us in and the great doors were hastily shut. I had to make my way, led by a civil clerk, through the back buildings and yards to the carriage. The sunshine seemed dimmed by the horrible glimpse I had had of strange passions. We had to drive slowly through the crowded streets. At all the churches which we passed, the doors were open, and one could catch sight of the people kneeling. I stopped at Trinity Church. The church was crowded from wall to wall, and the Litany was being said by Mr. Phillips Brooks. His rapid utterances—a sort of passionate energy of utterance—and the sense of universal sorrow made the familiar words seem to have a new meaning. Many near me were weeping. One knew that the whole land, from ocean to ocean, was stirred and lifted by a great sorrow. On a step near the church was a poor black woman sitting with a little child beside her and one in her arms. She rocked herself to and fro and repeated the words, 'Massa Lincum dead! Massa Lincum dead! . . . Those few hours from Friday night to Saturday evening passed as if under a spell. The glory of spring was over all, the dogwoods were shining with their milk-white blossoms, the Judas trees and the sassafrases were purple and cold, and the magnolias were opening, but all the spring glory seemed hushed and made solemn by the thought of the President. A shock of wonder and remorse has come, and a passionate acknowledgment of what we owe him.

The eyes of all did, indeed, seem to be opened to what they had been slow to perceive. They saw how Lincoln, always showing the way, by a sort of divine intelligence, had led the country through the dangers of a revolution to a new life. The whole nation recognised the light of a great soul. The youthful writer of these letters shared in that great experience. Often, looking back during the last two years after an interval of more than half a century, and watching the mysterious unfolding of events here and in the United States, she has felt as if she were passing through the same experiences as were hers when, as a girl, she visited America. There were then, as lately have been here, uncertainty and momentous swaying of opinion to and fro, slowly growing enlightenment, and, at last, the clear and final purpose ensuring victory.

AGNES MACDONELL.

THE REPORT OF THE AGRICULTURAL POLICY SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE RECON- STRUCTION COMMITTEE.

IT was extremely appropriate that Lady Wernher should have bought Fred Walker's picture of "The Plough" for presentation to the nation on the same day that the report of Lord Selborne's Agricultural Policy Sub-Committee of the Reconstruction Committee was published. The picture should be hung in the place of honour in the Board of Agriculture when, after the war, we turn our swords into ploughshares, and the Ministry of Munitions leaves the office that had been built for the Board. For it is the policy of the plough which the Committee advocates, as, in their opinion, it is only by a return to the arable acreage of the early 'seventies that national safety can be secured. The argument of the report, put briefly, is as follows:—"We must grow a far larger proportion of the food we consume, first, as a national insurance against war; secondly, in order to develop to the full our natural internal resources; and thirdly, in order to expand our rural population. If we are to grow more food, we must develop agricultural education and organisation, and must remodel village life (and these subjects the Committee will deal with in a later report); but in particular we must insist that large areas of land are put under arable cultivation. If arable cultivation is to be insisted upon, there must be security that the price of cereal crops will not again fall to the level of fifteen or twenty years ago. In this way, and only in this way, can it be shown that arable cultivation, taking good and bad seasons together, can be made to bring in reasonable profits. Guaranteed minimum prices for wheat and oats must, therefore, be given to the farmer, and if the farmer is assisted in this way, fair wages for the labourer must also be insisted upon."

The report is a most admirably and clearly written document. It presents its arguments with great weight and cogency. It deserves very careful study and thought from all interested in the economic and social development of the country, and can in no sense be put aside simply as a plea for State protection for agriculture.

The questions which have to be answered in forming a judgment upon it seem to the writer to be:—(1) Is it desirable to make a great increase in the amount of food which we can produce in this country? (2) If so, is it physically possible to make such an increase? (3) If so, are the means proposed by the Committee the best for the purpose?

The need for increasing our food supplies in the interest of national security was stated to the Committee as an axiom in their terms of reference, and therefore they do not argue it. But nothing is said as to the amount of increase of our home-grown supplies that is necessary in the interest of security, either in the terms of reference or in the report. The point is generally dismissed by saying that we clearly cannot be self-supporting, and that equally clearly the more we can grow the better. Slightly more exactness

than this is, however, possible. Real safety, it may be suggested, can be secured by combining three conditions:—(a) That we shall, as an Empire, be able to withstand a commercial boycott by the rest of the world without dislocation of our industrial machinery; this means that the Empire should be normally self-sufficing in food; (b) that in the event of war we should have sufficient food, even if all external supplies were cut off, to last us until intensive methods of home production had produced their effect; (c) that our agriculture should be permanently in a condition in which in an emergency period, and with all human beings and animals put on emergency rations, we could be indefinitely self-supporting. It is worth while to bear these points in mind when considering the intensification of home production; but meanwhile an argument in favour of increasing our home-grown supplies may be referred to which is not mentioned in the report, or, so far as the writer knows, elsewhere. It is generally assumed that if the agricultural population is to be increased, men must be diverted from other productive industry at home. As a matter of fact, the men whom we may be able to settle on the land here will be far more likely to emigrate, if we cannot find room on the land for them, than to be absorbed in home industries; but the assumption may be accepted for the sake of the argument. It is, then, further generally assumed that if we divert labour from our staple industries into agriculture, it will entail economic loss to the country. We have for so long made machinery and cotton goods and boots and shoes for other nations in return for the food they send us, that it is assumed that no departure from our time-honoured practice can fail to reduce our general production of wealth. There are no very complete data on the subject, but such data as exist seem to point to an opposite conclusion. The Census of Production, 1907, estimates that the average net output per man employed in agriculture in that year was £129, and more recent investigations, based on the analysis of tenant-farmers' accounts go to show that these estimates are certainly not excessive. In the iron trades, this census gives £115 as the value of a man's output; in the cotton industry, £79; in cutlery, £73; and in boot-making, £71. There are many influences, the value of which would have to be assessed before drawing conclusions too positively from these figures, as, for example, the proportion of women and children engaged in each industry, and included in the term "person employed"; but if they are confirmed by subsequent investigations, it will be shown that agriculture, as at present carried on, is more profitable to the nation than its staple trades. It will not, however, have been shown that the intensification of agriculture which the Committee suggest is also likely to be more profitable. The only reliable estimate that can be found on this point is in Mr. A. D. Hall's book, "Agriculture After the War," in which he suggests that it is possible to increase the output by about £26,000,000 a year, and to employ about 80,000 to 100,000 more men in so doing. Comparing the figures with the available estimates of agricultural output and of persons employed in agriculture, it appears that Mr. Hall anticipates a greater proportionate increase in value produced than in men employed. If his estimates

prove correct, we may anticipate that the greater profitability of agriculture compared to other industries, which appears to have existed in the past, will be intensified in the future. The subject is full of difficulties and pitfalls, and needs a very great deal more scientific investigation than it has received, and for this we may confidently look to the Institute for Research in Agricultural Economics at Oxford; but the existing data seem to indicate that the help which the natural fertility of the soil gives to production in agriculture may make the transfer of men thereto from other industries a definite means of increasing our national wealth.

If for this and other reasons, which the activities of the Food Controller are bringing in an ever more practical manner to our notice, it may be assumed that increased home production is desirable, the next question is whether, and to what extent, it is physically possible. As to this the Committee confine themselves to general language. They are confident that "an increase in production will be reached which will now appear impossible to many farmers, and that if the agricultural policy which they recommend is carried out steadily and continuously a great change will be effected within a generation." It seems a pity that the Committee are unable to be more specific, as when the taxpayer is called upon to assume large liabilities he should know what he is likely to get in return. But it may be useful to look elsewhere than to their report for guidance. Mr. A. D. Hall, in "Agriculture after the War," has come to the conclusion that if we returned to the arable acreage of 1872, distributing it under crops rather differently from the way it was then distributed, but in a manner wholly justifiable from the point of view of scientific agriculture, we could normally grow nearly 60 per cent. of the wheat we consume, and all the oats, while producing more food for cattle than at present, and an extra two million pounds' worth of potatoes. Mr. T. H. Middleton has shown, in a paper read to the Farmers' Club, that of each hundred acres of cultivated land, Germany has one-third under grass and green fodders, and the remainder under cereal and other crops; and England and Wales more than two-thirds under grass and green fodders, and less than one-third under cereal and other crops. The result is that in an average year a hundred acres of cultivated land in Germany feeds from 70-75 persons and in Britain only 45-50. He further shows that grass land, per hundred acres, will provide energy-producing food, in the form of meat, for from five to fifty persons for a year according to its quality, and that good grass land will provide this food for seventy persons as milk. Good arable land will, however, feed 102 persons with corn and meat, and 125 with corn and milk per hundred acres.

We have here important testimony to the great advantage of arable land over grass land in food production, and to the great potential yield of this country of wheat. But the most important estimate, from the point of view of safety, is Mr. A. D. Hall's. If we can grow two-thirds of our wheat normally and can intensify yield from four quarters to five, as Professor Biffen, in a memorandum appended to the report, says can be done, by the

careful use of artificials, then, with the 30 per cent. of our consumption which we normally obtain from India and the Dominions, the Empire should be self-supporting in this most vital of all foods. Mr. Hall also believes that if there were an increase of four millions in the arable acreage it could, in emergency, be so used as to make us independent of oversea supplies altogether. The stock that had been fed on the arable land would have to be killed down, and the land used to produce grain and other vegetable foods, for "the production from a given area of land, in the form of corn and other vegetable materials, will, in time of real need, support about eight times as many men as will the meat obtainable from the same land." We should have to become much more vegetarian than we are now, but there seems no reason to doubt that if we did so we could subsist during even a long period of emergency without external supplies—given always that we had returned to the arable acreage of 1872 before the emergency arose. From the point of view of safety, there would then be only the interim period to provide for, between the cutting off of supplies and the ingathering of the crops from the arable land when diverted to vegetable production. This clearly can only be provided for by some scheme of storage of grain. We cannot expect all future emergencies to arise in August when our corn stocks are greatest. We cannot, apparently, become normally self-supporting in food. And though we may be able to become so in an emergency it would clearly take time.

The national security side of the food question cannot here be further considered, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it still needs careful and authoritative examination, and that until it has received it we shall hardly be able to envisage the whole problem of food supplies which the war has presented to us. We may, however, take from the report the conclusion that food production can be immensely stimulated, though whether up to the point of safety under all circumstances we cannot be sure; and proceed to consider whether the means which the report proposes for effecting the increase are the best for their purpose.

The three means proposed are guaranteed minimum prices for wheat and oats, fair wages for agricultural labour, and with these as a basis, a steady application by the State of a policy of securing maximum soil utilisation, on pain of expropriation.

As to the guarantees, it is worth giving some attention to their probable cost to the taxpayer. *If prices return to the seven year pre-war average* (wheat 32s. 9d. and oats 18s. 11d.) and production remains as before the war (say, wheat seven million quarters and oats twenty million quarters), the guaranteed prices (wheat 42s. and oats 23s.) will cost, yearly, three and a-quarter millions for wheat and four millions for oats. If, on the same assumption as to prices, we grow 60 per cent. of the wheat we now consume and all the oats, the annual cost will be ten millions for wheat and five and a-half for oats. For every shilling by which post-war prices are above the seven year pre-war average the cost would decrease about one million for wheat and by about one and a-third millions for oats. If, on the other hand, with the increase in production

which has been postulated, there is a return to pre-war prices, but the guarantees remain at the figure announced by the Prime Minister for the three last years of the six year period, which he is guaranteeing (namely, 45s. and 24s.), their annual cost to the taxpayer will be thirteen millions for wheat and seven for oats. These figures indicate that though the liability assumed will be heavy, particularly if the policy causes a large increase in production, yet the actual bill which the taxpayer would be called upon to pay would not be very large if there were a moderate increase in the cost of imported wheat—of which there seems considerable likelihood. The liability is, however, heavy enough to provoke the question: Why, if wheat growing paid, in many cases—as it undoubtedly did—before the war at 35s. per quarter, should it be necessary to guarantee 42s. hereafter? This leads to a rather interesting point. Before the war it was not a case of low wheat prices meaning less arable and better wheat prices more arable, but of low wheat prices meaning less arable and better wheat prices meaning still less arable. The Committee consider this fact carefully. They draw a moving and poignant picture of the years of depression, and when they come to account for the fact that the tendency was still towards grass during the years of revival of grain prices preceding the war, they attribute the movement to the destruction of all confidence in the stability of agricultural conditions by the cruel experience of the depression, and to agriculture having again become the battle-ground of politicians. This view is slightly one-sided, and the farmer's own explanation, if he was not talking politics and had no object to serve, would be simpler—namely, that before the war stock was paying extremely well, and that though arable cultivation paid well enough, on light land sheep paid better, and on heavy land dairying, and that both meant less worry and less work than arable cultivation.

This suggests the question whether the guarantees are intended to make arable cultivation more profitable than grass cultivation, or are needed simply to establish a position under which arable cultivation shall be reasonably profitable, and under which farmers shall then be compelled to adopt it whether other methods are more profitable or no. The question is vital. It is one thing to pay the minimum amount necessary to obtain a certain degree of national safety by giving proper remuneration to those who produce it; it is quite another thing to have to make the way of safety the way of greatest possible profit. The report is fairly clear on this matter. It is stated more than once that the increase from 35s. to 42s. is "to meet an anticipated increase in the cost of production," not to make arable farming more profitable than any other, and that if arable farming can be shown to bring in a fair margin of profit, farmers are, if need be, to be compelled to adopt it even though it be not the best paying method of conducting their industry. We are not, however, told how the anticipated increase in the cost of production will be made up. Many will urge that its chief item will be the increase in wages which the Wage Boards will bring about. The Committee probably would not admit this, and no one should do so. Real wage-costs of agricultural operations are much

the same in the well-paying northern counties and in the low-paying southern and western, because of the greater efficiency of northern labour. And when southern labour receives a good wage it will become worth it. The process will, however, take time, for the labour in the south is largely the residuum after all that was best has left for the towns or the Dominions, and it will take some years to attract and train efficient labour to these depleted districts, and to increase the stamina and endurance of the existing workers by a higher standard of life. It may, however, safely be anticipated that after a few years farmers will themselves admit that good wages have paid in agriculture as they have elsewhere, and that they have no right to set off their increase against the guaranteed minimum prices as an extra expense.

If, then, 42s. is fixed instead of the pre-war 35s., simply in view of an expected general increase in costs, it might have been better to wait and see what the increased costs will be before fixing a figure, for we are to have six years of the guarantees offered by the Prime Minister as an incentive to fresh arable cultivation this spring, before the Selborne Committee guarantees become operative. No doubt the Committee fixed their figures before they knew that the Prime Minister would for the next six years make a considerable improvement on them from the farmers' point of view. But, as things are, it might still be better only to promise in the period after the expiry of the Prime Minister's offer a price giving the same profit as 35s. gave before the war. This would give time for the thorough examination of the economics of agriculture of which we are greatly in need. Such an examination would throw light on the costs of wheat growing, as to which the report says nothing, and in particular would show what part of the rental received by landowners is a return for capital expended in equipping and furnishing the estate, and what part is economic rent—a subject upon which accurate data are particularly desirable.

The Committee perhaps take a wiser line when dealing with wages. As to wages, they refrain from recommending exact rates, "because of their necessary ignorance of the comparative values "which will exist on the declaration of peace." On the whole, on this question the Committee seem to the writer to display very great wisdom and enlightenment. Wage Boards are to be set up for each county, or for groups of counties, composed of equal numbers of employers and employed, with members added, and a chairman appointed, by the Board of Agriculture. They are to go into the extremely complicated question of allowances, and to deal with the case of old, infirm or disabled workers.* The wage must be sufficient to provide a full economic rent for a good cottage, and if the cottage be inferior the labourer would have power to claim a reduction of rent. All this is excellent. Two points, however, seem worth making—one connected with the machinery of Wage Boards, one with the wage position as it is to be during the war and before the Wage Boards are set up. It ought not to be left to the worker to enforce the payment of the approved rate against

* They should also fix standards of piece work in respect of all the main agricultural occupations on the lines that Mr. T. B. Ponsonby has been working out for Ireland.

his employer. There should be some system of wage cards signed by employer and worker, and sent in periodically to a Wage Board officer, which would enable him to take independent action against the employer if the regulations of the Wage Board were not being complied with. This would be really necessary, for some years at any rate, as a protection to the worker. Secondly, though a minimum wage of 25s. to an able-bodied man has been fixed for the duration of the war, it is the present intention of the Government that the estimated value of allowances should be deducted from this rate, and that questions as to what amount may be deducted should be settled by Mr. Neville Chamberlain's officials. The cost of living in working-class families has increased during the war by 70 per cent. Twenty-five shillings therefore corresponds to a pre-war value of 14s. 9d. If two or three shillings may be deducted from such a wage, and the remainder be given statutory sanction, Parliament will not be dealing fairly with the question. It would be far better to make 25s. the cash minimum during the war for able-bodied men—for it is a wage that farmers are quite willing to pay—and even if it be supplemented by allowances on a generous scale, no one should grudge them, if the worker will take advantage of the increasing hours of daylight to work his very hardest to increase the country's food supply. Perhaps a still better alternative would be to set up Wage Boards immediately.

There is a story which the writer's grandfather used to tell his Devon tenants—it is to be feared with little effect, but its moral is a good one to-day. A farmer was not very liberal with the food he had undertaken to supply to his workmen during harvest, and heard them in consequence from over the hedge chanting to the slowest possible scythe accompaniment: "Barley and—water, can't go any—faster; barley and—water, can't go any—faster," and so on. He took the lesson to heart, changed the diet, and next day heard a new tune taken *prestissimo* in time with the scythe-strokes: "Bacon and eggs—mind your legs; bacon and eggs—mind your legs."

The last question is how the State can secure the maximum soil utilisation, which is the object of the guarantees and of the fair rates of wages. The Committee tackle this question in a courageous and entirely honest manner. Landowners, farmers, and labourers "must be plainly told that the security and welfare of the State demand that the agricultural land of the country must gradually be made to yield its maximum production." "The general average of farming must be steadily and continuously raised throughout the United Kingdom." "It must be clearly understood that henceforth bad farming is a danger to the State, and that the waste of good land on game or games is inconsistent with patriotism." "It shall be an implied condition in every lease or tenancy agreement that the tenant of agricultural land shall cultivate the same according to the approved practice of the best agriculture with a view to the economic production in the interests of the country of the greatest amount of foodstuffs of which the land, having regard to its quality and position, is reasonably capable." "When once the State has embarked on such a policy as we recommend,

“for the sake of the nation’s safety, it can run no avoidable risk of its failure. Neither the idiosyncrasies, nor the incapability, nor the lack of patriotism of individuals can be allowed to interpose even a partial barrier to the success of a national policy.” A survey of all agricultural land is to be made, and, if it appeared to the Board of Agriculture that such land “was, from any cause, not being fully utilised for the production of foodstuffs, notice should be served upon the owner,” which if not complied with, will lead to the land being taken over by the State without rent being paid for it, the profits of working it, if any, being handed back to the owner after all expenses have been paid. The machinery proposed is rather cumbrous, and the procedure is too long, but, on the whole, these proposals must be taken to be a perfectly sincere attempt to work a revolution in agricultural practice. The vital question, however, is not what is said, but what would actually be done when it came to administration. If the writer could leave the administration of the proposals in the hands of the Committee which recommends them, for the next ten years without any right of appeal, he would willingly do so, but unfortunately this is impossible. It is nowhere stated exactly what the farmer is to be expected to do, and very different views will be taken of what the landlord ought to compel him to do. It is all a matter of degree. Suppose that in ten years our wheat production is doubled, many would claim it as a great success for the policy and an ample justification for the guaranteed prices. Yet we should still be producing much less than according to the best expert judgment can easily be produced, and therefore many others would hold that the continuance of the guarantees was unjustifiable, and that all that had been done could better have been done by less expensive methods. We come back to the point made at the beginning, that the safety point should be clearly defined, and a definite task set which British agriculture is to accomplish. The number of years within which the agricultural community could be expected to fulfil the task should also be clearly stated. Under a scheme of this kind it should be possible, after careful surveys, to allot to each county, and to each district council area and parish, its share of the task. Once a goal and a programme were determined and accepted farmers would be unable to argue, as otherwise they will argue, that they have done enough, and that if more work is to be done more money must be paid. Neither could the taxpayers’ representatives argue, so long as the programme was being steadily worked to, that the nation was not getting money’s worth from the guarantees. Unless something of this kind is done there will be inevitable conflict and difficulty in carrying the recommendations of the report into practice. The rate of progress will depend upon the party in power. One party, hoping to get the farmers’ vote, will promise to go gently; the other, appealing to the farmers’ enemies, and they are many, will promise a *régime* of scorpions. And in this conflict the farmers will come off second best, for they can, at any time, be out-voted by the towns. And what farmers need above everything else is stability of conditions, and there can be no stability where there

is conflict. Only, let it be repeated, if a definite task is set to be accomplished in a definite time, under conditions understood and accepted by all parties at the beginning, can conflict be avoided and stability be secured.

Even if the difficulty which has been indicated be avoided, and the policy be launched under the best auspices, its results on our land system present a most interesting field of speculation. There is not space here to do more than indicate some of the questions which will come up. The Committee's scheme comes very near to one in which every landowner is to be an agent of the State, every farmer a manager for the State, every labourer a State employee—and this scheme is to be superimposed upon one of which both the pride and the weakness has been that it rested on little more definite than a good understanding! Whether the old bottles will stand the new wine it is difficult to say. The number of big landlords who work at their business eight hours a day for ten months in the year can be counted on very few fingers. Can they be expected to become enlightened and progressive reformers of rural life and agricultural practice, and working partners with the farmer in securing maximum soil utilisation? What will happen to their farms? At present far too large a proportion of them are wrong sized—too large for a man to work with his hands and too small for him to work with his head. If these have to be cut up smaller or thrown together, in the interests of economical production, at whose bidding and with whose capital should it be done? What of the farmers—at present the class best protected against the competition of outside brains that there is in the community—owing to the necessity for possessing capital before a farm can be taken? Must not there grow up under the scheme of the Committee in competition with them a new generation of farm managers, expert in new methods as well as in old, who are put in by the State to take charge of expropriated holdings? What, lastly, of the labourer and his ladder, the organisation of co-operation, the spread of agricultural education, the reconstruction of village life? These are to be dealt with in a later report of the Committee—which may be expected to deal with them in as bold and far-reaching a fashion as has been adopted in the report under consideration. There should, therefore, be interesting reading to come.

When it is before us we shall be in a better position to consider the proposals of the Committee as a whole. But the proposals will not be complete, and it will not be fair to ask the public to decide upon them, until the full measures necessary for national security in food supply are clearly worked out, and some definite scheme is indicated by which they can be steadily attained. If this be done the writer believes that the interim report, and the final report which will follow it, may well prove to be a stable basis for the great work of agricultural reconstruction. But at present the case is not complete, and we should suspend judgment.

F. D. ACLAND.

THE ROOT FAULT IN THE ENGLISH ATTITUDE TO EDUCATION.

WITH a true instinct farsighted statesmen have brought to the front during these last six months the reform of education. The dark days of 1915 are still fresh in our minds—Gallipoli and Kut, and the wasting of Serbia, are not past history. But we have begun to allow ourselves some measure of self-congratulation. We are told, not without justification, to admire our resource in invention, our flexibility in adopting new methods. In a little, there will be a danger, lest we forget; forget our blunders and our unpreparedness, forget the imminence of the disasters that all but overwhelmed us. If we wait, the old conservative forces that hindered reform in education will be joined by two others: the vain glory of the conqueror, impatient of criticism, and a desire for quick business returns to make good the losses of war. Pharaoh will harden his heart and will not let the people go.

There is a further danger in the way of fundamental reform. The war has brought out defects in organisation, and suggested the need of changes in curriculum. The scientists and classicists are forming into two camps, for attack and defence. The (quite invalid) argument that Germany owes her success to a predominantly scientific education is parried by the equally foolish one that we shall be on the wrong lines if we seek to imitate Germany. Organisation and curriculum are just the questions in which the professional educationalist is already interested and involved, whether it is by philosophic theory or vested interest. The roar of their controversies gives the impression that reform is at last being seriously taken in hand. We may fail to notice that organisation and curriculum are not the root of the matter. It may be true that the methods of our educational system are faulty. But what really distinguishes us, not specifically from Germany, but from the best thought of the civilised world, is the Philistine attitude of the nation as a whole to education itself.

What, however, do we mean by the attitude of the nation? Can we talk in the same breath of elementary education, of the great public boarding schools, and the secondary day schools, of Oxford and Cambridge, and the younger Universities? Have we a right to class together working-class opinion and middle and upper-class opinion in regard to any, or all, of these sides of education? Is the attitude of the boys and girls who are being educated something separate from that of the class from which they spring, or merely a reflex of it?

For the purpose of broad generalisations, the two kinds of education that can safely be taken to represent the nation are the elementary schools and the great upper and middle-class boarding schools that are commonly known as public schools. The tone of Oxford and Cambridge depends on that of the public schools, and the secondary day schools, just so far as they are

flourishing and successful, approximate nearer and nearer to the public school type. The other British Universities, with four of which—Glasgow, Wales, Manchester, and London—the present writer has been associated for twenty-five years, do, it is true, represent a mean, recruited as they are from both types of school. Though it may reasonably be argued that they represent a happy mean, the fact that they are not here criticised does not imply any illusion as to their perfection. It is rather due to a conviction that they are not dominant enough to impose their type on national life. We cannot take them as the basis for analysis and reconstruction when dealing with the nation as a whole. The Scottish and the younger English Universities are not only the most mixed, but the most flexible element in our education. Whatever reform they need, will come quickly and automatically if once we reform the schools.

At first sight the attitude of the working classes to education seems to lend itself to little criticism. So far as it is articulate, it clamours for education, and yet more education. The more advanced it is in political theory, the more it believes in schools and universities. The W.E.A. movement is a living witness to the value that a large and growing section of the working classes set on the domain of the intellect.

While, however, this is a healthy symptom in the body politic, it must not blind us to the fact that the opinion of a small, thoughtful section of the working classes attracts attention, just because the working classes, as a whole, have not had occasion to form any opinion at all on education. So long as the education of their children is not expected to last beyond the age of thirteen or fourteen, it does not come into collision with their pockets. So long as technical school training is exceptional, rather than universal, there is no opportunity for it to upset their deeply-rooted prejudices as to the needlessness of any training other than practice at the bench and in the workshop. The futility of the attempts that have been made to abolish the Half-timer System in Lancashire, and the grumbles that are sometimes heard in regard to apprenticeship, are indications that, if we seriously attempt to reform education, we shall have to influence working-class, as well as middle and upper-class, opinion. Although, as we shall see, there are some elements in the richer-class attitude from which the working classes are free, the distrust of book learning, the preference of practice to theory, which is characteristic of workshop sentiment, seems to be an element common to the race as a whole. It is the spirit that makes the business-man reject a University graduate, because he has not entered his firm as a boy and learnt its ways. This prejudice is, if we think it out, one aspect of a more general attitude of mind, the supreme importance our race attaches to intuition and instinct. "Training versus Intuition" was the title of the interesting article with which the *Times* opened its educational crusade last September. The Englishman does not believe that genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains. In literature the eighteenth century was a short interlude in our secular romanticism, and in practical life our

admiration, like that of Thucydides for Themistocles, goes out to the man who "from his own native acuteness, and without any study, either before or at the time, is, of all men, the best able to extemporise the right thing to be done." The funeral oration of Pericles is, to a large extent, an expansion of this peculiarly Athenian ideal. It is the feeling which underlies our confidence that we shall "muddle through." We believe that what ultimately wins in life is natural ability, that our race has more than its share of it, and that in the end it stumbles somehow to the front. This contentedness to muddle through in national matters is not mere laziness. It is the unformulated belief that it is in the school of practice, the rough and tumble of trying to do the right thing without knowing how, that the much-desired native ability is best found out. It is a similar vague feeling that underlies the Trade Union prejudice against technical school training as opposed to workshop training, and the business-man's preference for the clerk who has worked his way up through the office, even though to the outside observer the skill so acquired seems to be often limited to the knowledge of his employer's favourite cigarettes. It is this same spirit which we find at English public schools. Apart from the vexed question of the cult of games, which we shall discuss shortly, there is a general contempt for "sapping" as opposed to brilliance. Even the Charterhouse athlete, *pur et simple*, would permit himself to feel a pride in T. E. Page's legendary gift of writing Latin verses. The story went that, when the rest of the sixth at Shrewsbury needed the time for athletics, he could write sets of verses for the whole form as well as for himself, and put in their characteristic blunders. The same athlete, if he wished to point the finger of scorn at a small boy who was passing him in form, would express it by saying: "You aren't really clever, you only 'get up by swotting.'"

Now there is something healthy in this estimate of the comparative value of natural and acquired ability. It shows, if proof were needed, that we are anything but a decadent race, as the Germans before the war liked to think we were. Along with Tipperary and our capacity for appreciating bad jokes, which Kingsley thought was a gift lost since the Elizabethan age, it illustrates the fact that, crude though we may be, we are at least young and elemental. It is a much better fault to have to correct than the reverse would be. Recent psychology lends support to the view that great ideas by which the world moves, do not come at command, by rule, and at set season, but when without its knowing why or how, a mind is "struck by the splendour of a sudden thought." The process of thought is unconscious and, at the moment of thinking, involuntary, and we must, in Mr. William James's words,* "trust to the 'laws of cerebral nature to present us spontaneously with the 'appropriate idea,' whether we are 'guessing newspaper enigmas or plotting the policy of an Empire.'"

None the less, there are conditions which make possible or probable the coming of these splendid thoughts. For The Great

* *The Principles of Psychology*, I., p. 589.

Society it is essential, as* Mr. Graham Wallas puts it, "to undertake the deliberate provision of the material conditions of "thinking, instead of trusting to the appearance of thought as a "by-product." The waste of effort involved in waiting for the best to appear out of an uncontrolled struggle for existence between the good, the bad, and the indifferent, is as if we were to trust for the flower supply of a great town to the chance varieties that might show themselves in a tangle of wild roses. We may aim at correcting this fault of ours for many generations without any risk of killing our race-instinct or smothering it with organisation and scientific breeding. As Dr. King used to say to his candidates for Ordination, "Try as hard as you may, dear "people, to correct your natural faults, you will never succeed so "well as to get praised by others for it. At the end of your life "it will still be said of you, 'It is a pity he was so bad tempered.' "

Has this admiration for natural ability anything to do with that dominant feature of public school education, the idolisation of games? Criticisms have on this point often proceeded on wrong lines. We need not delay long with Mr. Kipling's scorn of the "flannelled fool at the wicket and the muddled oaf at the goal." It happened to be true that it would have been more useful in the South African War if our athletes had specialised in riding and shooting. But even if military efficiency were the main criterion of education, which it is not, it is obvious that for the present war riding and shooting would have been insufficient as a whole duty of man, although aged generals are still writing to *The Times*† ascribing our marvellous leadership in war to hunting. But even those whose criticisms are intellectual rather than military, treat the cult of games as a simple matter, which can be disposed of by a ready formula that it is partly the fault of the masters who cannot teach, and partly of the dull subjects which no one wants to learn. The matter is not so simple. We may recall Ian Hay's description in "Pip"‡ of speech day at a public school, of the "dear "old gentleman" who is brought down to distribute the prizes, telling the school that "if they work hard they may possibly—" "who knows?—come some day to resemble Simpkins major," who has just obtained a prize for Greek Iambics and another for Latin Prose. And the boys, "about 50 per cent. of whom do not "know Simpkins by sight, while the remainder seldom meet him "in a passage without kicking him, grin sheepishly, and take it "out of Simpkins afterwards. The real heroes of the school, if "only the dear old gentleman would realise or remember the fact, "are those rather dull-looking youths, with incipient moustaches "and large chests, who sit cracking nuts in the back row."

These gods of a school would of course be unable to analyse the reasons for their own divinity. If we argue that they are complex, it must not be supposed that we suggest that they are held consciously by public school boys. Two of the contributing causes are conditioned by English character and English geography. The sporting spirit is a manifestation among the young of the spirit of

* *The Great Society*, p. 198.

† *E.g.*, May 29th, 1916.

‡ Book I., Chap. v.

adventure and speculation which has made us at once a colonising and a commercial people. The rough and tumble of football and cricket, the exhilarating sense of taking risks, are a natural and altogether wholesome outlet for this spirit of adventure. The eccentricities of our climate, too, its constant, but never excessive, variations between hot and cold, dry and wet, demand violent exercise and the stimulus of competition and objective if physique is to be developed by adequate outdoor life. There is not much basking in the sun in our country. Professor Ellsworth Huntington—who has lately been explaining to us* that our climate, just because of its surface defects, is the best in the world for sustained and successful effort, producing, as it does, neither lethargy nor feverish excitement—would probably agree with us as to its effect on our physical life.

Violent exertion, however, could be individual, and the distinctive feature in school games is that they are social and corporate. This is natural in the great aggregations of boy life that we find in boarding schools, and is an integral part of the social spirit which, from Tom Brown's days onwards, has been recognised as the essence of our whole public school system, and the justification of our claim that we train not intellect but character. As a democratic American critic has said, "Social control is 'the object in which a boy's energies are chiefly engaged' at the English public schools, and it is all the more 'effective because not talked about.'" The idea of social training at school is so admirable that it is being introduced, so far as conditions make it possible, into practically all our secondary day schools. One cardinal feature of this training, however, the monitorial system, by which boys are initiated into the problems of self-government by becoming rulers where they themselves have been ruled by others, looms largest at a boarding school in the evenings. At a day school it does not find much scope, and is always somewhat of a *tour de force*. The house or dormitory system, by which small units are created within the larger whole, and the social consciousness is at once diffused and heightened, would hardly have a meaning in a day school if it were not for organised games. Similarly, if we listen to the men who know most about working boys, such as the late Mr. C. E. B. Russell, and develop social training in elementary as well as secondary education†, we shall probably find that organised games will have to play a considerable part in such a movement. The brilliant results obtained out of unpromising material by the Industrial schools is no doubt partly due to their being boarding schools. It is pleasant to remember that the only boarding schools to which the working classes have access are quite the best in the country, with all the advantages of Eton and Winchester and none of their drawbacks. The Boy Scout movement, however, shows that social training can be given to boys while they are at day schools, and even before the early age limit is reached when boys now leave elementary schools. When this age limit is raised—as it must be

* *Civilisation and Climate*. (Clarendon Press, 1916.)

† Campagnac and Russell. Board of Education Special Reports. Supplement to Vol. VIII. 1903. [Cd. 1867.]

raised—and part-time technical schools and continuation classes are made compulsory up to at least the age of seventeen, it is essential that such social training shall be continued and made an integral part of the reformed scheme. Old Boys' Clubs, such as the Old Northeyites with which Toynbee Hall aimed at creating a school tradition, and the Settlement Lads' Clubs such as that started by Mr. Russell at Heyrod-street, Manchester, with their clever mingling of work and play, show the lines on which such an idea could be worked out. An imperial democracy must develop leadership, give and take, and loyalty in the working as well as in the upper and middle classes. Nowhere are these qualities more needed than in the great Trade Unions. We may be sure that a strong and enlightened Labour movement will insist that its future members shall not only be "book learned," but shall be educated to be masterful, disciplined, and self-reliant citizens.

If, however, there is much in the cult of games that is inevitable and admirable for a self-contained society of healthy Englishmen, there are sides of it that are dangerous, and can, and should, be checked. These are not faults bound up with the boarding school system, but are rather echoes within that system of faults in the larger world of elders outside. The first of these is an impatient and contemptuous attitude to theory as opposed to practice, to brain as opposed to muscle. The general race instinct to prefer gift to effort, is perverted for the public school boy, by the examples in which the comparison between the two is presented to him. A scholarship is won with toil and drudgery when compared with a place in the footer team. The thinking side of skill in games themselves is hard to disentangle from the first impression of spontaneous physical vigour. Masterful will and strong body are presented to boys as all-desirable qualities, thoughtfulness and intellectual interest as negligible. Boys are not likely to look behind this obvious side of things if they notice that their parents give little honour to intellect, unless it presents itself in a material and practical form. The pure scientist, the philosopher, the historian, are unimportant people in England, more unimportant probably than in any country in Europe. It is only when brains are applied in a particular practical way, to politics, or law, or administration, or when they win their way to recognised prizes in the social hierarchy, that they receive homage. The best part of a century ago, Richard Cobbett asked, in the House of Commons: "When was the British Museum of the slightest use to the country at large? It was a place in which the rich were accustomed to lounge away their time at the expense of their poorer countrymen. For his own part, he did not know where the British Museum was." No leader of opinion to-day, least of all a leader of advanced working-class opinion, such as Cobbett was, would commit himself to such frank obscurantism. But the matter-of-fact man-in-the-street element still exists strongly in most Englishmen, the half-contemptuous conviction that the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake is a useless, if harmless, fad. We do not believe, with Pascal, that the greatest things in the world have been done when men were content to sit still in their studies.

We do not realise that even the scientific discoveries that have made most uncontrovertibly for material progress, are due to the work of men like Faraday and Clerk Maxwell, carried on without thought or hope of material reward and worldly success. When the English public talks of wireless telegraphy it pays homage to Marconi, not to Clerk Maxwell. We are far, indeed, from the spirit of the Grammarian's Funeral, in which Browning takes the humblest, driest, least obvious of the men who sit in their studies, and puts the challenge to us in its extreme form. "That is the type of man," he says, "who is the pioneer of 'civilisation.'" We are more in tune with another of Browning's dramatic moods, where Bishop Blougram apologises for his own worldliness, and argues that even Shakespeare leaves his art—

"To build the trimmest house in Stratford town,
Saves money, spends it, owns the worth of things."

and, indeed, that if Shakespeare had had the chance he would far rather have been one of the great personages of the world, some—

"Pandulph, of fair Milan Cardinal,"

than himself.

This Philistine preference for the obvious and material has been helped on by some recent social and economic tendencies in English life. Mr. Lecky believes* that "the relative intellectual position of the upper and middle classes in England has been materially changed owing to the disproportionate place which outdoor amusement has assumed in the lives of the former", but he does not notice the economic causes that have contributed to this phenomenon. In the early Victorian era the professions were dotted with "younger sons," because commerce was considered beneath the dignity of the upper classes and the system of entail necessitated the earning of an income. The irruption of the upper classes into business, and the attractions offered to the second generation of professional men themselves by both business and administration, by "Empire with a capital E," as has been said, "and money with any kind of *m*," has brought with it the corollary that they do not care to become professors in universities or masters in schools. The theoretic and researching, as well as the teaching, part of the nation is mainly and increasingly officered from below—from the lower-middle and working classes. Neither the boys of the richer classes nor their parents set store on the typical futures that intellect will lead to, and it is only natural that they should come to think lightly of intellect itself.

All this, however, might have had less effect if our extraordinary prosperity had not made life so leisurely and luxurious a thing for the well-to-do. A thoughtful writer, in an article† on the "Religion of Sensible Scotsmen," said casually, in explanation, that his remarks referred to the "typical" Scotsman in a large city, with an income of between two and five thousand a year. Though, no doubt, statistics would show that these figures

* *Map of Life*, p. 225.

† *Hibbert Journal*, 1907-8, pp. 305-21.

were not "typical," it is the fact that the standard of living has, in late years, risen gigantically, that the life of pleasure to be achieved by such living has become garishly desirable, and that the drudgery of earning one's own living by humble methods, such as teaching and research, has become increasingly distasteful. The fun of playing truant is a trait not peculiar to the children of the well-to-do, but it remains that a working-class boy, when he plays truant, does not think he is doing something fine, or despise his more industrious friends. He knows, from his home-life, that hard work is the normal order of existence and play an interlude. How can we expect the children of the richer classes to honour hard work when they see their parents and elder brothers and sisters regard work as an irritating and irrelevant interruption to the ideal life of pleasure? A sweeping assertion like this must naturally be subject to all kinds of qualifications. There are rich families where the traditions of public work are strong, and others where such a tradition is created even in the first generation of wealth. None the less, it would be hard to disprove the generalisation that wealth freed from territorial or industrial responsibility to the community has increased with strides, and that the old ideal of leisure, tempered by feudal duties, has been largely succeeded by one of irresponsible pleasure-seeking. Even the necessary routine of money-making is apologised for, left to as few members of the family as possible, and discarded with relief at the first opportunity. There is a significant passage in the volume in which Mr. Lecky records the experience of a long and observant life.* While recognising, as we have seen, the intellectual decadence of the classes that have over-valued outdoor sports, he has to admit that if you are faced with "a perfectly com-
 "monplace boy with a competence that saves him from the necessity
 "of work . . . it is perfectly useless to set before him high
 "motives or ideals"; and that in such a case "field sports prove
 "a great moral safety-valve, scattering morbid tastes," and giving the boy something to occupy his mind and time that is not vicious.

That such a plea has to be raised suggests that the leaders of English education and, we must add, the leaders of English religion, though talking a great deal about the training of character as well as of intellect, have not emphasised that in such a training the all important question is whether the character developed is the right one. They have failed to enforce the old truth of political philosophy that life in a society is only justified in so far as it serves that society. If the economic system of a given society allows an unequal distribution of wealth, the obligation to serve and work is not removed from the shoulders of the rich, but only changed in character. The rich man who conscientiously attends his Magistrates' Bench, or Hospital Board Meeting, should have been so trained from his youth that he and his wife and his sons and daughters should feel him to be in no sense more worthy of admiration than the Teachers or Civil Service clerks who go through their daily routine to earn their daily bread. Education is the equipment of the individual with the means to serve society.

* *Map of Life*, pp. 246-7.

It is from this point of view that we can meet an argument which might be brought in defence of public school games from recent and characteristic educational theory.* "You make a false 'antithesis,' it might be argued, 'between work and play. The 'criterion as to whether work should be undertaken at all is just 'this, whether it is felt to be play. If it is not play, it is not the 'spontaneous expression of healthy effort. Put your scheme of 'work in order, instead of criticising a boy's natural and reasonable 'antipathy to it.'" Now it would be folly to maintain that our school curriculum cannot be made brighter or more interesting. Something can be done by finding the natural bent of a boy, whether it is for science, or languages, or history. The majority of boys, however, have no decided bent, and it is not so much the subject taught that determines their interest in it, but the method of teaching and the personality of the teacher. Secondary education in England has much to learn from primary in regard to the training of teachers. Both of them, and University education no less than either, must be supported more generously by the nation, if the highest type of men and women are to be attracted to the profession, and the small classes and personal teaching made possible, which alone can develop special aptitudes and make the most of individual gifts.

None the less, while a great deal may be done in education, as well as in industrial life, to make work more pleasant and beautiful, it remains that for everyone in the world there will always be a difference between work and play. A great deal, perhaps the bulk, of necessary work can only be rescued from drudgery by the spirit in which we do it. Even if this spirit has become so much part of our character that we look upon all our work as pleasure, there is a difference when we lay aside, for the moment, object in life and rule of conduct, and do exactly what we like. That is play, and it is a fatal thing for any individual if it is more than an interlude in life.

The war has, for the time, brought seriousness into the nation's life. Dare we hope that it will teach the nation these three things?

First, That in every great undertaking, behind the able and masterful man who can practise, there must stand the thoughtful, and often shy and unimpressive man who can theorise, and that the one is as vital for the nation as the other.

Secondly, That, in modern society, industry and organisation are needed from top to bottom, for the leader as well as the led, and that we cannot trust to good luck plus hunting to produce either a statesman or a general.

Thirdly, That, if we are to justify our customary boast that our public schools train character, we must see to it that it is the right kind of character; that the sporting spirit, like the spirit of commercial speculation to which it is akin, is good or bad just so far as it is social or anti-social, as it serves or exploits society.

If the war teaches us this, then the war will not have been in vain.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

* See reference quoted in *Psychology of the Organised Group Game*, by M. J. Reaney. (Cambridge University Press, 1916.)

ULSTER HOME RULE.

A PROPOSAL.

“ And all but thy Government, Eirie, hath pleased me,
Thou waterful land ! ”—*St. Columba.*

THE writer of this article who, though long settled in England, has for many years spent the most of his holidays in Ireland, has given much of his time since the year 1894 to the duties of Secretary and President of the Irish Literary Society of London, an Association of a non-political and non-sectarian character which promotes the study of the History, Literature, Language, Art, Music, and Economics of Ireland. During that period, he has seen a growing inclination on the part of Irishmen and Irishwomen of all creeds, classes, and political views, to come together on non-contentious lines for the common good of their country.

He had observed that the love for the noble Sagas of Ulster and for her beautiful folk-music, and admiration of the gallant achievements of the O'Neills and O'Donnells and other Catholic chieftains had begun to possess Ulster men and Ulster women of English and Lowland Scotch descent to a degree that had surprised and gratified him, and led him to the strong belief that religious and political animosities were dying down in a way that bade fair for the uprising of a New Ulster to take her place in the van of Irish spiritual as well as material progress.

But the Evil Genius of Ireland had not been exorcised. It reappeared at the invocation of political and sectarian extremists. Disagreeable incidents excited Protestant susceptibilities in Ulster, notably the McCann mixed marriage case, and the Papal *Ne temere* decree. Moreover, Ulstermen, who ten years ago affirmed that they did not like Home Rule, but that, if it came, they would make the best of it, were alarmed by the spread of the Hibernian Association, a semi-secret Catholic sectarian and political society, until it practically became the party machine of the Nationalists. Indeed, the circumstances under which this association came into being, its bitter, anti-Protestant bias, and the assertion by Mr. Redmond himself, before an American audience, that its leader, Mr. Devlin, was the real Secretary of State for Ireland, naturally gave pause to Ulstermen considering how they might make terms with a National Home Rule Government. And now a Liberal Government, again dependent on Irish Nationalist votes, raised the banner of Home Rule anew; hesitating Ulstermen drew back into sullen opposition; whilst the business men of Belfast backed the antagonistic attitude of Presbyterian and Church of Ireland Protestants. The Covenant was solemnly taken, rifles and ammunition—if not machine guns—were smuggled by sea into the country; Ulster became an armed camp; sympathy with the Ulstermen threatened the allegiance of the British Army; and it looked as if the horrors of a civil war in Ireland were upon us. But, at that critical moment, Germany, profiting by this and other great embarrassments of ours, broke into Belgium.

The proclamation of war altered the whole Irish situation. The apparently impossible began to happen. Catholic factory girls sang "God Save the King" in Belfast, after Mr. Redmond's famous speech in support of war against the Central Powers.

And if General Richardson, the military commander of the Covenanters, promised to hold the fort with them when Ulster's army had returned from the front, on the other hand Mr. Dillon, speaking in Belfast in the Spring of 1915, had retorted, that if the Roman Catholics of the North would only come forward in large numbers and learn to be soldiers in the cause of the Allies, they would be able to drub the Ulstermen handsomely when the war was over.

Just at first, the Northern Protestants, who before the war had entertained hopes of the moral support of the Kaiser as the leading Protestant Potentate on the continent, required a good deal of talking to by their leaders to believe that we were in arms against a Germany of which a third was Catholic, and an Austria-Hungary which was almost entirely so. Indeed, it was not until their sympathy with outraged Belgium had been thoroughly aroused by the speeches of Sir Edward Carson that they answered heartily to his call to arms. No doubt Sir Edward experienced the same difficulties in getting recruits from the farming classes which, in spite of the fervour created by Mr. Redmond's speech, had arisen in other parts of Ireland. For many farms were entirely worked by the farmers and their sons, labourers being few and far between. The farms would therefore have become derelict, if young farmers had gone in large numbers to the front, at the very time when a prosperous period for the cultivation of their holdings had set in at last. But the Belfast working men volunteered magnificently; indeed, became almost too willing to recruit, and had to be warned by their leaders that many of them were wanted more in the ship-building yards and in munition factories than in the field.

It was undoubtedly a great misfortune that the Southern Volunteers had not been supplied with rifles after Mr. Redmond's patriotic speech, supposing the arms to have been available in sufficient numbers. Certainly after the gun-running in Ulster an immense stimulus to volunteering had been given by the possession of arms; and, had the National Volunteers possessed the same means of arming themselves as the Covenanters, it would have made them respond much more readily to Mr. Redmond's appeal.

Again, for causes—the explanation of which has never been satisfactorily given—the War Office was opposed to what was considered by Mr. Redmond and his party a reasonable outcome of his appeal to Irish Nationalists to follow the fortunes of the Allies. For Mr. Redmond had asked for an Irish Division into which his countrymen might pass shoulder to shoulder against our enemies; but this was denied him when in the flush of excitement caused by his speech it would have led to a large military response. It has been stated that Lord Kitchener or his advisers did not oppose the idea because they thought there was political danger in such a force; but because their experience had shown that regiments in

which the Irish *élan* combined with English solidity, formed a better fighting instrument than territorial regiments, whether English, Irish, Scotch, or Welsh. Indeed, the territorial combination was out of favour at the War Office at the beginning of the war, although it has since been abundantly justified by the doings of the Territorials on the Somme and elsewhere. It is only fair, however, to state that, as far as Irish troops were concerned, the War Office acted impartially between volunteers from Ulster and the rest of Ireland. Ulster Irishmen recruited in the North of England were not allowed to join Ulster regiments, but could only serve with the English Territorial regiments in their neighbourhood, just in the same way as some thousands of Irish Nationalists who volunteered in the hope of being able to join southern Irish regiments had to pass into the Northumberland Fusiliers. Yet recruiting in the north of Ireland did not suffer so much from these conditions as it did in the south. The Ulster Protestants appealed to on the ground of their loyalty came forward in large numbers, and Belfast sent a larger proportion of its population to the field than any other city in the Empire. The competition thereby created amongst the Catholics, and the extraordinary efficiency of Mr. Devlin as their recruiter, made their side of the Ulster contingent a much stronger one relatively than it would otherwise have been.

Outside Ulster, the failure of the War Office to fall in with Mr. Redmond's views had been having a disastrous effect. The Southern Volunteer movement, which had been started in response to Ulster's citizen army, but independently of the National party in Parliament, had to be reckoned with by Mr. Redmond. He secured representation upon its Council, and eventually some 150,000 of about 180,000 of these Volunteers looked upon him as their leader. At this time, or shortly after it, when war was about to break out, the Irish party offered the National Volunteers for the purposes of policing Ireland, and thereby setting free the English garrison in Ireland for service abroad; but the offer was refused by the British Government, as were offers to present Colours to Irish regiments by leading Catholics, and the proposal that recruiting bands should go round the country.

Meantime, subterraneous forces were at work, as they ever have been in Ireland when its government is weakened, as it undoubtedly had been by Lord Macdonnell's retirement from the post of Under-Secretary, owing to his disapproval of what he regarded as Mr. Birrell's want of resoluteness. Had that strong Indian administrator remained where he was, and been given the powers he demanded, Sinn Féin would never have made the headway it was destined to make. Such a combination as it afterwards effected with the Larkinites and the Republican Brotherhood, financed by the German and Irish-American associations, would have been impossible under his vigilant authority. Mr. Redmond has generously accepted a share of the blame for the disaster that ensued, and the evidence before the Commission of Enquiry into the Dublin Rebellion proves that in their desire to prevent what

they regarded as undue pressure being put upon the disaffected body of Irishmen he and his colleagues had made a serious miscalculation as to Sinn Fein ability and power. Moreover, Mr. Redmond's National Volunteers did not now come forward in large numbers to recruit the ranks of the Army, and Professor McNeill's Irish Volunteers, which had split off from them, contributed a formidable contingent to the Sinn Fein party.

Then came the disastrous sequel. Dublin was held up by the combined Sinn Feiners, old Fenians, and Larkinites for nearly a week against a considerable military force. The revolutionists seized positions chosen with a judgment which suggested German advice, thereby isolating the leading Dublin districts and adopting a system of fighting from house to house, which was difficult to cope with. Fortunately the Sinn Fein risings in other parts of the country failed. Nevertheless, more lives were sacrificed and more property destroyed in this outbreak than in any rising in Ireland since 1898.

When the rebellion had been crushed, undoubtedly the main body of Irish opinion was dead against the Sinn Feiners and their friends who had wrought such havoc to life and property in the Irish capital. Then came the court-martials, after which the British Government acted quite logically in shooting not only McBride and Connolly and Clarke, but in putting to death Pearse and his brother, Thomas Macdonagh, Joseph Plunkett, and others who either constituted the Provisional Committee of the so-called Irish Republic, or who had been its main abettors. But was the shooting of more than three or four of the older or more murderous of the rebels an act of political wisdom? At the time it was felt not to be so by Irishmen of all shades of politics. Here, again, as in the case of the recruiting, military precedents were put before political counsels, and with the same results. The continued dropping of blood got upon Irish nerves. The executions were prolonged into what was regarded as the unnecessary destruction of a whole group of young idealists who, ten years hence, would in all probability have become justly trusted Irish leaders. A wave of reaction passed over Ireland, and the very men and women who had denounced the Sinn Feiners, joined their ranks, so that whereas that body had only constituted perhaps six per cent. of the population before the Dublin rising, they would then probably have carried a considerable number of the seats now held by Nationalists.

After an interval, a *rapprochement* was brought about between the two contending Irish parties, through the mediation of Mr. Lloyd George. He had succeeded, sorely against the wishes of their supporters, in inducing the Nationalist leaders to consent to the partition of Ireland by cutting off from it six of the Ulster Counties, including Tyrone and Fermanagh, which are, in the main, Catholic. A great sigh of relief went up from Great Britain at what was believed to be a settlement of the Irish question; but at the eleventh hour, through the opposition of the South of Ireland Unionists, Mr. Lloyd George's scheme was thrown over by the Coalition Government which, it has been understood, had

given him plenipotentiary powers. Since this unfortunate episode, the sore between the Nationalist and Ulster parties has remained open, and the situation has been aggravated by the recent statement of Mr. Lloyd George, now become Prime Minister, to the effect that Home Rule can be extended to any part of Ireland during the war, but only on condition that Ulster is not to be included under it against her will. Considering how Mr. Redmond and his party had been treated by Mr. Asquith's Government over Mr. Lloyd George's negotiations with them last autumn, after making concessions which well-nigh broke that party in two, is it to be wondered at that, in order to keep it together against the growing number of its enemies, open and unavowed, the Irish Nationalists should have gone into opposition against the Government? They, indeed, have challenged a resolution in favour of the prolongation of Parliament, apparently believing that the results of an immediate General Election in Ireland would strengthen rather than weaken their hands, especially if they could thus raise "No Partition of Ireland" as their rallying cry. But an overwhelming vote for the prolongation of Parliament for another seven months has been passed against them, and they are therefore left out in the cold.

Meantime, how will Ulster use the undoubted advantage she has gained by the Premier's guarantee that she is not to be included against her will in the Home Rule settlement of the Irish question? By insisting on standing aloof with six out of the nine Ulster Counties under her dominion? Or will Sir Edward Carson and her other leaders have imagination enough to see that they have now an opportunity such as they never had before of settling the Irish question once and for all by an act of generous concession?

"Sir Edward himself" (I here quote from my letter to *The Observer* of April 8th), "has said that it was not so much the principle of Home Rule to which he objected, as its administration under a Nationalist majority." If he is still of this opinion, why should he not adopt, and induce his followers to adopt, some such scheme as I have set forth in *The Times*? "Under that scheme the whole of Ulster would be administered by a Home Rule Government, in which the non-Nationalists would have that preponderance to which their numbers entitle them. But not only would the inclusion of the Catholic and largely Catholic Counties of the Province be a set-off against the comprehension under the Dublin Parliament of an equally large body of Protestants,* it would have two advantages to console them for their separation from their brethren. Their retention in Ulster would secure a stronger Nationalist representation in that Province. Moreover, their adhesion would better enable Ulster to carry a plebiscite by which hereafter she might consent to come under a common government of Ireland when she had satisfied herself that the Nationalists had

* It is somewhat remarkable that the figures for the Irish Census of 1911 show that there are about 256,000 Protestants of all denominations outside Ulster, as against 260,655 Roman Catholics in the counties of Cavan, Donegal, and Monaghan.

“governed the rest of the country not only fairly, but on sound business principles. Till such a consummation is reached, the inter-governmental relations of the two Home Rule bodies would have to be regulated by a Federal Council, which would deal with financial and other matters of common import to the whole of Ireland. Such a Council would act like the right-minded lawyers of a separated but not divorced couple, so guarding their interests and those of their children that, if they saw the advantage of a *rapprochement* between them later on, when mutual resentment had softened under the influence of time and maturer judgment, they might urge and obtain it.” Had the Sinn Fein rebellion not taken place, Ulster might perhaps have felt less reluctant at coming to such a decision. It is no doubt open for her to say that had the South of Ireland responded loyally to the call to arms, she would have been much more likely to fall in with such a scheme as the one suggested, and to have given it a fair trial. But let Ulstermen reflect that, after all, the gun-running which placed weapons in the hands of the Sinn Feiners began upon their shores, and that the failure of judgment on the part of the British military authorities already referred to was largely to blame for the setting back of the Nationalist feeling evoked by Mr. Redmond’s speech. Let them also reflect that the prosperity, as compared with the rest of Ireland upon which they pride themselves, is largely due to a commercial advantage Ulster possesses over the south, caused by the preservation of her linen trade when the cotton and woollen industries of the rest of Ireland were ruined by the jealousy of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Let them remember that, although James I. had promised the Irish Catholics the continuation of the rights in the property which they held under the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, he broke faith with them, and planted their own Protestant ancestors in all the fat holdings of Ulster, leaving the lean ones to the outcast Catholics. Again, when they denounce the Southerners for agrarian outrages, can they deny that their Hearts of Steel and Protestant Oak Boys were guilty of like excesses against bad landlords during the latter half of the eighteenth century, before, to their good fortune, they anticipated the rest of Ireland in obtaining a just Tenant Right?

The historical memory of the Irish Catholics is confessedly long. Does not that of the Ulster Protestants tend to become correspondingly short? Have they no memories of the wreathing of the green and orange flags at Dungannon, of the persecution of Presbyterians, and the part that they therefore took in the Rebellion of '98? Do they think that that very rebellion would have taken place had Grattan’s Parliament not been prevented from carrying Catholic Emancipation by the obstinacy of George III.?

That Home Rule would mean Rome Rule has become a cant phrase amongst anti-Home Rulers, but can it be denied that Catholic Ireland has through the years opposed Papal aggression? Did she not oppose her will to the Papal Bull which gave her to

England? Has she not, time out of mind, resisted Vatican influences against her? When the Pope banned the Parnell tribute, did not this tend to double the amount raised for the Irish Protestant leader? Who, but Isaac Butt, a Protestant, initiated the Home Rule movement? On the other hand, when the Irish Episcopal Church was disestablished, who threatened to lead an army of 200,000 Orangemen against the Government, and who expressed the desire on this same occasion to kick the Queen's crown into the Boyne? Why, two red-hot Ulstermen!

When Smith O'Brien, a southern Protestant, went into the field he was supported by Mitchel and Martin, the successors in spirit to the Ulster Presbyterian leaders in '98, McCracken, Sampson, Neilson, Monro, and Hope. Of the three founders of the nation, Dillon, Davis, and Duffy, Davis was a Protestant of Welsh descent, Dillon of Catholic-Norman descent, and Duffy an Ulster Catholic. Mr. Devlin is, it is stated, of Norman blood, and can it be said that Orangemen with the names of O'Kane and O'Flannagan are of the good old Protestant breed? No, you cannot predicate for certain of what stock an Irish leader on either side may be, from the time of Swift or O'Connell to that of Parnell. And to suggest that the present Irish National Party is a clerical party makes those who are behind the scenes smile. It has been stated that a great number of the Catholic priesthood have become Sinn Feiners. We beg leave to doubt this, though it may be that the Catholic priesthood has educational and other reasons for preferring the postponement of Home Rule. But why multiply obvious reasons against Home Rule meaning Rome Rule?

No doubt the memory of the Sinn Fein rebellion and the Hibernian agitation are too fresh in the memories of the Ulstermen to allow of their laying down their political arms just at present. Yet why should they not materialise the Provisional Government which they proposed to set up in Ireland when civil war threatened in the North? But with this difference. Let them take into it, as my scheme proposes, their Catholic fellow-countrymen, many of whom have supported the British Empire with their lives, and who have proved their political capacity both inside and outside the House of Commons. After all, they are largely of the same blood, and, where they are not, their forebears have lived, side by side, with growing intimacy.

Under an administration of this kind such economic schemes for Ireland's good as Lord Northcliffe recently advocated at the Irish Club, could be taken in hand with double effect. Ulstermen Protestant and Catholic alike, have already shown themselves more in sympathy with Sir Horace Plunkett's co-operative movement than the head of the Irish Technical and Agricultural Department. Their influence in its favour, and all other sound schemes for the development of Irish resources, would be greatly enhanced by a Home Rule Government of Ulster.*

* A remarkable article in *The National Weekly Review* of April 14th goes to prove very plainly that Ireland will never be pacified, even by the grant of Home Rule, unless she is allowed to possess equal financial opportunities with Great Britain, which she has, so far, never possessed.

One word more! The entry of America into the war as our Ally has rightly been regarded as making for peace between the Irish parties. It is understood that Irishmen, who have returned to this country from the United States, are already responding to the appeal to join the American colours. Are the Irish-American sympathisers with Sinn Fein doing likewise? If so, they should set the Irish Sinn Feiners thinking. In any case, the appearance of an Irish-American war contingent in Ireland, if contrivable, should have an excellent effect on Irish recruiting. But what would undoubtedly bring 100,000, if not 200,000 Irishmen into the ranks with the greatest certainty would be the acceptance by Ulster of the principle of Home Rule with such a strong share in its administration as is called for in the scheme, which, with tables showing the proportion of Protestants and Catholics in the Ulster counties, and the proportion of Catholic and Protestant war recruits, will be found in an appendix to this article.

ALFRED PERCEVAL GRAVES.

ULSTER HOME RULE.

1. That Ulster should have a separate Government outside that of the rest of Ireland. At the same time that it should send representatives to the British Parliament in the same numbers as those proposed under the Government of Ireland Act, *i.e.*, eleven Members of Parliament for the House of Commons of the United Kingdom.

2. That there should be both an Ulster House of Commons and an Ulster Senate, the House of Commons to consist of either the fifty-nine representatives of Ulster counties and boroughs proposed under the Government of Ireland Act, or if that be deemed insufficient, double that number, *i.e.*, 118 members—and also an Ulster Senate consisting of fourteen members as proposed by the Government of Ireland Act, or twice that number, *i.e.*, twenty-eight.

3. That elections both to the House of Commons and Senate should be made upon the proportion of Nationalists and non-Nationalists to the total population of the province. Roughly speaking, this will work out at nine non-Nationalists to seven Nationalists. For the time being, each constituency should be accepted as National or non-National where represented by a single member: where represented by two members previous agreement should be arrived at for a division of the representation between Nationalists and non-Nationalists: in constituencies represented by three or four members previous agreement should be arrived at for the representation of a minority candidate or minority candidates. But

(a) Two National or non-National candidates should be allowed to stand for any single constituency appropriated to either party.

(b) Nationalists should be allowed to vote for non-Nationalists in a non-National constituency and *vice versa*.

4. The members of the Ulster Government should be nominated from the elected members of Parliament and of the Senate, on the same plan

as that contained in the 4th section of the Government of Ireland Act it being understood that during the war, or for any period after it that may be deemed advisable, the same proportion of National and non-National representatives upon that Government as is provided for in the elections to the House of Commons and Senate shall be maintained. This would mean that Ulster would be governed by a coalition Ministry whose head would be a non-Nationalist.

IRISH GOVERNMENT'S JOINT BOARD.

5. A Session of the Ulster Irish Parliament should be held at least once in every year in Belfast, and such session or sessions of that Parliament should, as far as possible, be held simultaneously with the sitting or sittings of the other Irish Parliament, but in preparation for or as a result of discussions in the two Parliaments upon questions affecting both of them, a Joint Board representing the two Governments should be set up, who would meet in Dublin or Belfast as occasions required to consider questions of an inter-Governmental character.

6. For the purposes of the financial provisions of the proposed Government of Ulster Act, that province should be represented upon the Joint Exchequer Board described under Section 22 of the Government of Ireland Act.

8. Questions relating to money bills, disagreement between the two Ulster Houses of Parliament, and the privileges and qualifications of their members should be determined on the same lines as those referred to in Sections 10, 11, and 12 of the Government of Ireland Act.

9. All appointments of a minor character shall be given after open competitive examinations, conducted by the Civil Service Commissioners for Ireland; all administrative appointments shall be made by a Special Board of Appointments.

10. That the above system of Government be maintained or discontinued, after a period of ten, fifteen, or twenty years, by the vote of the majority of the electors of the province of Ulster.

PROPORTION OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN THE PROVINCE OF ULSTER COUNTY BY COUNTY.

	R. Caths.	Per cent.	Pro. Epis.	Presb.	Meth.	Others
Antrim ...	39,751	(20'50)	42,118	97,198	3,813	10,98
Armagh...	54,526	(45'33)	39,037	18,969	5,056	2,70
Belfast ...	93,243	(24'10)	118,173	130,575	23,782	21,17
Cavan ...	74,271	(81'46)	12,952	2,843	781	32
Donegal ...	133,021	(78'93)	18,020	15,016	1,698	78
Down ...	64,485	(31'56)	47,063	77,583	4,461	10,71
Fermanagh ...	34,740	(56'18)	21,123	1,264	4,028	68
Londonderry ...	41,478	(41'54)	20,028	34,236	756	3,34
L. City ...	22,923	(56'21)	7,148	8,700	1,182	82
Monaghan ...	53,363	(74'68)	8,725	8,512	395	46
Tyrone ...	79,015	(55'39)	32,386	26,514	2,864	1,88
	690,816		366,773	421,410	48,816	53,88

890,880

This roughly gives a balance of 200,064 Protestants over the Catholics in the province of Ulster.

RECRUITS AND RESERVISTS—FROM OUTBREAK OF WAR TO
APRIL 13TH, 1916.

	R. Catholics.		Protestants.		
Ulster	13,878	...	37,886	...	51,764
Leinster...	10,229	...	1,339	...	11,568
Connaught	3,579	...	341	...	3,920
Munster	14,113	...	936	...	15,049
Dublin City (including 1,111 Dublin Met. Police whose religious denom. has not been ascertained, but of whom 60 per cent. are counted as Catholics and 40 per cent. as Pro- testants	13,085	...	3,338	...	17,534
	54,884		43,840		99,835
Total Catholics out of 99,835 ...	...	...	...	...	55,549
Total Protestants out of 99,835 ...	...	...	...	...	44,286

THE BRITISH REVOLUTION.

“ A great empire and little minds go ill together.”—*Edmund Burke.*

THE new Prime Minister's experiments on the British Constitution have now been tested in the fiery crucible of war for over three months—a lapse of time sufficiently long to justify us in some attempt to take stock. How goes, then, this latest British Revolution?

For revolution of a kind it certainly was. Not for a hundred years has any British Prime Minister made such trenchant and drastic use of the powers left to him as legate of the old Crown authority; never before has any “ First Lord ” swept the besom so freely over our most sacred political conventions. It is not in the least surprising that the old Parliamentarians still reel under the shock of that earthquake, or that they view this seismic Minister with a grave and austere suspicion.

For just recall the new precedents in British rule established by Mr. Lloyd George within the period of a few days after his accession to power. For the first time in modern history we saw a British Prime Minister, while still remaining a Commoner, decline to lead the British House of Commons. For the first time we saw him exclude from the Cabinet those great Secretaries of State—for War, for Admiralty, for Foreign, and for Home Affairs—who, but a few years ago, had precedence of the Prime Minister himself. For the first time we saw the head of a new Ministry create new Ministers with a prodigal hand, choosing them freely from outside the ranks of Parliament and of the trained politicians, and, in several cases, serenely contemplating their permanent detachment from Parliament. Several are still outside.

But this was only the beginning. For then we saw the same raiders of our sanctuaries advance to lay ruthless hands on the Ark of the Covenant itself. Not since Korah and his friends stood up to Moses has there been anything so breathlessly bold as Mr. Lloyd George's attack on the British Cabinet system. That secret Venetian Council, sitting in the inner shrine of Downing Street, seemed firmly enough protected by its cloak of darkness and its armour of privacy. The old Cabinet, as we may now call it, had gradually grown in numbers until it had become in effect a Third Chamber in our many-chambered political system. Its only essential difference from the other was that it was shielded from the public by the privilege of the Privy Councillor's oath, and that the old secrecy of Westminster had been transferred to Downing Street. With one stroke, Mr. Lloyd George destroyed that old Cabinet, tore down its padded walls, scattered all its mummery of secrecy and silence, and created in its place a small, modernised governing committee, with records and secretaries. He had the amazing audacity, in short, to introduce into the Central Council of Empire some approach to that elementary business procedure which has for half a century been considered essential to the affairs of the smallest rural district council or the most insignificant industrial corporation in these islands.

It is scarcely surprising that that considerable number of people who identified the British Cabinet system with liberty, and Parliamentary supremacy with democracy, should have gasped at the doings of this fearless iconoclast, and, remembering his record, should have whispered, in all the holes and corners beyond the reach of his sword-arm, dark accusations of treachery and betrayal.

And yet, now that those heats of personal feeling are cooled, and we can look at these proceedings in the calmer light of accomplished facts, there was surely no mean case for some such changes in our ways of conducting our national affairs.

Reflect on the methods of those old Cabinets formed in the long period of peace but continued without essential change through the first two years of the great war. They kept no minutes; they preserved no collective record of their vital and historic decisions. The real difficulty, indeed, was often to know what those actual decisions were. The astonishing proceedings which leaped to light at the time of the Curragh crisis revealed to the world that a Cabinet decision could actually be varied after its meeting by the Ministers affected. Such things must, indeed, inevitably happen, as every administrator knows, in every Committee where no minutes are kept and no proceedings recorded.

It was high time that these methods of governing a great Empire should come to an end. They may have been well suited to the smaller communities and slower pulse of the Middle Ages; they may have been even fairly tolerable in the shielded oligarchic governments of the eighteenth century. In modern democratic Europe, they formed a perilous survival. In war time they were even a dangerous handicap. Looking back, we begin to realise now the influence of such methods on British policy before the war, both at home and abroad. We can detect in such retrospect the source and origin of that perplexing vagueness of policy—that thickening mist of hazy purposes and half-hearted indecisions—that evasive procrastination which characterised our national proceedings over the Ulster crisis.

The Cabinet had become a mausoleum of embarrassed causes. People waited outside that closed door for decisions that never came. Acute questions disappeared behind that arras, and were lost in silence. That old British Delphi was still dark and mysterious; but the voice of the oracle had fallen husky or even dumb.

It has been too long our habit as Englishmen to be proud of such anomalies and curiosities in our Constitution. We have boasted of them to foreigners; we have built up a literature about them; we have founded schools at our Universities for the study of them. We have forgotten that we are no longer surrounded by humble students and admirers. There are those not far away whose envy breeds contempt, and whose contempt leaps quickly to fierce assault. For it is fated that those who have great possessions must either put their houses in order or be ready to hand them over to the emulous world.

War is a grim teacher. But surely it is also a kindly mentor if it has taught us in time that the British Empire of the twentieth century is, after all, not a museum of dead forms and shadowy

conventions, but a very living organism. We have looked too much to our past. The issue of this struggle is whether we can face the future and adapt ourselves to its needs—whether we can rise to our high position as inheritors of so great a trust. The test is whether we can really organise an efficient machine of government for four hundred million living human beings scattered so widely over the inhabited globe.

In one obvious step, at least, Mr. Lloyd George put a swift end to all delay. He instantly summoned to the heart of Empire, as equal assessors in council for war and peace, representatives of all those Dominions who have spared neither blood nor treasure in this great war. There he laid the corner-stone of what may prove to be a great edifice; and he did it without one murmur of dissent from the smallest body of opinion throughout the United Kingdom. He took occasion by the hand; and he has already earned, in the closer war unity of the Empire, the reward of a bold deed.

But not even this step was so vital as the foundation of that stronger central Executive, the new War Council. Here he provided precisely what was wanted for the swifter working out of this vast, far-flung struggle—a machine prompt in counsel and swift in decision, wholly concentrated on the war, sitting from day to day, small, persistent, untiring.

Here was a momentous step in change. In this England of ours survivals last a long time. That old Cabinet system might have gone on for another generation, with all its shrouded indecisions and veiled delays. Peace would have prolonged it; even war might not have brought it to an end. For ours is a country of protected errors; and it is not our habit to change our institutions until we are absolutely compelled by fiery necessity.

We are not alone in that respect. War has been, from the beginning of time, the great maker of revolutions, the great challenger of governments. The Romans of the ancient Republic were, equally with ourselves, devoted to the idea and tradition of free government. With them, as with us, it was war that taught them the need, now and again, of a closer grip and quicker grasp in the task of government. Just as hurricanes find out the weak places in ships, so wars with states. All the world knows with what fierce logic the Romans acted on that discovery, and how, in the stress of their great struggles for existence, they voluntarily submitted to a revival of arbitrary rule. That Roman dictatorship, as every schoolboy knows, began and ended with war; but while war lasted it was a decisive, concentrated, and undisputed authority.

Before the extreme crisis of this winter arose, it had already become evident to most practical men that, if we were to prevail on the field of battle, some such concentration of power was required in modern Britain as in ancient Rome. Already, a year ago, the old Cabinet had handed over the day-to-day war decisions to the War Council—a body which, early in the war, evolved from the peace-time Imperial Defence Committee. It is recorded, in the first Report of the Dardanelles Commission, which is practically a survey of our earlier methods of war administration, that the old

Cabinet, even in 1915, often did not know what war measures were being taken, and that Members of the Cabinet often expressed a desire not to know. Deprived of real power, they instinctively wished to avoid the responsibility of knowledge.

But it is, unhappily, clear, from the same record, that the War Council itself had taken over some of the habits of the old Cabinet. Members of the War Council, for instance, were sometimes ignorant of their own decisions as a collective body. We can perceive in that survey the same tendency to vagueness in council, the same haziness as to authority, the same lack of precision either in definition of powers, or record of policy. It was not that any of the individual Members of that old War Council failed in their devotion to duty or country. To say that is to defame the dead and slander the living. If anything, they were all overburdened. The fault was that the system itself was leaky and out-worn—that the new wine of war was being fermented in the old, musty, crusty bottles of peace.

It was at this point, when that system had become quite intolerable, that Mr. Lloyd George definitely raised the standard of revolt. He did not revolt until he had become deeply conscious of the appalling perils that threatened unless there were some change in the method of conducting the war. Even then his protest was not against any man, but against a system. He obeyed a call, indeed, higher than personal loyalty, the call of his country in danger. Never at any moment in that crisis did he pursue a personal end; always, at every hour of those events—as will appear when the full story is known—Mr. Lloyd George was willing to efface himself to save the Empire. But it was fated, from the beginning of the crisis, that the man who had thrown down the challenge should also take it up. It was right and proper that he who condemned the old order should shoulder the task of building up the new.

Looking back on that crisis now, we can all perceive above the dust and smoke of the personal controversy, that there was a real and grave constitutional issue involved. Mr. Asquith stood for the supremacy of Parliament and of the Cabinet as the Committee of Parliament in time of war as of peace. Mr. Lloyd George stood for a supreme war executive, detached from Parliament in its daily decisions, and looking to Parliament for support rather than control. There was a moment when Mr. Lloyd George played with the idea of Parliamentary Commissions, but on discovering how greatly the French Executive had been hampered by their Executive in their daily work, he put aside the idea and never returned to it. The swiftness of decision necessary to war seemed to him to make impossible this day-to-day dependence on Parliament.

Mr. Asquith, indeed, had already been driven in the same direction by the irresistible logic of events; and certainly he cannot be said to have taken the Commons deeply into his councils between 1914 and 1916. But all through that time he halted between two alternatives. Ever to the roots of his being a Parliamentarian—perhaps the ablest Parliamentarian in British history—Mr. Asquith

always craved after the old dependence on Parliament. "I do not like the word 'dictatorship'" was the key-phrase that dropped from him in the heart of the crisis—a phrase that represented his sincerest convictions—one of those phrases that are a flashlight to whole pages of history. For it was the last cry of the old peace traditions against the new machinery of war.

It was not in Mr. Asquith's nature to effect the concentration of authority required. He could not treat even the old Cabinet with permanent indifference—even after he had set up the War Council. Thus he gravitated between several authorities; and, in effect, decision was dissipated. It was not by a mere chance that, at the height of the Gallipoli crisis, Mr. Asquith ceased to consult the War Council. His own defence of that action, in the House of Commons, was highly significant. It was that though the War Council was not summoned during those fatal two months, the Cabinet was sitting often. Precisely. But the old Cabinet had already ceased to be the central pivot of war-control. The members of that Cabinet did not, as we have seen, always even know the whole facts about Gallipoli. But ignorance of facts is a fatal ban to efficient governance. No wonder, therefore, that the situation on that fatal peninsula drifted, rudderless and uncaptured, a mere derelict before the storm of war. Power had perished from division. This policy of hesitating between two authorities was, perhaps of all methods, the most fatal.

Mr. Lloyd George did not hesitate. He definitely abolished the old Cabinet. He reduced the number of the War Council, and put it in the place of the Cabinet. He made the new Council accessible and continuous. He made the Presidency his chief function of Premiership. Finally, to connect the Council with the Departments, he founded a new secretariat, which is itself the germ of a new Department—the Department of the Prime Minister.

By undertaking this Chairmanship and handing the Leadership of the Commons to Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Lloyd George took a great step towards changing the nature of the British Premiership. He diverted it from the primary task of controlling Parliament to the task of controlling the Executive. He brought our Premiership, curiously enough, nearer both in form and substance to the chief magistracy of our latest Ally—the United States of America. He introduced into British politics the American distinction between the executive and the legislative power, and for the moment he gave here, as in America, the priority to the Executive—a vital change, which may yet have far-reaching effects in peace as in war.

Something certainly had to be done to save the British Premiership. It had for many years been glaringly obvious to every student of British affairs that some change must take place in the functions of the Prime Minister. The burden of the Premiership—"Atlantean, immense"—had for long become too great to be borne by any single pair of human shoulders. Even as far back as the 'forties, Sir Robert Peel had been glad to lay down the heavy task when still in his prime. The accident of Mr. Gladstone's

unique physical vigour* had obscured the reality, and had only added to the weight of the post for his successors. Either the work was not done, or the worker was undone. Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman sank under it. Mr. Asquith was, by common consent of his colleagues, usually relieved from leading the House of Commons at night during times of pressure. The war brought this tendency to a climax. The one thing that is written most clearly in the Report of the Dardanelles Commission is the impossibility that one man should effectively assert such wide and far-stretching control—should combine the management of a body like the War Council with the Leadership of the Commons and the Chairmanship of the Cabinet. The thing was beyond human power. There had to be some division of function.

Thus the war had only brought this matter of the Premiership to a point of extreme and critical urgency. Even apart from the war, some relief was imperative; and the war only made inevitable what was already desirable.

Of course, there were at first sundry jars and shakings in Mr. Lloyd George's new machinery. Deprived of the old links of consultation, the great Departments of War and Peace seemed, during the first weeks after the change, likely to fall apart. There were alarming symptoms of that tendency to open wrangling and public disputation between great Ministers which has been so often the scandal of foreign Governments. But, as the weeks passed, the new machinery gradually began to work more smoothly and easily. The Prime Minister, now freed from Parliamentary cares, was able to give more time and attention, not only to the war, but also to the Departments. He was able to renew that vital function of Premiership, too much crowded out in recent years, the day-to-day supervision of the whole work of administration. During his best time in Egypt, Lord Cromer interviewed all his Ministers himself every day. A Prime Minister, at the centre of Empire, cannot do so much. But he can anticipate and prevent many crises of administration by personal care and control.

But however these changes may work out in days of peace—and it is quite clear that the new Cabinet will need much readjustment for that purpose—who can doubt that the new concentration of power has already brought a new quickening to the great task of war? Who, looking round the battlefields of the war, can deny that a new force and driving-power is now behind our scattered legions?

Bagdad; the retreat of the Germans on the Somme; the Arras attack; the Russian Revolution; the American entrance to the quarrel; east and west, in both hemispheres and in all Continents—both on the field of battle and in diplomacy—the new order has given a new vigour and impulse to the conduct of affairs. The ruling men may be no better; but the method of ruling is better adapted to war. This revolution is already justified of its children.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the country, intent on the war and the war alone, has smiled on the new Government.

* I was once informed by one of Mr. Gladstone's doctors that at eighty years of age his pulse had the vigour of a child's.

It is in the House of Commons that the storms have come.

First, there was the deep offence of the Prime Minister's detachment, interpreted by many members as a calculated slur on Parliament—a deliberate blow to its privileges. Nor did Mr. Lloyd George attempt to soothe those injured feelings. With a certain rough audacity, he instantly proceeded to impose on the House of Commons the new will of the War Council. He deliberately reversed a decision of the old Cabinet in regard to the Indian Cotton duties, boldly placing the claims of India before the claims of Lancashire. He announced an Irish policy, which in no essential way differed from Mr. Asquith's or that of all British parties—but he announced it bluntly and plainly; and the Irish, long accustomed to the soothing medicine of Mr. Asquith's Parliamentary phrases, incontinently left the House. It looked for a week as if the new Government might fall on the threshold of its career. But Mr. Asquith, rising above the fret and jar of the Lobbies, with his broad wisdom and high generosity which makes him greater than his fame, swung the offended Commons back into sullen acquiescence. Already, with a larger vision than his friends, Mr. Asquith had perceived his own appointed part in the new machine of War-Government—the patriotic guidance of the House of Commons.

Adjusting himself to the new danger with his swift habit of intuition, Mr. Lloyd George has already met the revolt of the House of Commons half-way. He has conceded a great measure of agricultural reform. He has accepted the findings of the Speaker's Conference as the basis of Franchise Reform. Thereby he has taken a long step towards compensating the House for the loss of executive control. By that one act, he has handed over the initiative in a great sphere of legislation to the House of Commons, and there are signs that he will follow by handing over to Parliament other great legislative tasks, such as the Reform of the House of Lords, and the final settlement of the Irish question. Once occupied in these affairs, the House of Commons will grow more and more inclined to forgive the increased executive power of the War Council. Freed from what had become the legislative tyranny of the old Cabinets, it will be less suspicious of the administrative dictatorship of the new.

So much for this great and daring readjustment of function between the Cabinet and Parliament at home in these islands. What of that other great experiment, almost equally revolutionary—the Imperial War Cabinet, already sitting in Whitehall as adviser and assessor to the central war authority?

Great schemes and mighty purposes are already fermenting round this new body, where the Premiers of Empire share the responsibilities of Imperial power. Great questions loom up, dimly shaped, like the forms of the Brocken, against the swirling mists of the stormy dawn.

Perhaps we have here the beginnings of a permanent Advisory Council, which will ever after take its share in the responsibilities of peace and war. It is a fair and just claim for those daughter-

states who have shared with their mother the anguish and glory of the present war. The men who stormed the Vimy Ridge have a right to a say in our councils. If they are to shed their blood in another war, they must have a word in the policy that brings it about. So far, we can all go together, and the Dominions will be pushing at an open door.

The danger will come if, in return for this concession, we have a new claim of the Mother State to an increased control of her daughters. This claim is already taking many forms—a new Imperial Chamber, a Council of States, a concentration of naval and military control. Whatever the proposal may be, we enter the danger zone. Our history warns us that we ask for trouble from the moment that we attempt to govern our Dominions from overseas. The one golden thread for us to hold is that we must never withdraw or diminish this gift of self-control which is the special glory and safeguard of the modern British Empire.

For remember that we have had two Empires. It was precisely some such dream as this that lost us our first. Deceived by the readiness of the old American Colonies to help us in our war with France over Canada, we proceeded after the war to convert their war contributions into war taxes. It seemed a small thing and a just thing. It was popular in England at the time. But the result was that the American Colonies became the United States.

Unless we desire to see that history repeated, we must beware in the twentieth century of repeating the mistake of the Boston Tea Tax.

That gallant statesman and soldier, General Smuts, has done well to remind us early and courteously of such a danger. For it is not upon taxes or regulations that this great fraternity of Commonwealths has been built up. It is upon the principles which were laid down for all time by Edmund Burke in those great speeches with which, while one Empire was being lost by foolish men, he laid down the laws of another for wiser generations :—

“ My hold of the Colonies is in the close affection which grows from common homes, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron.”*

“ As strong as links of iron,” yes. So they have proved, and are proving even in regard to America herself, in these iron days—far stronger than those bonds of parchment which the American Revolution tore asunder.

No new control—no new writ of Empire—will strengthen those bonds. It may break them :—

“ Let the Colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with firm government ; they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven would be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another ; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation ; the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution.”

* Speech on Conciliation with America, 1775.

Nearly a century and a-half have passed since Burke uttered these clarion words to a deaf House of Commons. But every year has added to the evidence that sustains them, and to-day, at this crisis of Empire, no modern writer can add anything to their golden truth.

No; it is not in the Empire, in those outposts of liberty which Great Britain has flung out so prodigally through all the Seven Seas, that the bounds of freedom require to be extended. It is at home. Here, within our own shores, our children-states can teach us many lessons. They can teach us to be "one people yet," instead of a house divided against itself. They can tell us that to extend freedom, whether in Ireland or in England, whether to men or to women, is in the end the only way to strengthen a nation. They can warn us that unless Great Britain is to share the fate of that brilliant old Kingdom of Poland, there must be no Vetos, whether of Kings or Nobles, on the will of the majority. In that way they will, with filial repayment of old debts, guide us along the road of strong, resolute, decisive democracy. That will be the greater British Revolution born of blood and tears in the World War.

HAROLD SPENDER.

PARLIAMENT DURING THE WAR.

THE idea that in a time of war Parliament is useless, if not a hindrance to the nation in the conduct of affairs, has not been justified by experience during the present great conflict. On the contrary, it has been found impossible to dispense with Parliament even for such intervals as are usual in times of peace. The session of 1914 continued until September 18th. Then there was a recess of seven weeks only, until November 11th, when the session of 1914-15 commenced, which lasted till January 27th, 1916, and that of 1916 from February 15th till December 22nd. Not only have the sittings been almost continuous, but business of high importance has been transacted with the utmost celerity. Great measures have sometimes been passed through the House of Commons in a single day, and, if the provisions have been so complicated that delay necessarily occurred, this was never caused by obstruction or unwillingness of the House to undertake prolonged or continuous sittings. No complaint has been made by any of the successive Governments of the refusal of facilities. On all the important occasions a unanimity and enthusiasm were exhibited which adequately represented the popular opinion, while in connection with the financial proposals or other subjects on which the same measure of agreement did not exist, or examination was invited, there was never any hesitation in expressing criticism. There has been all the time no servility to the Government, which has often been obliged to abandon measures and modify not only its plans but even its own constitution in deference to opinions which obviously carried with them the support of the country. In face of this experience it is not too much to say that the indispensability of Parliament has been demonstrated, and that the loose and vague attacks upon it are mischievous and unjustifiable.

While such continuous sittings have been necessary, it is impossible to deny that conditions existed in many respects which have made it exceedingly difficult for useful work to be turned out. On the pretext of the war, restrictions were accepted with regard to finance and the conduct of proceedings, which are far more stringent than it is possible to justify from the necessities of the situation, and which make it difficult, if not impossible, for the Assembly to discharge its high functions. At the commencement of each session, a Standing Order was adopted which prevented the introduction of bills or resolutions by the private member, thus sweeping away his most valuable privilege. The pretext for this was the supposition that during the continuance of the war conditions favourable to the enactment of wise legislation would not exist. Circumstances have, however, tended to cast a great deal of doubt on this hasty judgment. The chief political effect of the war has been to allay party strife, and no condition could contribute more than this to the enactment of healthy legislation in the general interest of the community. Again, it has been found that some questions of the greatest importance could not be put aside even for the war. Amongst these are enfranchisement and

registration, which it was finally found could only be dealt with by reverting to the method of a strong Parliamentary Committee. In other respects also the war conditions are gradually being recognised as favourable rather than otherwise to the solution of embarrassing questions. The nation finds itself compelled to look at realities and to avoid exaggeration; its thought has been quickened, and the necessity of grappling with urgent matters, such as the Drink Traffic, has been brought home in a way that would have been impossible in times of peace. It may be said that the Government is capable of grappling with such matters. This idea, however, cannot appeal to a people, which has been taught for centuries that good legislation must spring from the representatives of the people, and all experience confirms the belief that the best assistance which can be given to Ministers in devising legislation is in the bills or resolutions which have been put forward by private members.

Information has been refused on subjects which lie far beyond the well-defined limits of what might be useful to the enemy, and a great many replies have not been complete or reliable. No doubt there has been some tendency to abuse the privilege of interrogating Ministers. Too many questions appear on the Order Paper. On one occasion the number exceeded three hundred, and it has been quite customary for over 150 to be asked at the opening of one sitting. There is now a consensus of opinion that no member should give notice of more than two or three questions on one day, instead of the eight which the rules permit, and it would be no abridgment of privilege if even a narrower limit were enforced, seeing that at the last moment a question can be asked without notice with the permission of the Speaker, or supplementary to some point that has been raised. It should therefore be easy to devise reform without injury to so valuable a right.

Steps have been taken in other directions which have the effect of rendering the debates uninteresting and ineffective. The principle of these is to arrange that such discussions as are permitted shall take place on the question of the adjournment, or by permission of the Speaker or Chairman of Committees in connection with some financial proposal to which they are scarcely relevant, the object being to avoid a definite expression of opinion from the Ministry or by the House, so that no sanction should be given to any proposition of which the Government did not approve. This procedure has been carried to absurd lengths, and has done much to deprive Parliament of its chief function of guiding the Executive and taking its proper place as the legislative and administrative authority of the Realm. The traditional powers of the House have not been asserted as they would be in the time of peace, and this restraint has also been carried much farther than is necessary. Divisions have not been taken on matters of importance, with the effect that the public have been misled as to the opinion of Parliament.

Many of the old prescriptive rights have been seized by the Executive. Thus the rule that while the House

is sitting it should be the first to receive information as to new proceedings has been constantly infringed by various departments circulating announcements to the Press. Advantage has been taken of the Defence of the Realm Acts to carry out legislative and administrative changes, which, if not outside the scope of these measures, were not intended to be covered by them, and many doubtful precedents and rulings have been accepted from the chair which would have been resisted in normal circumstances. Perhaps the most striking illustration is the complete manner in which Members are deprived of the privilege of introducing motions for which they have won precedence in the ballot on going into Committee of Supply. This was one of their best established rights, resting upon the ancient privilege of bringing forward a grievance before supply was granted. Its claims are still recognised by the formal ballot for position, which takes place early in every Session, but now the Member who succeeds is not called upon to open the debate, his place being usurped by a Minister, who explains, in considerable detail, estimates which are already printed and circulated. Two hundred and twenty-five Members united in an unavailing protest to the late Prime Minister on this point a few years ago. If further evidence be required that encroachments on Parliamentary privileges are supported, if not indeed devised, by Ministers, it was afforded, on October 31st, 1916, when Lord Robert Cecil used these words: "We must carry on the Government of the country, badly I agree . . . and we cannot "share that responsibility with the House of Commons." When subsequently this statement was brought to the notice of Mr. Asquith, he replied: "I do not repudiate it in the least." Such a policy goes a long way to explain the slight hold which the late Coalition Government had on the support of Parliament, and it is satisfactory to gather from some words already used by the new Prime Minister that greater deference to the House will be observed in the future. Committees and Royal Commissions, vague alike in their constitution, the references made to them and in their procedure, have been appointed by the Cabinet, and used as a substitute for the well-defined and historic Committees or Commissions set up by, and reporting to, Parliament. The proceedings of most of these bodies have been secret, their evidence has not been printed or published, and their reports, where they have made any, have been of small public utility. Thus a vast extension has been given to that unconstitutional procedure of extra Parliamentary Committees which the legislature always regards with so much jealousy.

In the formation of the present Government further inroads have been made on ancient and well-defined prerogatives. Men have been appointed as Ministers of the Crown who have not had any previous Parliamentary experience. The Prime Minister is no longer the Leader in either House. The Cabinet has ceased to exist. The heads of many of the chief Departments are no longer in Parliament, and it appears a strange experiment to create a War Council without any of the Secretaries of State. These vast constitutional changes, so hastily adopted, are disrupting the smooth working of Parliamen-

tary procedure in many directions, the most obvious result so far being the ruinous growth of national expenditure and the destruction of the last possibility of its control, caused by the absence from the House of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury.

It must not be supposed that all the restrictions have arisen during the period of the war. Many of them are the result of tendencies which have gradually developed during the last half-century. While the House of Commons is always regarded as the Mother of Parliaments, and the great home of the privileges which it is the aim of less-favoured assemblies to secure, sufficient care has not been taken to preserve its rights. Although the House has existed for centuries with great powers, owing to the ancient limitations of the franchise, it only represented a small minority of the people, and it was not until thirty years ago that it began to attempt to fulfil really democratic functions. The inroad of new forces in 1885 has not been as successfully assimilated as in modern assemblies. While the extension of the suffrage led to a strict organisation of parties, to a great development of the powers of Departments of Government, and, above all, to a vast increase in the size of the administration, no corresponding attempt was made to organise Parliament to grapple with the new conditions. The ancient tradition of its independence has been sensibly weakened. This has become particularly apparent amongst the supporters of the Government, which must always be the majority of the House. Instead of this great body standing aloof, not in any spirit of unfriendliness to the Government, but so that it may insist upon the redemption of pledges that have been given through it to the nation as the price of office, it has gradually sacrificed its control, regarding it as its duty to support even when pledges are abandoned or indefinitely postponed. No doubt the difficulties in the way of this party organising itself are enhanced by the formation of a Government, of which its Leader becomes Prime Minister, and many of its most distinguished members join the Administration. Nevertheless, its first duty should be to elect a chairman as a substitute for the member who has become a Minister of the Crown, and to reform itself as a party on independent lines, thus following the course adopted by the Liberal Party when the present Government came into office. In this way it could give far more powerful support and guidance to the Administration than in the disorganised condition into which it must otherwise sink. To some extent, the party led by the Leader of the Opposition also suffers from a too ready disposition to support the Government, and the whole question of the relation of parties to the House requires consideration.

The main business of the House of Commons is taxation and finance. In days gone by it was by formulating its claim to the uncontrolled management of the national resources that it humbled kings and built up its proud position as the sovereign assembly. Yet by a series of Standing Orders, assented to some ten or twenty years ago, and culminating in what is known as the automatic closure, it has, in effect, yielded this fundamental right to the Executive. It was, therefore, but a step in

time of war to hand over uncontrolled expenditure, now amounting to seven millions a day, to departments which acknowledge their inability to restrain, in many directions, extravagance of the wildest character. It would extend the limits of this article too much to enumerate in any detail the many illustrations of waste which the conduct of the war affords. Readers, however, may recall the incidents which have been noticed by the Controller and Auditor-General, the unnecessarily high price fixed for rations, the wasteful scale on which food was supplied, the high prices paid for horses, clothing, munitions, food, and equipment, to many of which attention was drawn by scandals in the courts, the double salaries paid to Members of Parliament and officers over age who were recalled to the colours, and generally the unbusiness-like arrangement under which the contracting for supplies has been carried out. Perhaps the most flagrant example of the needless suppression of information is the withholding of accounts showing the results of the working of the railways under the Government. A statement has been made that this has been found to be satisfactory and economical, and since the commencement of this year the experiment has been made of increasing passenger fares by 50 per cent. It is impossible to protest too strongly against such a step being taken without the financial justification for it being submitted to Parliament. No control by the Treasury, or of any one department over another, can take the place of the efficient discharge of its duties by the House of Commons, with full power to enquire into every scandal. With a little ingenuity this could have been maintained without undue publicity, or placing the slightest check upon the speed and efficiency with which warlike operations must be conducted, and thus the only justification which is offered for the restriction of Parliamentary rights would have been removed. With the vast totals to which expenditure has reached it should be plain that there is no greater threat to the success of the Allies than waste of the resources of Great Britain. This country is the banker for all the belligerents who are fighting against the Central Powers, and its outlay has swollen to a figure the dimensions of which are the principal menace to the continuation of the campaign. It is, therefore, not possible to exaggerate the importance of some efficient restraint being placed on the national outlay, and this can only be effected by restoring those fundamental rights of Parliament which have fallen into desuetude.

There is one important respect in which the House of Commons, during the war, has escaped humiliations unhesitatingly imposed upon its predecessors: there has been practically no closure. Not only has there been no appeal to this oppressive limitation on discussion which did so much to lower its dignity, but there has not been the slightest necessity for it. In this respect the procedure of the war time has confirmed that of the ten preceding years. Fair treatment and appeals by the various leaders to the good sense of the House have proved perfectly efficacious in the furtherance of business and in restricting debate within reasonable limits. It may be hoped that this experience will gradually lead to the abrogation of many of the Standing Orders which were too hastily

adopted during the struggles on the Home Rule question. In one celebrated instance, Standing Order No. 18, dealing with order, was never completed, the debate having been broken off during its consideration, and the ferocious procedure which it contemplated has never been required. This lesson, with the happy experience of recent years, should be enough to teach that efficient control may be secured without resort to violence.

The House of Commons has some reason to complain of the way it has been treated by the Press. Although for many years the widest publicity has been given to its proceedings, and it has done everything in its power to increase the comfort and facilities of the representatives of newspapers, its hospitality in this direction has not been very well required. Familiarity appears to have bred contempt. Not only have the reports been greatly abbreviated, but a system has gradually been established of giving to the public quite imaginative descriptions of what takes place. This distortion of fact is usually attained by the arts of suppression and exaggeration. Business which pressmen do not consider good copy is often altogether omitted from their reports, whereas some of the statements of Ministers, and personal questions which, from the Parliamentary point of view, are quite unimportant, are exaggerated to the most grotesque dimensions. Speculative gossip as to what individuals or groups of Members are doing, or even thinking of doing, is circulated. Yet while, on the one hand, the interests of the public require a fair and correct report, vast injury is done by the anticipation, however ingenious, of decisions which have not been arrived at. Like other workmen, Members should be allowed to complete their task before judgment is pronounced upon it, and under existing conditions it is exceedingly difficult for them to obtain even this moderate measure of justice in their own House. When the official report was established, the chief reform effected was to secure a fair representation of all that took place in order to put Members on a level with Ministers whose long speeches are a perpetual trial to the House. At bottom, the public are most interested in the efforts of well-informed private Members to expose abuses and alleviate the burdens which the administration often too easily imposes. At all times onerous, this work is now carried out against difficulties constantly increasing, and which are caused, in no slight degree, by the reports often almost confined to official utterances which the Press furnishes as an account of Parliamentary proceedings. This evil appears to have developed since the issue of the official report, although one might suppose that that step would have tended rather to remove it.

The chief cause of any deterioration of Parliamentary efficiency is the growth in the size of the Administration. However, it may be temporarily concealed or mitigated by the desirability of rendering support for a particular purpose, the natural relation of the assembly to the Government must be one of interrogation, suspicion, and restraint. If, therefore, the duties that arise out of such a condition are to be adequately discharged there must not be any rivalry with regard to numbers or interest or powers. The welfare of the State demands that each body should observe its respective limits.

Recognising this until quite recently, it was the view of all great constitutional authorities that the Cabinet should consist of a few members, usually not exceeding ten or eleven, and so conform to its recognised position as a small committee of the Privy Council. Since 1886 this condition has been rapidly changed, and there has been a steady growth in the size of the Administration. In that year the Cabinet consisted of sixteen, in 1900 of twenty, and under the Coalition Government of 1915 it numbered twenty-four members, and, in order to estimate its weight as a rival to Parliament, the number of paid Under-Secretaries and unpaid Parliamentary Secretaries to Ministers in the House of Commons must be taken into account, and the total of all these was seventy-four. Even an assembly of 670 cannot afford the loss of so large a proportion of useful members. The duties of deliberation, impartially judging and discussing questions in the interests of the Empire, free from sectional or party bias of every kind, so that a wise decision may be arrived at, is far the highest service which can be rendered to the State. It may be said that Members of the Government are not debarred from affording such consideration. It must, however, be admitted that, as highly-paid officials who have combined with one another, accepted pledges and entered into secret understandings, their independence must inevitably be restricted. Moreover, their duties make heavy encroachments on their time, the same facts or arguments are laid before all of them, and, with limited opportunity of consideration, it is not possible to claim that they can maintain the lofty detachment of those who should finally judge grave national and Imperial proposals.

It is freely recognised throughout the House of Commons that a member of the Administration is emancipated from the necessity of rendering a free and honest judgment; he must support the Government, and it is sometimes suggested that the more he knows it to be wrong the more pronounced his support should be. If, therefore, Parliament is to fulfil the expectations of those who elect it, it can permit but few of its Members to join the Administration. It was with the view of meeting complaints against this violation of the ancient principles of the constitution that some of the most striking changes were supposed to have been introduced by the Prime Minister in the formation of the present Government. As the full effect of the changes made come to be examined, it must be admitted that, however considerable the alterations in other respects, the number of the Administration, and any threat which this may offer to Parliament, has not been diminished. The War Council consists, indeed, of only five members, the Secretaries of State and others, who rank with what were Cabinet Ministers in former Administrations, number twenty-nine, and Under-Secretaries twenty-nine; over fifty of these gentlemen are Members of the House of Commons, each of whom may have a secretary who is also a Member, thus making a body of over one hundred, representing the Administration always supposed to be present in or about the House during the sittings, while the attendance of the general body of Members constantly fluctuates, and often falls very low. The mere consideration of these numbers makes

it easy to realise the difficulties of an assembly which is supposed to exercise complete freedom of decision with regard to every proposal that is laid before it. The growth in the size and responsibilities of the Empire by no means requires this great augmentation in the number of its governors. Efficiency is not usually a character of large and unwieldy bodies, and no relation can be rightly established between the magnitude of a work and the numbers of those who direct or control it. One of the most striking and wholesome political developments has been the growth of Local Authorities at home and the setting up of autonomous Governments throughout the Empire. This machinery affords ample facilities for carrying on the work of government with a small Administration at headquarters. The increase in the number of Ministers is accompanied by a corresponding increase of the staffs of the various Government Departments. Thus an immense, intricate, and costly bureaucracy has been created, against which independent Members have constantly to struggle.

Another serious difficulty has arisen from the failure to settle the grave constitutional question with regard to the Government of Ireland. The paralysing effect of this has cast its shadow over the last thirty years. The agitation for Home Rule is a continuous indictment of the sufficiency of Parliamentary Government. Here we have one of the two States which make up the United Kingdom sending a body of over one hundred members to the assembly at every General Election throughout a whole generation, four-fifths of whom render no allegiance to it, and sit in continual protest against the state of things under which they are summoned to Westminster. None of these Members recognises the duty of facilitating work; on the contrary, they are in permanent opposition while their claim is refused, and their efforts are in effect directed to destroy the smooth working of the system.

From quite a different standpoint, the existence of an Independent Labour Party, which has developed to some forty members within the last dozen years, also tends to create friction. In this case, however, the recent arrangement, by which a certain number of this section share in the work of administration has tended to alleviate the situation. It must always be undesirable to have an organised body of Members representing merely a class, and it may now be hoped that, as the Labour Party has, in two successive Governments, accepted offices proportionate to its number, the Party will recognise its responsibility as a unit of Government, with duties to all sections of the population and responsibilities on every national question.

The pretext on which details as to outlay and other important matters have been withheld is the necessity for secrecy so that information of value to him might not reach the enemy. There can be no doubt, however, that reticence has been observed on many questions in which the facts were well known to the enemy on the one hand, or would be of no value on the other. It has been too readily assumed that complete publicity follows as a natural result of giving any information to Parliament. In the Spring of last year, secret sessions were held at which it was

assumed that important information had been given, and these were not followed by any complaint of leakage. There have been still more frequent examples of details furnished to Parliamentary Committees, as well as groups and individual Members, where there has been no complaint of indiscretion. In the French Chambers the system of Committees, long established, has enabled information to be furnished without any danger of publicity. It is to be regretted that no attempt has been made in our Parliament by similar procedure to furnish data without which decisions must necessarily be arrived at in the dark. How, for example, was it possible to decide whether it was necessary to adopt conscription without knowing the number of soldiers that had joined the Colours, and what the requirements of the War Office were in the different fields of operation? The same difficulty arises now in judging how far ship-building, agriculture, mining, or other necessary work at home should be denuded of men. The experiment of the secret session was not considered successful, but it would be quite possible to furnish a large Committee with facts with regard to even these important matters without any risk of bad consequences. The temptations which secrecy offers to extravagance and excess, not to say corruption, can only be successfully guarded against by maintaining under proper safeguards the rights of the House of Commons, even in matters of the greatest gravity and delicacy.

There are two new conditions which establish some contrast between the War Parliament and its predecessor. The first is longevity. The life of the existing House was restricted by its own Act to five years, which ended in January, 1916, and already two Acts have been passed prolonging its existence. Precedents for this procedure are rare in modern times, but it may be remembered that until 1910 the septennial system had been in operation, and in accordance with it the present House might have lasted till the end of 1917. Having regard to the great stress which the war is imposing throughout all parts of the country, it can scarcely be doubted that it would be impossible to conduct a new election satisfactorily. The unanimous report which has been presented by the Speaker's Committee dealing with the question of registration and enfranchisement may well do something to prepare the way for an appeal to the people when the appropriate time arrives, though circumstances at present seem far from favourable.

The second new condition arises from the principle of payment of members which took effect from the end of 1911, so that it was only two complete years in operation before the war. Although the adoption of this change has been severely criticised, it had long been inevitable, and the most extraordinary thing was that it had not been adopted sooner. The principle of payment had been adopted by every other Parliament throughout the British Dominions as well as in every civilised state in the world; and when, by an extension of the franchise, representatives from every section of the people were invited to Westminster, the only practical method of giving effect to this new principle was to make a sub-

sistence allowance. The amount fixed is moderate, when compared with the large amounts paid to the increasing body of Ministers in this country, or to members in the Dominions, and in the case of those who come from the provinces or the remote parts of the kingdom, it is not more than adequate to meet the expenses incurred by attendance. It might, however, have been hoped that payment would have increased the feeling of independence, and spread a new virility through the House. There is some reason to doubt whether this has so far been the case. No doubt it is rather soon to arrive at any conclusion upon this point, and it must be hoped that the final effects of the new system will be to increase self-respect and strengthen the feeling of equality which is the true basis of Parliamentary efficiency.

It is impossible to close this hurried and incomplete review of some of the conditions under which the War Parliament is working, without glancing for a moment at the popular ideal as to its position. Whatever criticism may appear in the Press, or however the abilities of individual statesmen may be advertised or exaggerated for a moment, in the minds of the people Parliament is the indispensable machine without which order could not be maintained or Government carried on. The impatience displayed in these days when even a few weeks pass without the House being in session, illustrates the feelings entertained as to the necessity of its existence and continuous activity. The ideal of self-government is inbred in the people: they imagine that their Member ought to be able to remove every injustice and procure them every benefit which existing conditions place within their reach. They know nothing of encroachment on the sovereignty of Parliament, and nothing is more remote from their ideal than that it has not full control over finance, military matters, and every sphere of the national activity. It must also be admitted that their view of the situation is the true one, and that Parliament is the guardian of liberty and often the only protector of the oppressed. Every restriction on its power or authority arises exclusively from the shortcomings, want of spirit or dignity of the House itself at some particular moment. The most serious restraints are merely embodied in resolutions or Standing Orders which could be swept away in a day. It is often said that the claims of every institution must be weighed by the single predominant consideration of the war, and its efficiency summed up by asking one question, Will it help us to win? No organisation or institution can respond satisfactorily to this searching test with the same truth as Parliament. It has placed all the national resources unhesitatingly at the disposal of the Executive; its constancy, steadfastness, and unity have been reflected and supported throughout the whole Empire. It alone can provide the necessary effort to bring the contest to a victorious conclusion. It is hardly too much to say that if sufficient respect had been given to the efforts and views of Parliaments in all countries, there would have been no war. During the last quarter of a century, an International Parliamentary Union has existed, which included a majority of the members in the great

belligerent as well as neutral states, and this body was unanimously in favour of putting into operation an arrangement available for all nations by which this dreadful recourse to bloodshed might have been avoided. But its voice was not listened to, and so the inevitable punishment has fallen upon Europe. It is only the unfettered representatives of the people in the various countries concerned that can make a satisfactory or stable peace, and the discussion, within reasonable limits, of the principles on which this might be attained should no longer be repressed or deprecated. In the benefits which would arise from the substitution of an international authority for militarism, every nation would secure advantages fully proportioned to the extent of its interests. Therefore, there is much to appeal to the Central Powers in the advocacy of the ideal of a free Parliament, and it is satisfactory to notice that it has been making some progress in Germany during recent months.

No one who has watched the effect of the humiliations and restrictions which our Parliament has so readily accepted can be entirely satisfied with the results. While autocracy is being weakened everywhere and has been swept away in such a land as Russia, bureaucracy, which is probably a worse evil, must not be built up here. Let us hope, then, that as short an interval as is practicable may stand between the nation and the day when its greatest institution, realising the vast issues which civilisation is presenting to it, will address itself to their solution in a spirit worthy of the trust with which it is treated by the people and the best records of its ancient services.

THOS. LOUGH.

THE PROSPECT IN POLAND.

PART I.

IF Old Moore, in compiling his celebrated *Almanac* a month before the war, had foretold that in the month of November, 1916, the Poles would once more have a kingdom of their own, it is probable that the Chancelleries of Europe (if such a thing may be said without disrespect) would have laughed in his face. Any political surprise would have seemed more probable—a Japanese-American War, the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the restoration of the Temporal Power of the Pope; but a revival of the Polish question—never! There was no Polish question in the international sense. True, the world knew that Prussia was endeavouring to Germanise her Polish provinces; the Poles could count on the platonic sympathy of most foreigners in their resistance. There had been disturbances at Warsaw in 1905; but they were only one out of many symptoms of disaffection in Russia at that time. In any case, these were matters which concerned nobody but the Poles themselves and the governments under which they lived. Europe would not disturb the *status quo* on their account. The Poles themselves, or the great majority of them, accepted the situation in much the same spirit. Since 1863 political independence had been, at the most, an academic aspiration. Five years before the war a party leader of the Russian Poles could write as follows* :—

“ The period of insurrections, the period of armed struggles for independence is henceforward closed. The Polish Question, considered as an international question, having for its immediate object the reconstitution of the Polish State, does not present itself to-day to Polish public men themselves. . . . There is taking shape a quite different conception of the Polish cause. It is to be henceforward the struggle for existence, the struggle for justice, for the maintenance of the national individuality, for the affirmation of the personality of the Polish nation in each of the three Partitioning States.”

But from the first moment of the invasion of East Prussia by the Russians every Pole knew that the situation had suddenly and dramatically changed. When August set in the cultivator was thinking of his crops. July had been a sultry, scorching month in the Polish Plain; and the farmers feared a drought. The politicians in Poznań were busy fighting the Expropriation Law; Warsaw was still dominated by the reaction after the Revolution of 1905; no one paid much attention either to Duma or Diet. And then suddenly, spontaneously as it seemed, like thunder out of a clear sky, the whole of the national aspirations were once more on the *tapis*; and, before August was out, Eastern Europe, from the Carpathians to the Baltic, was a battlefield on which the fate of Poland was being decided. It was a *coup de théâtre* such

* Roman Dmowski, *Niemcy Rosyja Kwestya polska*, Lemberg, 1908: (in French) *La Question Polonaise*, Paris, 1909.

as the Poles love—unexpected, catastrophic, transforming the whole plot. Nor since that moment has the emotional tension relaxed. Hope, fear, elation, disappointment, have followed one upon the other. On the same battlefield of Tannenberg, on which five hundred years before a Polish king annihilated the German Order of Knights, they now saw 90,000 Russians lay down their arms to a Prussian general. They saw first Lemberg and then Przemyśl, fall to the Russians, and Cossack cavalry pushing up to the Carpathian passes. The "Austrian Solution" was at a discount in those days. A few weeks later and the same Russians were in full retreat—first from Przemyśl, then from Lemberg, and at last from Warsaw itself. Within twelve months of the outbreak of war there was not a Russian soldier left on the soil of the Polish Kingdom. Many of the timid and hesitant then made up their minds and went over into the camp of the conqueror. Not a few of them regretted their decision, when a year later Brusilow struck on the Stochod, and the entire Bukovina once more passed into Russian hands. Finally, on November 5th, 1916, amid indescribable rejoicings, the German Governor-General of Warsaw proclaimed in the Palace where once the Polish Diet met that the Kingdom of Poland was once more an independent State. What a rich assortment of experiences! What a moving climax to the drama! No wonder the crowd sang "Boże coś Polske," and the altars of Our Lady of Poland in the churches were laden with golden and jewelled thank-offerings.

It is folly to minimise the significance of this *dénouement*; and in Russia it has not been minimised. Though the new Poland is to contain neither Poznań nor Galicia, though its existence is precarious, and the motives which brought it into being are suspect, yet that has been done which it will be very hard to undo. The forbidden word "independence" has been spoken. The plant, which had withered, has taken new root. Any promises which the other side could make afterwards were almost bound to fall flat. The comment was too obvious. Every country has a proverb about birds in the hand and birds in the bush. The truth is, it is a mistake to set about the business of state-making in a spirit of romanticism. There are certain hard, cold facts on which every Pole, and every friend of the Poles, must base their arguments; for they are the essential factors in the continuance of Poland as a State. One is the geographic situation of Poland. The other is the historic character of the Pole. The diplomats, who, when the time comes, are to negotiate peace terms for the *Entente*, can do no more than study these essential factors without prejudice and without passion. If their studies lead to the conclusion that the elements for an independent national existence are not there, they can only be silent when the Poles come to plead their cause. The writer has endeavoured, for some years past, to carry out such an investigation, and his studies have not led him to this negative result. He believes that the conditions for an independent national existence, lacking in 1863, lacking in 1830, lacking, above all, at the time of the partitions, and at the Congress of Vienna, are now present, if only in embryonic form.

The aspect of the Polish question has been changed fundamentally by a remarkable economic development of the last quarter-of-a-century, the facts of which are little known in this country, and are not adequately realised by many of the Poles themselves. *Via prima salutis, quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.* It is in Prussian Poland that the kernel of the new Polish State must be sought; and under no conceivable concatenation of circumstances can Prussian Poland be included in the new kingdom, except in the event of an *Entente* victory. Herein lies the decisive argument for the bird in the bush.

The geographic situation of Poland carries with it inevitable political corollaries. Eight million Poles in Galicia, two millions in Poznań, and about ten millions in Russian Poland, make up a total of 20,000,000. A State, then, of twenty millions, if the *Entente* solution prevails, of ten millions if the Austro-German solution prevails, is wedged in Eastern Europe between the Russian Empire of 170,000,000 and the Central European Empire of 116,000,000. Whether it receives an outlet on the Baltic, as both belligerents are said to have promised (each at the other's expense), or remains a coastless State, like Switzerland, makes a good deal of difference to its future economic development, but little or nothing to the problem of defence. A small state with two powerful neighbours has only one possible foreign policy. It must conclude a drastic alliance with one or other of the two neighbours. If Russia is the enemy, then Poland must be sure of German support in arms in the event of a war with Russia; and *vice versa*. But neither Germany nor Russia would pledge their armed support without exacting a heavy price. The first condition of such an alliance would be an offensive and defensive clause; in other words, Poland would have to place her two million rifles at the disposal of her ally. Her friends must be her ally's friends, her enemies his enemies. In a word, she must surrender all freedom in her foreign policy. That might be a price worth paying in return for freedom in her home policy. But the leaders must reckon, at the same time that they surrender their foreign policy, to hand over a great part of their economic policy as well. Russia is not going to open her tariff frontiers to a Poland in vassalage to the Germans; and Polish industry will have to look for an outlet for its products in combination, and probably in syndication, with German industry. Such considerations sometimes look more formidable in prospect than they prove to be in practice. But they must not be left out of consideration.

Facts of geography cry aloud to heaven. The romanticist can hardly overlook them. But to the facts of history it is the easiest thing in the world to shut one's eyes. In England, during a great part of the last century, the Poles commanded a sympathy which was largely based on ignorance of the Polish past. In the early 'sixties the wave of Liberal enthusiasm, which a few years before had gone out to Kossuth (who Messrs. Steed and Seton-Watson would now have us believe was a tyrant of the deepest dye), was in full flood for the handful of aristocrats stirring up a brave but hopeless rebellion on the Vistula. Agents of the so-called

"Emigration," the group of Polish nobles whose headquarters were in Paris, were appealing to crowded meetings in England for sympathy and diplomatic support. At Manchester a member of a great Polish family, Count Ladislas Zamoiski, amid cheers, referred to the Partitions as the "greatest crime of the age." The young Lord Robert Cecil, whose son bearing the same name will (we may expect) have a voice in the disposal of Polish destinies at the peace, seized on the phrase, and, in a long article in the *Quarterly Review*, subjected it to a historical examination, with results which, in this country at any rate, were new and startling. The view, which he then developed as to the causes and circumstances of the Partitions, has since prevailed with most Englishmen, who have turned their attention to the subject. Lord Salisbury thus concluded the historical part of his essay:—

"With the year 1815 the strength of the Polish cause begins. As a nation they had fallen by the justest retribution that was ever meted out to a foreign policy of incessant aggression, and an oppressive and barbarous domestic rule. But they had not lost their rights as men. They had a right to good government, and at least to some portion of the freedom they had lost. . . . An absolutely independent Poland is a mere chimera. There is no power that can set it up; and if set up—assuming that the Russian Empire remains otherwise unbroken—there is no power that can maintain it. Recent events have shown that the Polish character still makes united effort as impossible as it was in the days of the Confederations of Bar and Radom. An independent Polish Kingdom, even if it could be established, would never be more than the nursling of domineering Embassies. The individual ambition which, even at this supreme crisis, could not be restrained from dividing the Polish arms, would give abundant facility to each Ambassador to construct for himself a party in the interests of his own Court. A country governed upon such a system is in no true sense a nation. It is a mere battlefield for foreign intrigue. An independent Poland will become a possibility when individual Polish leaders shall have shown that they have acquired the moral capacity for self-renunciation. But a nation which even in its deepest woe is still torn by factions is not likely to make head against the forces of the largest Empire in the world."

The "recent events," to which Lord Salisbury alluded in the above passage, were the tendency of the Rzad, the Central Revolutionary Committee, to split into parties, and the dispute even in the heart of the crisis between two rival leaders, Langiewicz and Mieroslawski, each of whom issued proclamations denouncing the other. Faction ruined Poland. Faction was the cause of the Partitions. Faction made a failure of each of the two insurrections of the nineteenth century. How is it with the Poles to-day? The great hour of their deliverance has struck. Does it find them still torn by faction? Or have they acquired "the moral capacity for self-renunciation," which Lord Salisbury esteemed the precedent condition of political reconstruction?

Before that question is answered, here is a list of political parties in the Poland of 1917: Nationalists, Realists, National Democrats,

National Radicals, National Workers' Union, Party of National Work, League for the Reconstitution of the Polish State, Progressive Party, Progressive Union, Party of Economic Independence, Club des Etatistes, National Peasants' Union, Peasants' Party, Socialists, Christian Democrats, Patriots' Union, The Union, and, finally, Confederation of Independent Parties. These groups are divided according as they are Neutralists or Activists. Some follow a Supreme National Committee, others a Central National Committee; and the two Committees are at daggers drawn, to the extent of abusing one another openly in their respective newspapers. At first sight, therefore, it might appear as if the Poles had not acquired "the moral capacity for self-renunciation."

The student of Polish affairs, who plunges suddenly into this welter of names and parties without previous acquaintance with the subject, is not to be envied. The key to a Polish situation is generally a personal factor, of which the outsider is not likely to be aware. Poland is like Anglo-India in one respect; everybody in Poland seems to know everybody else, what they are doing, who they are making friends with, what their income is, and how they are spending it. Actions, which to an outsider appear inexplicable, do not seem to a Pole to need explanation at all, because they arise naturally out of the personality of the actor. If Major "Willie" Redmond, at a critical moment in the Battle of the Somme, had suddenly withdrawn his battalion from the firing-line in order to further the prospects of immediate Home Rule, the surprise and embarrassment of the Nationalist Party at Westminster may be imagined.* Yet this is precisely what the Socialist leader Pilsudski, who by one of the strange peripeties of the present war is now an Austrian brigadier-general, did with a brigade of the Polish Legions in the spring of 1916; and nobody—except his German Army Commander—appeared to think it odd. The said Pilsudski is probably the most striking personality at present in the limelight on the Polish political stage. It will be a convenient way of getting a conspectus of the political situation to trace his fortunes up to the present time.

Twelve years ago, when the Russian Revolution broke out, Pilsudski was leader of the Radicals and Socialists in Russian Poland, more Socialist than National, as bitter an enemy of the Polish capitalist as of the Russian bureaucrat, and with no love lost for the Church. The strength of the Party was in the workmen of the towns, but there was a large sprinkling of *intelligentsia*; the peasants had little to do with it. When the Revolution began the Polish Socialists threw in their lot with the Russian and Jewish Revolutionaries; and they took an early opportunity of declaring a private and domestic war against the rival Polish party, the National Democrats. The National Democrats, with another group called Realists, represented the great landowners, the capitalists, and the bulk of the bourgeoisie in the towns; they had a following among the peasants, and in a certain section of the

* The liberty taken with the name of a gallant and patriotic officer will, perhaps, be excused in an illustration directed to showing how in the Ireland of Eastern Europe the impossible happens.

intelligentsia. Their programme was strongly National; they accepted Russian rule, but demanded complete internal autonomy; on the economic problem a marked anti-Semitism was their chief contribution to thought. Richer and better organised than the Socialists, the National Democrats had considerably the better of the struggle. At the elections to the First Duma they won all the seats; and have since constituted the Polish Party in the Russian Parliament. The Revolution in Poland was not completely suppressed before 1907, by which time the country had become too hot to hold Pilsudski, and he withdrew across the Austrian border into Galicia. During the Revolution there had grown up under his inspiration a semi-military organisation of armed riflemen; and in the years which followed he maintained and extended this organisation on either side of the border, so that at the outbreak of the war it was ready to form the nucleus of the Polish Legions. Pilsudski's idea during these years was to provoke another armed insurrection in Russia, but before the war he could find no support for such a project with any of the parties in Galicia.

The war gave him his chance. Hastily gathering together some 400 Galician riflemen he "invaded Russia," with the national demands inscribed on a banner. The military effect was presumably not large, but it soon became clear that his bold decisive action had powerfully impressed the national mind. Not only the Radicals and Socialists on both sides of the border now rallied to his leadership, but a number of National Democrats from Russia went over to his camp. Even to the Galician bourgeois parties he began to be a hero. At a Conference of Poles, both from Galicia and from Russia, which was held at Vienna in the first month of the war, a Supreme National Committee was constituted, to which all parties—for the moment—subscribed. The enrolment of the Legions was taken in hand, the lists in possession of Pilsudski's organisation, now called the Central National Committee, being used as a basis. The Austrian Government seems to have facilitated the transfer to the Legions of all the Galician Poles who had been called up in the mobilisation. All Russophil voices were, for the moment, silenced. They revived with the defeat of the Austrians and the advance of the Russians in Galicia; and at one moment there were some hurried departures from the railway station at Cracow. But the forcing of the Dunajec, and the subsequent Russian retreat all along the line, more than restored the credit of the Supreme National Committee. Since then the Russophiles, not wishing to be pro-Russian in the hour of Russian adversity, nor to have been anti-Russian should the Russian triumphs recommence, have had a difficult part to play, to which perhaps sufficient justice has not been done in Russia. It was too much to expect them to stand altogether aside from the national movement in so critical a time. Though they have maintained a liaison with the Supreme National Committee, a large and influential section, including most of the Duma Deputies, has remained faithful to the "Russian orientation" without much encouragement and at a time when faith was distinctly the evidence of things not seen. As a party they refused

the seats which were offered them in the Provisional Government. By the other parties they are described as Neutralists, by which is meant that while accepting *de facto* the constitution of independent Poland they wish it to remain neutral in the present war.

The Activists are the rest; on the one hand, Pilsudski, with his Socialists and Radicals, represented in the Central National Committee; on the other hand, the numerous groups of Austrian Poles, accustomed at ordinary times to fight one another like cat and dog, but at the present moment, with a few exceptions, united under the Supreme National Committee. The Austrians would almost all prefer the "Austrian solution"—that is to say, the union of Austrian and Russian Poland under the Emperor of Austria, who would be elected Hereditary King of Poland by the first Polish Diet. The exclusion of Austrian Poland from the new Kingdom, under the Proclamation of November last, does not seriously disturb them, as they already possess self-government, and the union of the two elements appears to them only a question of time. Their political speculations at the present time, moreover, are coloured, as are those of all peoples within the orbit of the Central Powers, with Naumannic ideas of *Mittleuropa*. It may be added that they have at all times a child-like faith in the benevolence of the Austrian Government; and that they are known to their enemies by the disarming nick-name of "the Good Boys" (*die Musterknaben*).

Pilsudski and his followers have no enthusiasm for the "Austrian solution," though they might accept it as a *pis aller*. Their chief concern until lately was to keep the Legions in being as the nucleus of a standing army, with which to be ready to uphold the existence of the new Polish state. In this design, which was obviously sound policy, they were at one with the Austrian Poles, and for that matter with the Austrian and German Governments, who have every reason to be thankful to the Polish Legions for services rendered, while they at the same time cherish a lively anticipation of favours to come. The Socialist leader was fully aware of the importance which the Legions, his own creation, had acquired, and he appears to have conceived the idea of using them as a lever to exert political pressure. Throughout 1915 he had been urging on the Central Powers an immediate declaration of their attitude with regard to the future of Poland. In January, 1916, a Conference was held at Cracow, at which delegates from all three Polands attended, including, according to the Russian Ministry of the Interior,* two Deputies of the Duma, Parczewski and Lempicki. Austrian Poles in the confidence of the Austrian and German Governments announced to the delegates that the Central Powers were in agreement upon the "Austrian solution," but nothing happened. Pilsudski was more and more restive. Then Brusilow's offensive began in Volhynia, and relations between the Supreme National Committee and the Central National Committee became very strained. Pilsudski wished to resign his command in

* In the much-discussed Memorandum to Heads of Departments (text in the *Times*' Russian Supplement, September 30th, 1916). The Polish Club in the Duma issued a reply, in which they dispute the accuracy of the Memorandum, but do not contest this particular statement.

the Legions; but the Austrian military authorities refused to accept his resignation. Shortly afterwards, while the Austrians were still fighting for their lives on the Stochod, Pilsudski suddenly and without warning withdrew his brigade from the front. The Austrians are inured to Polish political demonstrations; and if Pilsudski's Army Commander had been an Austrian, the military authorities would very likely have shrugged their shoulders, and the incident would have been hushed up. Unfortunately he was a German, and he insisted on Pilsudski's resignation being accepted and officially gazetted "*wegen Verweigerung der militärischen Disciplin vor dem Feinde.*" A number of Russian-Pole officers in the Legions wished to follow Pilsudski in resigning their commissions: he himself was threatening to oppose recruiting for the Legions. Had both carried out their threats, an awkward situation would undoubtedly have arisen for the Austro-Germans. It may be therefore, as his followers claim, that Pilsudski's action hastened the Proclamation of November 5th; but, however that may be, there seems no doubt that it has appreciably damaged his prestige, both in the Legions and with the rank and file of his party. A curious illustration of the impression created came to light a few weeks ago in the shape of a letter sent by the American Poles to their representative on the Central National Committee in November last. The "Good Boys" intercepted the letter by means best known to themselves and the Austrian Post Office, and published it in one of their newspapers.* It appears from the letter that the representative of the American Poles in Warsaw omitted to mention in his reports that the Central National Committee, to which the American subscriptions were being paid, had broken with the Supreme National Committee, to which the subscribers believed they were contributing. The letter is as follows:—

"DEAR COMRADE,—We have listened with much regret in the Confidential Committee to the Report from the old country. Our position as Socialists among citizens holding different views could have been maintained on a proper level only if our loyalty could not have been questioned.

"Meantime, we have learnt that the Supreme National Committee maintained complete reserve with regard to the Central National Committee, because it knew that the work of the Central National Committee, which fights the Supreme National Committee, is conducted with our money. We are much obliged to the tact of M. Jaworski† for his not having come out against our organisation, because undoubtedly without any guilt on our part we have merited the accusation of double dealing. Only now have we learnt about the fatal mistake of the Central National Committee, which three weeks after the occupation of Warsaw had started opposition against recruiting for the Legions. You ought to have let us know about that. We would then have considered the matter in the Confidential Committee, and would have either taken your side or come out against you openly.

* *Dziennik Narodowy* of Piotrkow (Russian Poland), January 12th, 1917. The letter has since been published in America.

† Ex-President of the Supreme National Committee.

Meantime, we were sending money to you in Warsaw at your request. This money was used for fighting the Supreme National Committee, whilst in our meetings and resolutions we were calling on the people here to obey absolutely the Supreme National Committee, and were attacking those who were fighting it.

"You will admit that this looked like hypocrisy of a base kind. The resignation of Pilsudski and the cry raised against the Legions were an incredible mistake. If it were not for the German Proclamation, we should have had such a disruption among us, such a chaos, that even in the worst times of the Nobility rule there could have been nothing more disastrous. The Germans could have ruined us, if they had left us to our fate, and if instead of November the Fifth they had allowed Polish anarchy and provincially-minded politicians to kill our cause.

"We resent most that our comrades, owing to this diplomacy for the sake of diplomacy, diplomacy without diplomats, have ruined the prestige of the Socialists in the eyes of the masses, to the joy of the bourgeois, and undone much of our work for independence which we have been conducting for twenty years. Most of all, we fear that Ziuk* will no longer have the importance which he previously had.

"We had to listen with much regret to very tactful but very serious charges against you because during all this time you have sent us no report and no explanation of the real conditions at home, and because you did not inform us of the use you made of our money. We have succeeded in weakening the bad impression by putting all the blame on the mails and on Great Britain. We must, however, admit that the whole affair of the Central National Committee of Sokolnicki, and the impressionist, adventurous policy and the noble, but ill-considered, resignation of Ziuk were a great blow to us. In a great time our country lacks great men.—With fraternal greetings,

"B. KULAKOWSKI,

"J. BORKOWSKI,

"For the Committee of National Defence in America."

A pleasant touch about "the mails and Great Britain"!

The Provisional Government, which was set up by the Germans after the Proclamation of November 5th, consisted of a Council of State of twenty-five members, all Poles, which proceeded to nominate an Executive Committee, the members of which act as Ministers of Politics (that is, relations with the Central Powers), Finance, Justice, the Interior, Commerce, Labour, and Education. Work was found for the rest of the politicians on the Army Committee (over which Pilsudski presides), the Committee for drafting the Constitution, and the like. The Germans wished all parties to be represented on the Council of State; but they intended to secure a majority for the "Good Boys" in the allotment of seats. The party of Pilsudski with five seats was to form the Left. The "Good Boys" were to form the Centre. And it was hoped that the Neutralists would form the Right. Pilsudski seems to have conducted the negotiations between the Neutralists and the German Government—an odd agent for the latter to select. Probably he hoped to secure such an allotment of

* *Petit nom* for Pilsudski.

seats on the Council that his own party would be able to play a more decisive part than their numbers would give them. If, for example, the "Good Boys" had ten seats, and the Neutralists ten seats, Pilsudski's five votes would have the decision on every occasion. If such were his tactics, they were seen through by the German Government, which announced that it proposed to allot thirteen seats to the "Good Boys" and seven seats to the Neutralists. The negotiations for the entry of the Neutralists thereupon broke down, and neither of the two Russian parties, National Democrats and Realists, is officially represented on the Council of State.* The seven seats intended for them were filled by independent Conservative landowners, of whom there is never any lack in Poland, all of an anti-Russian tinge. Such is the position up to date.

The reader is now in a position to form his own opinion on the question, whether the politicians of Poland have acquired "the moral capacity of self-renunciation," or whether, in the words of the American Poles, "in a great time our country lacks great men." His attention is now invited to a very different field of Polish activities. It must have struck him that in all the *démarches*, conferences, and negotiations, which have just been described, the Poles of German Poland have scarcely figured at all. It would be the greatest possible mistake to conclude that the German Poles love the Germans better than their brothers in Russia love the Russians. The German Government has made it perfectly clear from the beginning that under no circumstances will it cede any portion of Poznania to the Kingdom. The Poles of Poznania know the Germans; they have full cause to know them; and they are under no illusions as to the German Government keeping its word. It would be madness on their part to risk future reprisals from a victorious Prussia by dallying with a revolution, which Prussia may, for her own ends, encourage on her enemy's territory, but does not dream of allowing so much as to cast its spray across the frontier. The Poles of Prussia are not in the position of the Russian Poles who have gone over to the Austrian camp. They have more to lose. The reprisals, which the Russian Poles with guilty consciences have to fear, are political reprisals; and they count on a generous political amnesty on both sides after the war. The Prussian Poles do not fear political reprisals. During fifty years, by the sweat of their brow, under constant menace, and in the teeth of opposition, they have built up an elaborate and delicate economic organisation, in which the national life has its being, and on which depend all its hopes of survival and potentialities of development. When the Russian Poles were holding secret meetings in the villages, and in fiery speeches denouncing the Russian authorities, the Prussian Poles were founding land banks in the forms of German law. They have organised the economic life, first of the peasant, then of the tradesman, and, lastly, of the artisan, with an enterprise and a patience incredible

* Nevertheless, two former leaders of the National Democrats, one of them an ex-Deputy of the Duma, hold portfolios; and a former Chairman of the Realists is a member of the Committee for drafting the Constitution.

to anyone who has studied the Polish character only in Galicia and the Kingdom. They have learnt from the Prussian oppressor the virtue of discipline, the commonest virtue in the Prussian and the rarest in the Pole. They have evolved a State within a State, a habitation for their Slavonic soul in *populo peregrino*, for the maintenance and continuance of which they must every hour tremble.

(*To be continued.*)

O. DE L.

NOTE.—The above article was written before the Russian Revolution; but the writer, having had the opportunity of re-reading it before publication, sees no reason to make any alterations. The Russian Provisional Government has issued another Proclamation to the Poles, in which much generous language is used, but the decision as to the "modification of Russian territories" is reserved to the Constituent Assembly, which it is proposed to convoke in Russia. This proviso follows the lines of the Polish programme laid down by a Party meeting of the Cadets (M. Milyukow's Party) held in Moscow at the beginning of this year, which (it must be admitted) was not well received by any section of the Poles. It must be remembered that political circles in Warsaw are much better informed than we are with regard to the situation in Russia. Weeks before the Revolution, Polish newspapers were speaking of M. Milyukow as "the Foreign Minister *in spe*." The Revolution will not have come as a surprise in Warsaw. Further, it is a mistake to suppose that Russian antipathy to Polish claims is confined to reactionaries, any more than in England antipathy to Home Rule is confined to reactionaries. It is equally a mistake to suppose that all Polish patriots are Liberals. On the whole, it may be hoped that the Russian Revolution will strengthen the hands of the pro-Russian Poles. But for the moment the latest news from Poland does not point in this direction. Since the above article was written, Prince Z. Lubomirski, perhaps the most distinguished Russian Pole, and the leading spirit of the Realist National Democrat *bloc*, has joined one of the Committees of the Council of State; so has Msgr. Chelmicki, who represents the powerful higher clergy of Russian Poland. These two were the most prominent of the seven Neutralists, who were offered and refused seats on the Council of State in December, 1916, as described above. It is also reported that the Supreme National Committee has handed over the administration of the Legions to the Council of State, and dissolved itself; and—most surprising of all—the Central National Committee has followed suit. While the current is setting in this direction, it seems not only undignified, but dangerous for the Western Powers to look favourably on a policy, to which certain itinerant Poles would like to commit them, of "internationalising the Polish question," more or less over the head of Russia. The question will be "internationalised" automatically, and the whole fabric of November the Fifth will collapse, when the loved Austro-German bayonets are withdrawn from Warsaw, and not before. Till which time, what profit to us to posture—and tie our hands?

O. DE L.

WAR, RELIGION, AND THE MAN-IN-THE-STREET.

THE war has certainly strengthened the demand for a better understanding between the Churches. In the supreme crisis of a man's life it has shown for how little dogmatic differences count; but the movement towards unity had already begun, and the war has only accelerated the pace. There must be a good reason to induce the average Briton to forgo in matters religious that controversial method to which he is so much attached—a trial of strength, an ordeal of battle, which determines everything for him from theology to sport. This centripetal movement began with the grouping of Churches most nearly allied. For some years past church membership, and attendance at public worship, have been failing. Now the Sunday schools are also declining, and the children are slipping away. It is a common danger which is drawing diverse religious bodies together, as wild and domestic animals crowd a rising slope, and call a truce to their antipathies in face of a threatening flood. There is a remarkable parallel to this in the attraction which is moving smaller political communities into federal association, and which, at the same time, acknowledges full allegiance to the sovereign state. It may be that a sense of common danger works for concentration throughout the civilised world. But unless the cause of the growing estrangement between the Church and the community can be discovered and repaired, a mere union of Churches will be like an association of separate business concerns in face of a common failure. Although a considerable part of the nation abstains from church attendance, and troubles little about a future life, it still retains a salvage of faith. The Man-in-the-street is generally persuaded that there is somewhere a God in charge of his creation, and probably another state of existence. Prompted by this reverence for the Unseen he makes an uneasy attempt to translate religion into well-being. He tries to bring up his family decently, and extends a friendly hand to others in trouble. Death is common enough; he must go with the rest when his time arrives, and then he will see what he will see. He is willing to take his chance, to share with his friends—good sort of fellows but not saints. He has no wish to reach Paradise too soon lest he should find himself in the uncongenial society of the super-good. At the back of his consciousness there lurks the idea that although human wickedness deserves punishment it can never justify eternal wreckage. So that social morality, touched by imagination, is coming to replace doctrinal religion.

But the war has swept through his mind like a streak of blue lightning; it has revealed difficulties in the way of his easy-going faith; it has opened gulfs of new enquiry; it has put questions to him to which he is driven to find some reply. He can no longer take refuge in an easy agnosticism. He must know something more, something which he can understand, and that something can rest no longer upon a human authority unless it is associated

with a rational explanation. Once again he turns to the Church for an interpretation, a restatement of the unknown. If he be Roman or Anglican, he finds that it is worship which counts—the altar, the sacrifice of the Mass. The troubled in heart may find solace in the Sacrament, and can unburden at the Confessional. The sermon is short and simple, dealing with questions of conduct or of church order, but rarely touching the actual experience of the individual. If he be an Evangelical Free Churchman, the sermon is mostly ethical, oft-times literary, but it fails to search and grip as in former days. The preacher has much to say about the Sermon on the Mount, but is hardly so sure about the Gospel of the Kingdom. Yet never were the ministries of the Anglican, and of the Free Churches, better fitted by scholarship, and by general attainment, to perform their task. But the Man-in-the-street is here with his questioning, and a new account must be taken of him. The triumph of science and the venture of philosophy during the last century have challenged and moulded Christian teaching. The claims of the Church have been scrutinised, her foundations for belief explored, and she has survived the trial; but the experience has left its mark upon her. It was so with the Primitive Church, when she mistook the after-glow for the sunrise, as the hope of the immediate coming of Christ faded away, and she found that all things continued as they were from the beginning. The danger in every age has been stagnation, fixity of tenure, too intensive culture of the old soil, a reluctance to move towards fresh fields and pastures new. Now the Church must move or she will lose her opportunity. If she be wise she will return with her questioner to the written records of her Faith, attempting to reconcile the problems of the present with the Scriptures of the past. For the Man-in-the-street has already returned to the Book. He troubles himself little about a definition of authority, but accepts it as a whole. He soon finds that he cannot read it as a literalist; for it is always possible through literalism to gain support for differing and conflicting opinions. The Calvinist discovers a strait gate and a narrow way; the Arminian, a wide welcome to the weary and heavy laden; the Socialist, a common purse; the Pacifist, a doctrine of non-resistance. But as he reads it dawns upon him that Truth must be Personality, the Spirit of God, the Christ himself; impossible to be limited by permanent creed, confession of faith, theological trust. These, like wayside inns, suffice to mark the successive stages of the journey. This same conclusion interprets for him the Ministry of Jesus Christ. The Christ began as a Prophet of Israel, He finished as the Saviour of the world. The testimony to which He bore witness was subjective, His own personal consciousness. Flashes of intuition came to him of an immemorial past; “the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.” Up to the morning of His resurrection there was apparently no external supernatural fact upon which He founded His stupendous claim. “Tell the vision to no man until the Son of Man be risen from the dead.” He was little concerned in prophecy relating to Himself, and in the midnight heaven broke into song to announce His arrival, that

splendid testimony was restricted to a few, and was never incorporated into His teaching. After His long silence in Nazareth His ministry began with mighty works, but He treated them as subordinate evidence. So the Man-in-the-street, a learner, but not a literalist, discovers that the whole revelation is continuous and progressive, each stage provisional in its character. Turning from the written record he seeks the teaching of science, and here he finds a parallel which he had hardly anticipated. On the one hand, he observed that Jesus Christ declined to limit His teaching to His own discourses; that He suggested receptiveness, expansion, and development. The grain of mustard seed was to become a great tree; the Spirit of Christ was to lead men into all truth. On the other hand, how is science teaching? By throwing wide its doors, admitting the whole world to its laboratories, and accepting the fullest investigations of its conclusions. Like the theologian, the scientist begins with a theory. For the time it may be unprovable, simply a working hypothesis. He assumes the law of gravitation without having determined exactly its nature. He fills the whole of space with a tenuous fluid, which he calls ether, and adopts it to explain the passage of light, sound, and other effects by vibrations, which are translated into human consciousness.

At one time the atom stands for the irreducible unit. Presently the atom is resolved into active electrons. Each conclusion was sufficient for the moment, but it was a partial revelation, sincerely held, relative to its own day. The past can never satisfy us when "new planets swim into our ken." Even the conclusions of science arrive as a revelation, and are comparable to the message of Religion. In both cases there may be prophecy, precedent, and research. We freely admit that our greatest discoveries have broken like a burst of sunshine upon the investigator after long and tedious inductive enquiry. It was at the beginning of natural things, the making of this world, that "the morning stars sang together, and "all the sons of God shouted for joy." There are sterile centuries in which the Word of the Lord becomes precious because there is no open vision; and this applies to Science as well as to Religion. Then the days of revelation return when prophet after prophet, flushed with new discovery, descends from the high place with psaltery, tabret, and pipe. So far reassured, the Man-in-the-street no longer despairs of a religion capable of reconciling the ideal with the real, and interpreting for him the desperate difficulty of the moment. For the man is willing enough to accept the love of God, and is compelled to admit the presence of evil; but he declines to be satisfied with the statement of the theologian that he must further acknowledge a Divine Being, all mighty, all merciful, as the one ultimate reality, without attempting to construe that creed with the present failures and sufferings of human existence. That which science has not reached, and theology has not unravelled, can philosophy explain? For both theology and science will be doing no wrong to their antecedents if they accept an explanation which may prove to be provisional, but which for the time being is sufficient.

Let it not be said by way of interruption that we cannot sincerely

accept a statement as truth if it be liable to revision. Such is not the experience of either the individual or the race. The child knows, thinks, acts, upon a partial interpretation of the world so far as the limit of his comprehension reaches. For him it is the whole truth, though he may fully realise that when he becomes a man he will put away childish things in consequence of a wider outlook. So love triumphantly survives when tongues fall silent, knowledge fails, prophecies vanish. Let us further assure ourselves that all new truth is development and not destruction. It fulfils the past, and therefore we are content to believe in the present, and to wait upon the future.

The theologian is unwilling to discuss the origin of evil, particularly with the Man-in-the-street. But the man will not be denied. "You can surely give some explanation," he says, "even 'if the explanation be only provisional.'" Your fellow-thinker in science would never leave himself without a working hypothesis. It is no answer to say that positive good implies negative evil. That there is an eternal necessity which requires evil as the alternative to goodness, would only remove the difficulty further back without explaining it. Who is responsible for such eternal necessity? Besides, evil is often sufficiently positive to be aggressive—by no means the shadow cast by the shining of goodness. Let the theologian attempt a metaphysical explanation; the Man-in-the-street demands something more definite. He suggests that, as we are living within time and space, we had better confine our discussion to our own universe without entering upon the difficulties of eternity and of space illimitable, as these both transcend our understanding. We are here in a material universe, whose general boundaries are mapped and known, and whose evolution has been fully explained by science. It is a universe preceded by an everlasting and followed by an everlasting. At present that everlasting is unknowable, and the unknowable has no practical use for the Man-in-the-street. But he is prepared to accept and to worship the Being who accompanies the universe from its creation to its dissolution. "From everlasting to everlasting Thou art God." If we accept universal Spirit or Energy as the source of all things, it is necessarily accountable for all phenomena whether of good or of evil. From that Eternal Spirit, impersonal, illimitable, and unknowable, a personal God who is limited by relativity must be derived. That God is accepted as holy, benevolent, and all mighty so far as we are concerned. We are bound to assume that He is doing the best possible for mankind. We find Him at war with evil, at least in this part of His universe. That evil must be either naturally inherent in the universe, or it must come from without, an invader. Let us take, for example, two neighbouring States like Germany and France. They are existing side by side, at peace, each contented with its own ideal. One State seeks to impose its ideal upon the other State at the cost of war, and out of that war unutterable sin and misery develop. May we not postulate a Power, ruling in another universe, but formerly in possession or with claims of ambition upon our own universe. If that were so, then province by province, world by

world, the Supreme Being to whom we owe loyalty and love will be driving back the aggressor and redeeming the lost at the price of blood. For the time being there is a limitation of almightiness; but has not that already been conceded by the theologian, who limits salvation to a method, a necessity, a sacrifice? If God were not so limited, would he have manifested Himself in the person of the Son of Man suffering for humanity? Christ's explanation of His own act of atonement is sufficiently definite. "Now is the crisis of this world; now is the Prince of this world cast out." As a general, moving into an enemy's country at the head of His Army, He advanced so far that for the moment He felt Himself deserted by His Father as well as by His followers. He fell, but He fell to rise again, and by that supreme act captured a commanding position, a stronghold from the enemy. So the death of Christ is not complete without the resurrection. It is not punishment but victory which saves. "If Christ be not risen, ye are yet in your sins." By this means the doctrine of atonement is lifted out of a narrow theology into a cosmic truth. Evil, manifold in its operations, is apparently indestructible. It can be driven out, but it must be somewhere. It possesses belligerent rights. "Suffer us to go into the herd of swine," and He suffered them. In the tradition of Michael contending with the adversary, he durst not bring against his fellow and fallen Archangel a railing accusation, but exclaims, "The Lord rebuke Thee." In the Apocalypse, Satan is to be bound for a thousand years, not for ever—an internment camp.

In the early centuries men and women went to prison and to death for salvation, not for fine distinctions of doctrine. To-day we are asking, From what disaster are we to be saved? Is it from the penalty of moral deterioration, or is there something deeper and even more disastrous? It would be much easier to negotiate treaties of reconciliation between church and church upon secondary matters, if they could agree upon the principal message. From what then are we to be saved? Surely from being seduced from our allegiance to God, and from passing under the control of an alien and opposing Power. In contrast to Jewish teaching, Jesus Christ did not apparently attach irrevocable importance to human transgression. He healed disease and forgave sins in a breath. He declared that He had come into the world to destroy the works of the Devil. Disease and death were not the final methods by which exhausted material was to be cleared away in order that the fires of life might burn more brightly. Evil, whether physical or moral, He regarded as one and the same, the enemy of God and of man. It is permissible to imagine that evil is not an end in itself, but a process of destruction prior to reconstruction upon a different plan and order, as a conquered province is restored upon the lines which best please its conqueror. But that order is foreign to us, and treason to the Power which claims our love and obedience. We may argue as we please about the human endowment of free will. Our experience shows that the area in which it acts is very limited. Heredity, environment, determine for us a great part of our lives, and a power exercised upon us of an adverse spiritual

character may easily become irresistible. As a matter of fact, does so become in many cases. And the redemption of the human soul, the restoration to it of the power of free will, is the real salvation. Nor does it end with re-capture, the recovered sinner brought into the Kingdom of Grace to be recuperated after captivity. That salvation costs much. It is a resistance unto blood, striving against sin; and this, surely, is found at the very heart of the Christian message. By adopting the foregoing, the religious teacher is able to offer the Man-in-the-street a reasonable explanation of the strife and disorder with which the world to-day is vexed. It proposes a solution of the mystery of war, under the government of a God benevolent to his Universe. He does not will the war, but reveals it as part of the cosmic struggle. Disease is shortening the lives of more millions than this or any other war, and we may regard the medical science of these later times as a form of trench warfare, by which we are driving back the enemy. The individual soul is brought into the world from we know not where, identified itself with God's secular struggle in this part of His universe, and is withdrawn when its contribution has been made, into the restfulness of a base hospital, a cool and quiet place where even the leaves of the trees are for the healing of the nation. It may be objected that this argument is too remote to hold the attention of the ordinary individual. It revives controversy and colours the controversy with the tinge of a discarded theology. But it is just this war which has forced the question to the front. The fact of God, another state of being, future life—these words have returned to the vernacular, and we are not too reserved to use them. They have become as real as the day's rations, the ammunition waggon, the vigil in the trench. The Church can no longer decline such religious familiarity, to retreat within the shadow of a conventional message. Religion has returned to the region of fact, and we are called upon for live decision. How do we justify the personal sacrifice and daily experience? What is driving our men to enter the furnace of national sacrifice? The alternative to the Christian instinct must be the urgency of a patriotism half-divine, half-pagan, an impulse of devotion to the race, having no direct concern with the future. Now, the mother and father will surrender their best though with heartache, if they truly believe that it is not only worth while with the lad, but much better. We are taught that Sin brings its own penalty, but surely Sacrifice opens to fresh opportunity. And what better opportunity can be suggested for the most careless-hearted young soldier than that he may have a further and final alternative than any which has been offered him in this world; a career touched with the memories of the past, and its expanding with the purpose of higher promise. "My son has given his young life in its prime to his country. Surely that counts for something," does not claim a spiritual sacrifice—the loss of his soul as well as "as the destruction of his body!" At this point, where does the Church come in? Dare she venture into the darkness of the Unknown, light a candle, and set it upon a candlestick? If she cannot provide some explanation in reply to this heart-longing, she will inevitably stimulate the growth of a doubtful spiritualism.

The Protestant Reformation in this country was largely affected by the emphatic determinism of Calvinist doctrine. Apart from the perversion of the teaching of Purgatory in the Catholic Church, the reformers had no use for an intermediate state. They held that the future of every soul was determined from the moment of its entrance upon human life by the inexorable will and foreknowledge of God. We who hold a happier teaching, are not bound to limit the mercy and grace of God to the few years that we spend on this earth. If we go back to New Testament teaching, we shall find much to instruct us in this matter from the words of Christ and of His apostles. We shall find that there are still waters and green pastures of rest and of preparation. Even the flame of Hades, that judgment which begins at the House of God, will prove to be mercy as well as judgment, remedial as well as punitive. This is surely to be preferred to a revival of the tribal god, the national deity. Within monotheist teaching there is room for subordinate intelligence, agencies of a personal character, through whom the Divine Will may be imperfectly transmitted. The relation of humanity to the brute creation, and of the higher races of mankind to the lower, are instances of this. But we must assume that the Church intends no such surrender. Let her, therefore, amend her teaching in closer correspondence to its primitive forms, so that an atmosphere of awe, deepening into fear, may give new strength and warning to her message of Love. Intellectual agreement on other and minor questions can never be the one condition of Christian fellowship. If, for a moment, such an agreement could be obtained, temperamental differences and subjective impressions would divide the newly-united Church the day afterwards. In the hush of such a temporary settlement we should still hear the Christian centuries, in the long past, denouncing one another. If the Church became organically one to-morrow, she might excite the wonder of the world, but would not necessarily obtain a single fresh convert. The unity for which Jesus Christ prayed really banished uniformity for ever. It was a unity of intercession, one Christ, one hope, one confidence, with varying degrees of knowledge. But admitting this, we still have reason to do everything possible to bring the different bodies, which constitute the visible Church of Christ, into contact and co-operation. It appears as if a great opportunity were maturing. The world is tired of a naturalism which cannot break loose from the laws of materialism, and which offers no promise of an ultimate ideal. Acceleration of the processes of life by fresh spiritual impulse has probably accounted for our present development. A spiritual impact upon man has quickened his mentality, braced his physical powers, and endowed him with a spiritual insight. That divine process has probably occurred more than once in the history of the race. It may be that a fresh revelation, a coming of the Son of Man, will lift us still higher in a future not too remote.

JOSEPH COMPTON-RICKETT.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TRENCHES.

IN the trenches one evening a battalion of the Leinster Regiment held a "kailee" (*ceilidh*), or Irish sing-song, at which there was a spirited rendering of the humorous old ballad, "Bryan 'O'Lynn," sung to an infectiously rollicking tune. The opening verse runs:—

"Bryan O'Lynn had no breeches to wear,
So he bought a sheep-skin to make him a pair,
With the woolly side out, and the skinny side in,
Faix, 'tis pleasant and cool, says Brian O'Lynn."

The swing of the tune took the fancy of the Germans in their trenches, less than fifty yards away. With a "rumty-tum-tumty-tum-tumty-tum-tum," they loudly hummed the air of the end of each verse, all unknowing that the Leinsters, singing at the top of their voices, gave the words a topical application:—

"With the woolly side out and the skinny side in,
'Sure, we'll wallop the Gerrys,' said Brian O'Lynn."

Hearty bursts of laughter and cheers arose from both trenches at the conclusion of the song. It seemed as if the combatants gladly availed themselves of this chance opportunity of becoming united again in the common brotherhood of man, even for but a fleeting moment, by the spirit of good humour and hilarity.

A young English officer of a different battalion of the same Leinster Regiment tells of a more curious incident still, which likewise led to a brief cessation of hostilities. Two privates in his company had a quarrel in the trenches, and nothing would do then but to fight it out on No Man's Land. The Germans were most appreciative and accommodating. Not only did they not molest the pugilists, but they cheered them, and actually fired the contents of their rifles in the air by way of a salute. The European War was, in fact, suspended in this particular section of the lines while two Irishmen settled their own little differences by a contest of fists.

"Who will now say that the Germans are not sportsmen?" was the comment of the young English officer. There is, however, another, and perhaps a shrewder view of the episode. It was taken by a sergeant of the company. "Yerra, come down out of that, 'ye pair of born fools," he called out to the fighters. "If ye had 'only a glimmer of sense, ye'd see, so ye would, that 'tis playing 'the Gerrys' game ye are. Sure, there's nothing they'd like better 'than to see us all knocking blazes out of each other." But as regards the moral pointed by the officer, there must be, of course, many "sportsmen" among the millions of German soldiers; though the opinion widely prevailing in the British Army is that they are often treacherous fighters. Indeed, to their dirty practices is mainly to be ascribed the bitter personal animosity that occasionally marks the relations between the combatants, when the fighting becomes most bloody and desperate, and—as happens at times in all wars—no quarter is given to those who allow none.

In the wars of old between England and France, both sides were

animated by a very fine sense of chivalry. Barère, one of the chief popular orators during the worst excesses of the French Revolution, induced the Convention to declare that no quarter was to be given to the English. "Soldiers of Liberty," he cried, "when 'victory places Englishmen at your mercy, strike!" But the French troops absolutely refused to act upon the savage decree. The principle upon which both French and English acted during the Peninsular War was that of doing as little harm to one another consistently with the winning of victory. Between the rank-and-file friendly feelings may be said, without any incongruity, to have existed. They were able, of their own accord, to come to certain understandings that tended to mitigate, to some extent, the hardships and even the dangers to which they were both alike exposed. One was that sentries at the outposts must not be fired on or surprised. Often no more than a space of twenty yards separated them, and when the order to advance was given to either Army, the sentries of the other were warned to retire. Once a French sentry helped a British sentry to replace his knapsack, so that he might more quickly fall back before the firing commenced. A remarkable instance of signalling between the opposing forces is mentioned by General Sir Charles Napier in his "History of the Peninsular War." Wellington sent a detachment of riflemen to drive away some French troops occupying the top of a hill near Bayonne, and, as they approached the enemy, he ordered them to fire. "But," says Napier, "with a loud voice one of those soldiers 'replied 'No firing!' and, holding up the butt of his rifle, tapped 'it in a peculiar way.'" This was a signal to the French, and was understood by them—probably as a result of a mutual arrangement—to mean "We must have the hill for a short time." "The French, who, though they could not maintain would not relinquish the post without a fight if they had been fired upon, quietly retired," Napier writes; "and this signal would never have been made if the post had been one capable of a permanent defence, so well do veterans understand war and its proprieties."

Throughout that long campaign, the British and French recognised each other as worthy foemen, and they were both solicitous to maintain unstained the honour and dignity of arms. As the opposing forces lay resting before Lisbon for months, the advanced posts got so closely into touch that much friendly intercourse took place between them. French officers frequently asked for such little luxuries as cigars, coffee, and stationery to be brought to them from Lisbon, which was held by the British, and their requests were readily complied with. At the Battle of Talavera on July 28th, 1809, the possession of a hill was fiercely contested all day. The weather was so intensely hot that the combatants were parched with thirst. At noon there was an almost entire cessation of artillery and rifle fire, as if an informal truce had been suddenly come to by a flash of intuition, and with one accord French and British rushed down to the rivulet at the foot of the hill to moisten their burning throats. "The men crowded on each side of the 'water's edge,'" says Napier. "They threw aside their caps and 'muskets, and chatted to each other in broken French and still

"more fragmentary English across the stream. Flasks were exchanged; hands shaken. Then the bugle and the rolling drum called the men back to their Colours, and the fight awoke once more."

Such amenities between combatants are very ancient: the Greeks and Trojans used to exchange presents and courtesies in the intervals of fighting, and the early stages of this war seemed to afford a promise that they would be revived. The fraternising of the British and Germans at their first Christmas under arms, in 1914, will, perhaps, always be accounted as the most curious episode of the war. The influence of the great Christian festival led to a suspension of hostilities along the lines, and the men on each side seized the opportunity to satisfy their natural curiosity to see something more of each other than through the smoke of battle with deadly weapons in their hands and hatred in their eyes. Each side had taken prisoners; but prisoners are "out of it," and therefore reduced to the level of non-combatants. The foeman in being appears in a very different light. He has the power to strike. You may have to kill him, or you may be killed by him. So the British and the Germans, impelled in the main by a common feeling of inquisitiveness, met together between the lines in No Man's Land. There was some amicable conversation where they could make themselves understood to each other, which happened when a German was found who could speak a little English. Cigarettes and tunic buttons were freely exchanged. But, for the most part, British and Germans stood with arms folded across their breasts and stared at each other with a kind of dread fascination.

It never happened again. How could it possibly be repeated? The introduction into the conflict by the Germans in high command of the barbaric elements of "frightfulness," hitherto confined to savage tribes at war; their use of such devilish inventions as poison gas and liquid fire; their belief only in brute strength; and, as regards the common German soldiers, the native lowness of morality shown by so many of them; their apparent insensitiveness to ordinary humane instincts, inevitably tended to harden and embitter their adversaries against them. Even so, British feeling is extraordinarily devoid of the vindictiveness that springs from a deep sense of personal injury, and evokes, in turn, a desire for revenge, which, were it shown, would, however lamentable, be not unnatural in the circumstances. The Germans, in the mass, are regarded as having been dehumanised and transformed into a process of ruthless destruction. In any case, they are the enemy. As such, there is a satisfaction—nay, a positive delight—in sweeping them out of existence. That is war. But against the German soldier individually it may be said that, on the whole, there is no rancour. In fact, British soldiers have a curiously detached and generous way of regarding their country's enemies. When the German soldier is taken prisoner, or picked up wounded, the British soldier is disposed, as a hundred thousand instances show, to treat him as a "pal," to divide his food and share his cigarettes with him as he passes to the base.

It was very noticeable how all the war correspondents, in their

counts of the taking of the village of Ginchy on the Somme by the 16th (Irish) Division, dwelt on the chivalrous way in which the Irish treated their vanquished foes. Once the spirit of combativeness is aroused in the Irish soldiers, they hate the enemy like the lack death to which they strive to consign them. But when the fury of battle has died down in victory, there are none so soft and kindly to the beaten enemy. Surrender should always of course disarm hostility. No true soldier would decline to lower his bayonet when a foeman acknowledges defeat and places his life in his keeping. That is, after a fair and gallant fight on the part of the foeman. It was because the Germans at Ginchy were vindictive in combat, and despicable when overthrown, that the Irish acted with rare magnanimity in accepting their submission and sparing their lives.

In that engagement the Irish made a characteristically headlong dash for the enemy positions. Rifle and machine-gun fire was poured into them by the Germans up to the very last moment, until, in fact, they had reached the trenches; and then, as they were about to jump in and bayonet and club their blood-thirsty foemen, they found them on their knees with hands uplifted. The Irish were enraged at the sight. To think that men who had been so merciless would beg for mercy when their opponents were on top of them! Were their comrades slain only a moment since to go unavenged? These thoughts passed rapidly through the minds of the Irish. As swiftly came the decision, worthy of high-souled men. An enemy on his knees is to them inviolable, not to be hurt or injured, however mean and low he may have proved himself to be. So the Irish bayonets, at the very breasts of the Germans, were turned aside.

In the gladiatorial fights for the entertainment of the people in ancient Rome, the defeated combatant was expected to expose his throat to the sword of the victor, and any shrinking on his part caused the arena to ring with the angry shouts of the thousands of spectators, "Receive the steel!" By all accounts, the Germans have a dislike of the bayonet. They might well be paralysed, indeed, at the affrighting spectacle of that thin line of cold steel wielded by a furious Irishman; but if the bayonet were in the hands of a soldier of any of the other British nationalities, his cry to the German that recoiled from its thrust would probably be "Receive the steel!" expressed in the rudest and roughest native idiom. The way of the Irish at Ginchy was different; and perhaps the renunciation of their revenge was not the least magnificent part of a glorious day.

"If we brained them on the spot, who could blame us? 'Tis ourselves that would think it no sin if it was done by anyone else," said a private of the Dublin Fusiliers. "Let me tell you," he went on, "what happened to myself. As I raced across the open with my comrades, jumping in and out of shell-holes, and the bullets flying thick around us, laying many a fine boy low, I said to myself, 'This is going to be a fight to the last gasp for those of us that get to the Germans.' As I came near to the trenches, I picked a man out for myself. Straight in front of me,

"he was, leaning out of the trench, and he with a rifle firing away
 "at us as if we were rabbits. I made for him with my bayonet
 "ready, determined to give him what he deserved, when—what
 "do you think?—didn't he notice me and what I was up to?
 "Dropping his rifle he raised himself up in the trench and
 "stretched out his hands towards me. What could you do in this
 "case, but what I did. Sure, you wouldn't have the heart to strike
 "him down, even if he were to kill you. I caught sight of his
 "eyes, and there was such a frightened and pleading look in them
 "that I at once lowered my rifle, and took him by the hand, saying
 "'You're my prisoner!' I don't suppose he understood a word
 "of what I said; but he clung to me, crying, 'Kamerad!
 "'Kamerad!' I was more glad than ever that I hadn't the blood
 "of him on my soul. 'Tis a queer thing to say, maybe, of a man
 "who acted like that; but, all the same, he looked a decent boy
 "every bit of him. I suppose the truth of it is this: We soldiers
 "on both sides have to go through such terrible experiences that
 "there is no accounting for how we may behave. We might be
 "devils, all out, in the morning, and saints, no less, in the
 "evening."

The relations between the trenches include even attempts at an
 exchange of repartee. The wit, as may be supposed, in such circum-
 stances, is invariably ironic and sarcastic. My examples are Irish
 for the reason that I have had most to do with Irish soldiers, but
 they may be taken as fairly representative of the taunts and pleas-
 santries which are often bandied across No Man's Land. The
 Germans, holding part of their line in Belgium, got to know that
 the British trenches opposite them were being held by an Irish
 battalion. "Hello, Irish!" they cried. "How is King Carson
 "getting on, and have you got Home Rule yet?" The compar-
 ison of the Irish sergeant-major, a big Tipperary man, was selected to make the
 proper reply, and, in order that it might be fully effective, he sent
 it through a megaphone which the colonel was accustomed to use
 in addressing the battalion on parade. "Hello, Gerrys!" he called
 out. "I'm thinking it isn't information ye want, but divarshion
 "but 'tis information I'll be after giving ye, all the same. Late
 "on we'll be sending ye some fun that'll make ye laugh at the
 "other side of yer mouths. The last we heard of Carson, he was
 "prodding the Government like the very devil to put venom in
 "their blows at ye, and more power to his elbow while he's at the
 "work, say we. As for Home Rule, we mean to have it, and we will
 "get it, please God, when ye're licked. Put that in yer pipe
 "and smoke it!"

The two names for the Germans in use among the Irish troops
 are "Gerrys" and (a corruption of the French "*allemand*" for
 German) "Alleymans." Once, when the Irish Guards were in the
 the firing-line, they could see, by means of a mirror stuck up on the
 parapados (the earth elevation rearward of the trench), a big, fat
 elderly German soldier, with a thick grey moustache, frequently
 pottering about the German trenches. He took the fancy of the
 Irish, for the reason that he appeared to them to be typical
 German. They could have shot him, had they chosen; but the

preferred to make a pet of him, and every time he appeared they shouted together: "Good man, Alleyman"; so that he soon came to know the greeting and would bow his head with a smile towards the British lines. A day came when there was no "Alleyman," and the Irish Guards began to fear that some harm had befallen him. "Maybe some bla'guard of a sniper in another part of the lines has shot the dacent man," they said. Then it struck them to try whether a loud call for their favourite would bring him again into view. They raised a shout in unison of "We—want—Alley—man," and in about five minutes the rotund figure of the German appeared on the top of the parapet, smilingly bowing his acknowledgment of the great honour done him by his friends, the enemy. Great was the relief of the Irish Guards, and they raised a joyful cry of "Good man, Alleyman."

Of all the horrible features of the war, surely the most heart-ending is the fate of the wounded lying without succour in the pen between the opposing lines, owing to the inability of the higher command on both sides to agree to an arrangement for a short suspension of hostilities after an engagement so that the tricken might be brought in. Prone in the mud and slush they lie, during the cruel winter weather, with the rain pouring down upon them, their moans of agony in the darkness of the night mingling with the cold blasts that howl around them. But, thanks to the loving kindness of man for his fellow, even in war, these unfortunate creatures are not deserted. British soldiers without number have voluntarily crept out into No Man's Land to rescue them, often under murderous fire from the enemy. Many of the Victoria Crosses won in this war have been awarded for conspicuous gallantry displayed in these most humane and chivalrous enterprises.

Happily, also, brief informal truces are not infrequently come to between the opposing forces at particular sections of the lines, so that one or other, or both, may bring in, after a raid, their wounded and their slain. One of the most uplifting stories I have heard was told me by a captain of the Royal Irish Fusiliers. Out here in front of the trench held by his company lay a figure in a haki writhing in pain and wailing for help. "Will no one come to me," he cried, in a voice broken with anguish. He had been disabled in the course of a raid on the German trenches the night before by a battalion which was relieved in the morning. These appeals of his were like stabs to the compassionate hearts of the Irish Fusiliers. Several of them told the captain they could stand no longer, and must go out to the wounded man. If they were not in the attempt, what matter! It happened that a little dog was then making himself quite at home in both the British and German trenches at this part of the line. He was a neutral; he took no sides; he regularly crossed from one to the other, and found both friends to give him food and a kind word with a pat on the head. The happy thought came to the captain to make a messenger of the dog. So he wrote: "May we take our wounded man in?" and tied the note to the dog's tail, and sent him to the German trenches. The message was in English, for the captain did not know German,

and had to trust to the chance of the enemy being able to read it. In a short time the dog returned with the answer. It was in English, and it ran: "Yes; you can have five minutes." So the captain and a man went out with a stretcher, and brought the poor fellow back to our lines. Then, standing on the top of the parapet, the captain took off his hat, and called out: "Give the Germans 'three hearty cheers, boys.'" The response was most enthusiastic. With the cheers were mingled such cries as: "Sure, the Gerrys are 'not all bad chaps, after all,'" and "May the heavens be the 'bed of those of them we may kill." More than that, the incident brought tears to many a man's eyes on the Irish side; and, it maybe, on the German side, too. Certainly answering cheers came from their trenches.

Some of these understandings are come to by a sort of telepathic suggestion inspired by the principle of "live and let live," however incongruous that may seem in warfare. As an instance, recuperative work, such as the bringing up of food to the firing lines, is often allowed to go on in comparative quietude. Neither side cares to stand on guard in the trenches on an empty stomach. Often, therefore, firing is almost entirely suspended in the early hours of the night when it is known that rations are being distributed. That is not the way everywhere and always. A private of the Royal Irish Regiment told me that what he found most aggravating in the trenches was the fusillading by the Germans when the men were getting ready a bit to eat. "I suppose," he remarked, "'twas the smell of the frying bacon that put their 'dandher up.'" But even defensive work has been allowed to proceed without interference, when carried on simultaneously by both sides. Heavy rain, following a hard frost, turned the trenches in the Ypres district into a chaos of ooze and slime. "How deep 'is it with you?" a German soldier shouted across to the British. "Up to our knees, bedad," was the reply. "You are lucky 'fellows. We're up to our belts in it," said the German. Driven to desperation by their hideous discomfort the Germans soon afterwards crawled up on to their parapets, and sat there to dry and stretch their legs, calling out: "Kamerads, don't shoot; don't shoot 'Kamerads." The reply of the Irish was to get out of their trenches and do likewise. On another occasion, in the broad daylight, unarmed parties of men on both sides, by a tacit agreement, set about repairing their respective barbed-wire entanglements. They were no more than fifteen or twenty yards apart. The wiring party on the British side belonged to the Munster Fusiliers. Being short of mallets, one of the Munsters coolly walked across to the enemy, and said: "Good morrow, Gerrys. 'Would any of ye be so kind as to lend me the loan of a hammer?" The Germans received him with smiles, but, as they did not know English, they were unable to understand what he wanted, until he made it clear by pantomimic action, when he was given the hammer "with a heart and a half," as he put it himself. Having repaired the defences of his own trench he brought back the hammer to the Germans, and thought he might give them "a bit 'of his mind," without offence, as they did not know what he was

saying. "Here's your hammer, and thanks," said he. "High hanging to the man that caused this war—ye know who I mean"—and may we be all soon busily at work hammering nails into "his coffin."

Many touching stories might be told of the sympathy which unites the combatants when they find themselves lying side by side, wounded and helpless, in shell-holes and copses, or on the open plain after an engagement. The ruling spirit which animates the soldier in the fury of the fight is, as it seems to me, that of self-preservation. He kills or disables so that he may not be killed or disabled himself. Each side, in their own opinion, are waging a purely defensive war. So it is that the feeling of hostility subsides, once the sense of danger is removed by the enemy being put out of action, and each side sees in its captives not devils or barbarians, but fellow men. Especially among the wounded, British and German, do these sentiments prevail, as they lie stricken together on the field of battle. In a dim way they pitifully regard each other as hapless victims caught in the vortex of the greatest of human tragedies, and they sometimes wonder why it was they fought each other at all. They try to help each other, to ease each other's sufferings, to staunch each other's wounds; to give each other comfort in their sore distress.

"Poor devil; unnerved by shell shock," was the comment passed as a wounded German was being carried by on a stretcher sobbing as if his heart would break. It was not the roar of the artillery and the bursting of high explosives that had unnerved him, but the self-sacrifice of a Dublin Fusilier who in succouring him lost his own life. At the hospital the German related that on recovering his senses after being shot he found the Dublin Fusilier trying to staunch the wound in his shattered leg, from which blood was flowing profusely. The Irishman undid the field-dressing, consisting of bandage and antiseptic preparation, which he had wrapped round his own wound, and applied it to the German as he appeared to be in danger of bleeding to death. Before the two men were discovered by a British stretcher party the Dublin Fusilier had passed away. He developed blood-poisoning through his exposed wound. The German, on hearing the news, broke down and wept bitterly.

Reconciliation between wounded foemen is, happily, a common occurrence on the stricken plain. The malignant roar of the guns may still be in their ears, and they may see around them bodies battered and twisted out of all human shape. All the more are they anxious to testify that there is no fury in their hearts with each other, and that their one wish is to make the supreme parting with prayers and words of loving kindness on their lips. I have had from a French officer, who was wounded in a cavalry charge early in the war, an account of a pathetic incident which took place close to where he lay. Among his companions in affliction were two who were far gone on the way to death. One was a private in the Uhlans and the other a private in the Royal Irish Dragoons. The Irishman got, with a painful effort, from an inside pocket of his tunic a rosary of beads which had a crucifix attached to it. Then he

commenced to mutter to himself the invocations to the Blessed Virgin, of which the Rosary is composed. "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women, "and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus." The German, lying huddled close by, stirred with the uneasy movements of a man weak from pain and loss of blood on hearing the murmur of prayer, and, looking round in a dazed condition, the sight of the beads in the hands of his fellow in distress seemed to recall to his mind other times and different circumstances—family prayers at home somewhere in Bavaria, and Sunday evening devotions in church—for he made, in his own tongue, the response to the invocation: "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now "at the hour of our death. Amen." So the voices intermingled in address and prayer—the wrapt ejaculations of the Irishman, the deep guttural of the German—getting weaker and weaker, in the process of dissolution, until they were hushed on earth for ever more.

War has, outwardly, lost its romance with its colour and pageantry. It is bloody, ugly, and horrible. Yet romance is not dead. It still survives, radiant and glowing, in the heroic achievements of our soldiers, and in the tender fancies of their hearts.

STEPHEN STAPLETON.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. THE VOICE FROM THE MIZZEN MAST. By J. E. G. DE M.	645
2. REVIEWS	650
PRESIDENT WILSON; SWINBURNE; GROTIUS PAPERS; THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE; ENGLISH GIPSIES; UNKNOWN SEAS.	
3. SHORTER REVIEWS:—"Community: A Sociological Study," etc.	660

THE VOICE FROM THE MIZZEN-MAST.

ALFRED WORTHY, the gigantic seaman, who had such striking memories of the Haunted Farm, and whose recollections of the black cook struck terror into so many tender feminine hearts, found it possible early in May to secure a few days' leave from his ship. She was in need of various attentions, and her faithful Alfred having assured the authorities that a week of his services on the home farm would make a substantial difference in the national food supply, left her to the tender care of smiths and hammerers. It was by this simple and yet sophisticated plan that a vast blue-clad form, crowned by the brown smiling, child-like visage of Mr. Worthy one shining May afternoon, drifted down the long hill into the village. He had been through enough since Christmas in the way of imminent perils, but the dangers aloft and under-sea had left no mark upon his immobile countenance. His smile was part of his nature; it was fixed in his heart, and shone upon his brow. It was there when he was rescued after five hours in the sea, following a certain skirmish upon the deep. "We done 'em in," said Alfred, "done 'em in proud; but it do seem wet place do wold sea." His was an Olympian nature, untroubled and unthinking. He never reasoned. He saw the thing and assumed that others had thought it out. "It do stand to reason," he would say, and there was the end of the matter, for no one was inclined to argue with a man whose left fist was a veritable hammer of the gods. A serene self-confidence distinguished Mr. Worthy; confidence in the justice of earth and sky, in the capacities of his officers, and not least in the capacity of a certain minute sub-lieutenant, by whose side he had fought, and, last of all, confidence in himself. No foe born of

woman would face this terrible seaman on even terms. Alfred Worthy, cutlass in hand, was incomparable. The opportunities for cutlass work are not what they were in the Napoleonic wars, but there are occasions, and those who have seen our friend on those occasions say that he has the face of a lover, radiant beyond the common wont, even as he towers above the commonalty of men. Huge though he is, he seems immune from death. He has been in the trenches, he has played a yeoman's part in trench raids, he has learnt the use of the bayonet, thrice has he been wounded, ten times saved from the deep; once he met his equal, a gigantic bearded Saxon, a superb man-at-arms, who became Alfred's prisoner by choice; twice he has been captured, and twice he has escaped. But his untroubled face shows no sign of war's alarms. When on leave he has two goals: One is to visit the Saxon captive, who smiles as his twin looms in sight, and the other is to visit a certain farm near his native village.

Alfred's method of stimulating the production of national food supply is to look on, to encourage with eye and word, to dwell on the sufferings of the Navy in respect to fresh vegetables, and, strangest of occupations, to milk the cows. Morning and afternoon he milks, an amazing recreation. No cow, however truculent, shows horn or heel to Mr. Worthy. Even Daisy is afraid of him, and Daisy is the terror of all milkers, a speckled beast with an errant eye and an unstable heart. Many gallons of admirable milk has drained away from pails re-echoing her off-hind-hoof, and oft in the sunny fields has she galloped till all the milk is gone. When Alfred calls she comes, meek and mild, as any ancient cow, with ears just pricking for the sound of his voice: "Daisy, Daisy, 'come, wold cow." When Alfred milks he sits on the milking stool like any milkmaid; but his legs are far away on the larboard side of the cow, and his head is where the mizzen-mast should be. He gravely smiles as he milks; there is no dodge, device, trick, or subterfuge that is not used to secure the last gill. "I do think 'Alfred do get two quarts more a day from Buttercup than any 'other milker," said Mrs. Multon. He was an asset in that respect. Moreover, at the churn, unwillingly introduced at the farm, he was unequalled. He would coax the butter out of the cream, singing dreamy sea-songs to the reluctant foaming whiteness. He was reputed to make butter out of the sea-foam and he never denied the strange indictment; indeed, confirmed the rumour by saying softly, "it do stand to reason that our sea-butter 'be salt." It is certain that where tempers have been lost after hours of fruitless churning Alfred would with inevitable certitude make the butter come within nine minutes. He smiled at the cream, coaxed it, sang to it, laughed at it, mesmerised it,

and lo! in a few minutes his great hands were wielding wooden instruments moulding exquisite pats of the divinest butter. "Iss; 'what a husband the man would make," said Mrs. Multon, and all the maidens sighed to think that such a man was being wasted on the sea. "I be sort o' married to the sea," he explained to Mrs. Multon. "She be calmer when I am there." And he truly believed this, as indeed did all his shipmates. "Come, Alfred, do you give us a sea tale this time." The lovely May evening was drawing to its close, and the full moon that had shone down from the edge of Old Man's Hill into the little orchard, now white and pink with flower, followed the party, tired after a long day on the land, into the great kitchen, peering through the latticed windows and smiling coldly at the blazing loose turf on the wide hearth. It was a cold, clear evening now that the daylight had died in a passion of colour and the fire met the late spring cold, more piercing than the winter cold, with pleasant greetings. Alfred stretched his gigantic bulk on three or four sacks by the fire, and the rest of the company locked him in: a half circle of half-sleepy folk. A story was due this end of the week, and here was Alfred to give it. He seemed to feel the importance of his task, and faced the critical eyes of Mr. Warlock with a frank gaze of childlike simplicity. Then he began:—

"The sea be a strange creature, Mrs. Multon. She do hold strange things in that great heaving bosom o' hers, spirits, so to speak, o' the damned. The Red-headed Man do be there, sou'-east o' the Azores, wi' James Farmacre's arms—if so be it wur James Farmacre and not the wold Devil himself—round his neck." "What be red-headed man's name?" said Fred Harrage, unconcernedly. "I did know a red-headed seaman who came back from the dead like." "This man wur no seaman," said Alfred, though to be sure he did seem to know the royal mast-head wonnerful well. He wur a passenger on a sailing ship bound for the Falklands, and his name were William Winks. 'Twur years before I wur in the Navy. I wur a lad, an' in a manner fearful o' things, an' it stands to reason that as ship-boy on the *Katie and Jane*, I did have reason, being my first ship. Day before we sailed red-headed man came aboard wi' a lot of baggage. He wur a horrid looking man wi' a dreadful squint and long red whiskers, tall and gaunt, with a hungry look and great hands, always restlessly closing and unclosing. He wur nigh as tall as I be, and much uglier." A slight giggle from interested parties ceased as he blandly lit his pipe and smiled at the ceiling. 'Twur awful night, night before we sailed. We wur top-heavy for such weather, and sent down to deck the fore and mizzen royal yards. It do stand to reason when that be done the men

“ in shortening sail do not go up to the royal yard, for there be no
 “ royal yard, and so they only go up to the top-gallant yard. But a
 “ man, even a red headed man like William Winks, could if like
 “ go up to the royal mast and do what he like in the dark. He
 “ could, in the noise o’ the wind hidden in the dark, make a dead
 “ body fast to a whip and rove the whip through a block up to the
 “ royal masthead (for the ropes be hanging though the yards be
 “ down), and pull away at the rope on deck in the dark and the
 “ roaring wind, and hoist the body right up to the royal mast. He
 “ could, too, climb up to the royal mast-head and lash the body
 “ to the mast and make it invisible like. The men on the top-gallan
 “ yard would not see it. And then when he liked he could cut it
 “ adrift. All these things the red-headed man could do, but I do
 “ not believe he did do any of these things. He wur no sailorman.”

The party were obviously mystified, though they understood well enough the sailor’s jargon. As they listened, they heard the wind whistling through the cold May evening, and dreamily watched the shadows that the flickering firelight threw across the kitchen, and glanced down at the untroubled face of Mr. Worthy as he lay prone and told his tale. “ He wur a sailorman,” said Fred Harrage. “ I did know the man. He wur a native o’ Lund and a pirate by nature. He be still alive.” “ I did zee he dead,” said Mr. Worthy. “ Wur he quite dead ? ” said Fred, anxiously “ for if so be his ghost do walk the moor wi’ a little, straggled bearded man, who laughs like a jay.” “ What be that,” said Alfred, almost sharply, leaning up on his elbow, and glancing keenly at Fred, “ be James Farmacres here, too ? ” Then relapsing, he went on again in his half-dreamy but, occasionally, too vivid description of events to a very much awakened company. “ These be the facts as I did see they wi’ these very eyes. We got away from port wi’ terrible bad weather, and after much beating about we wur about midnight, time o’ full moon, sou’-east o’ the Azores. The wind had gone, and there wur a mist, and you could not see five cables’ length from the ship in the calm. The captain wur on deck, standing close against the mizzen-mast. Suddenly a voice rang down clear as a bell out o’ the skies, ‘ Stand clear o’ the mizzen-mast.’ The captain he looked up and then smartly stepped clear. As he did so there was a whirle through the air and something fell wi’ a horrible thud at the very foot of the mizzen-mast. There it lay, with its face and straggled beard lookin’ up at wold moon, our wold moon. A dead man if ever there be dead men on this wold earth. We looked the body over. James Farmacres wur his name, out of Devon : dead as mutton—New Zealand,” added the seaman as further proof. “ There wur nought to be done but to send the man who had com-

“from nowhere back to the sea, and the captain he bid the men heave Mr. Farmacres overboard, which they set to wi’ a will, being superstitious like. But never a man could move the body. They lashed a rope round it and pulled, but he wur fixed. Then the captain he spit and thought hard. Then, said he, ‘Where be red-headed passenger?’ said he. We had him out o’ his bunk in no time. ‘Sir,’ said the captain, polite-like, ‘Kindly heave this here body overboard.’ But the red-headed man shook his red whiskers. ‘Then the captain goes to his cabin and comes back with a revolver. ‘Kindly heave your friend overboard.’ ‘He be no friend o’ mine,’ said the passenger with a shudder. ‘Twur a cold night, and we wur all a-shuddering under the girt moon. The captain he tapped his firearm, and the passenger understood. So he goes up to the body and puts his arms under it and lifts it easy as a baby. The wold boatswain he say to me, ‘Murder will out, boy,’ as he zee the red-headed man walk in three girt strides wi’ the body to the side o’ the ship. Our faces were stretched out watching, all white (I zee they now) in the moonlight, when just as the passenger was heaving the body it came, sudden-like, to life and flung its arms round the man, and dragged him, shrieking, into the sea. Zee it with my own eyes. We put out boat to save him, but they wur swallowed in the mist, and at daybreak a fresh wind took us away from that cursed spot.” Alfred Worthy smiled at the ceiling. It was a treasured memory. “They be not dead,” said Fred Harrage. “Should you know the voice of the passenger again? Wur it like this?” “That be it,” said Alfred, rising, and standing on guard, as it were, before the fire. As he stood there, towering in his tremendous way, the laughing note of a jay ran through the orchard. “A late bird,” said the seaman, and he walked out into the orchard. In a minute or two he returned. “’Twur a coincidence, as the captain says,” he remarked. “’Twur a jay. Saw the bird. But I ’spose they two *were* picked up. Here, I will sing a song if Mr. Warlock will play.” And the old man, who looked on Alfred as a son, and the dearest of sons, played his fiddle, with beaming eye, in the firelight, while Alfred sang:

“Whatever seas my heart shall please,
 Whatever land shall shine,
 Give me at last the narrow seas,
 The waters south from Hebrides,
 For those are truly mine.

The meadows sweet, the buttercup,
 The flower upon the thorn,
 These fill my dreams and are my hope,
 For by them I was born.

Whatever seas my heart shall please,
 Whatever land shall shine,
 I only love the narrow seas,
 And England heart of mine."

" 'Tis a good land," said Mr. Warlock, " and a true song."

J. E. G. DE M.

REVIEWS.

PRESIDENT WILSON.*

This is a timely and well-balanced book. It was written and published before America joined in the war for the wise and specific purpose of making the English understand the workings of the American mind. We think that Mr. Wilson Harris will admit that we have always tried to do this during the war, and that we showed, in fact, less impatience than Americans living in England at the slow processes that succeeded one another in the evolution of the President's policy, from the days when he declared that the Republic was too proud to fight, and the day when he cabled birthday congratulations to the bloodstained Emperor, down to the days when he had at last brought the great American people into a solid phalanx for war. We really understood President Wilson better than some of his own people understood him, and we realised that, in all but name, the great heart of America was with us and for the great cause of human liberty for which we fight. Moreover, we had very little time to devote to controversial matters. We had to organise victory, the victory that Sir Douglas Haig has just achieved in France. But we never doubted that the nation over the water would be standing by when the end came. We are glad to have her in the final struggle for this insures not only victory, but permanent peace, from which fears of future struggles, such as the struggle between Japan and America that Germany has tried to foment, are totally eliminated.

But though we may claim always to have realised the difficulties and the ultimate soundness of the United States, it is nevertheless a great convenience to have this plain record of the political life of the brilliant, and yet cautious, publicist and juristic thinker who now holds the reins of the new Chariot of War. Mr. Thomas Woodrow Wilson has both Scottish and Irish blood in his veins and inherits a literary tradition. Of Ohio stock, he was, in fact, born at Staunton, Virginia, the State that gave birth to the four great Presidents—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. He was born on December 28th, 1856, and was brought up in Georgia, later educated in Carolina and at Princetown, where he matriculated in 1875, and of which he eventually became President in 1902, after twelve years as Professor of Jurisprudence at

* *President Wilson: His Problems and His Policy*, by H. Wilson Harris. (Headline Bros., Kingsway House, W.C., 5s. net.)

Politics. He had tried to secure practice as a lawyer but failed. It is thus that fate looks after her own. Here we read of Mr. Wilson's life as President of this notable University, as the author of books on constitutional law and the theory of politics, of his election as Governor of New Jersey in 1910, of his adoption as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1912. His campaign speeches are preserved in the volume entitled, *The New Freedom*. The book gave the key to his life's policy. He entered on his office in March, 1913, and it looked as though, while he might have home difficulties as a Minority President, that, after all, his period of office would not be world-shaking. The quiet, professorial President would have a quiet time. Well, here is the record of the time that he has had during his first and the opening year of his second period of office. He did good work in his famous attack on "privilege" as represented by corporate bodies, and he opened up new problems by his dealing with Mexico. In general policy he laid down the principle that the Monroe doctrine not only conferred rights, but imposed duties. The United States is a quasi-trustee for interests in which she forbade Europe to interfere, and is the leading member of a great family of states. Mr. Wilson is a Pan-American. But (on the question of the Panama Canal) he put duty before power, and this was his persistent policy. The United States is too great a nation to strain documents in her favour. This was the real note of the "too proud to fight" speech. Mr. Wilson's speeches have not always been wise in wording, but they have been sound in principle. That is why the whole nation has rallied to him to-day in the fight for the right. We all realise this, but certainly this book will do much to make Englishmen and Englishwomen see that Mr. Wilson has, amid all the intricacies of his path, always striven to follow the gleam and attain the goal not only of Pan-America, but of such a combination of Powers as will render future conflicts of the present type impossible, as will in fact eliminate international criminals.

* * *

SWINBURNE*

The world of literature and the historians of English literature are indeed indebted to Mr. Gosse for this excellent, well-balanced, and entirely good-humoured record of the late Mr. Swinburne, the most rhythmic and, with the possible exception of Spenser, the most musical of English poets. It is not so many years since a life such as this of a poet who was fearless to the last would have been impossible. We are fortunate in securing it at so early a date, when the personal aspects of the great Republican singer are still vividly in memory. Algernon Charles Swinburne was born in Chester Street, Grosvenor Square, London, on April 5th, 1837; he died at Putney on April 10th, 1909. He was the eldest of the six children of Admiral Charles Henry Swinburne (1797-1877) by

* *The Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne*, by Edmund Gosse, C.B. (Macmillan, price 10s. 6d. net.)

His wife, Lady Jane Henrietta (1809-1896), daughter of George, third Earl of Ashburnham. "Neither the Swinburnes nor the Ashburnhams had produced a poet or a scholar before. They were pure types of the aristocratic class in its moods for producing sportsmen, soldiers, and county magistrates." As Swinburne himself wrote in 1875, with his habitual humour as well as complacency, "I think you will allow that when this race chose at last to produce a poet, it would have been at least remarkable if he had been content to write nothing but hymns and idylls for the clergy and young ladies to read out in chapels and drawing-rooms." Certainly Swinburne was *sui generis*, and if he had not the physique of a warrior bold, he was certainly a singer of martial stock afraid of nothing, and least of all afraid of public opinion long schooled in the pleasing respectability of the Tennysonian craftsmen. Mr. Gosse is, perhaps, a little hard on Tennyson himself. But the Tennyson craze, with all its good points, made Swinburne, the Swinburne of the *Poems and Ballads*, a poet who had to fight for his existence.

Educated at Eton and Oxford, he loved Eton and had a mild dislike of Oxford—the Oxford that refused the best prize poem then ever was written. One can understand that the Balliol manner was considerably offensive to a Balliol man of Swinburne's type, the proud aristocrat who chose to be a Republican, and chose the last to sing of "the one red star tyrannicide." Swinburne never got over his cold dislike for Oxford, and declined in 1900 to accept an honorary degree, though he kept his name on the list until 1878, renewing his Caution money every year for that purpose, in order to prevent his name being removed from the Calendar. This was characteristic of the poet; he would take infinite pains to support some pet scheme or project or line of defence, as in the famous controversy with Dr. Furnivall in 1880 when he overwhelmed that learned and tiresomely quarrelsome antiquary. Mr. Gosse traces with minute care the not very exciting record of the poet's life from 1859, when he left Oxford, to his death in 1909. This half-century was filled with ceaseless literary effort. Swinburne never married, but leaned for support on a succession of friends whom he tried greatly in small ways, but who were always devoted to him, and no doubt tried him with their highly-strung, explosive nature in their turn. But if his life was uneventful, and, in fact, extraordinarily sheltered, it was full of literary excitement. His great gifts gradually forced themselves on the literary thinkers of the day, and the wonderful creature with the huge head crowned with radiant hair, became one of the exciting mysteries of English literature. No one knew what might come next from the pen of this ecstatic worshipper of Mazzini and Hugo, this terrific singer who, year by year, added profound thinking to a unique lyric gift. The story of his various controversies is told here with sympathy and humour, and Mr. Gosse makes the reader realise what a truly remarkable person Swinburne was, not only as a poet, but as a prose writer and controversialist. His amusing reply to the critics of his *Poems and Ballads* perhaps was as useful as Arnold's attacks on the Philistines. He lavished contempt on his critics' "pretensions to purity, learning, and

'taste; ' *Ma corruption rougirait de leur pudeur!* ' " he cried, and declared " our time has room only for such as are content to write ' for children and girls. "

" His passionate appeal for a reasonable and manly liberty of utterance, his indignation at the idea that nothing must be published which is not ' fit and necessary food for female infancy '— this struck a new note, or revived a forgotten note, of wholesome freedom, and permanently strengthened the hands of all those who ' profess to deal neither in poison nor in pap. ' "

But of course the sad side of Swinburne's successful defence of the right of a great poet to sing as he will, is that it has been taken advantage of, in our own day, by a swarm of minor poets who regard themselves as of Swinburne's calibre, and think that they are repeating the history of *Poems and Ballads* by the insertion in tenth-rate verse of oaths, blasphemy and obscenity that have no relation to the theme or the age. But, after all, every great principle is abused, and this particular abuse has to be expected. *Poems and Ballads* (1866) came after the famous *Atalanta in Calydon*, and before the great *Songs of the Republic* (1867-1870) on which Swinburne hoped to rest his fame. Probably that fame will largely centre round *Songs Before Sunrise*; but throughout his work, even in its latest redundant phases, there is a music never heard before, a music that will never be forgotten. He stands definitely in the front rank of English poets, one of " the great immortal lights. "

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GROTIUS PAPERS.*

This second volume of the Proceedings of the Grotius Society is a further instalment of the attempt of the Society to state, even during the bitterness of war, the principles of International Law without bias and with an earnest desire that those principles should be respected as the Common Law of Nations. Dr. Hugh Bellot, the learned editor of this volume, lays stress on the fact in his preface. He writes:—

" When we remember that certain of the belligerents in their conduct of the present war have deliberately and of set policy disregarded one after the other nearly all the generally accepted laws and usages of war, it would be demanding too much from human nature to expect that these pages should be wholly free from any expression of feeling. Nevertheless, I believe that not one of the writers has consciously departed from that attitude of impartiality which should distinguish an international jurist. Whilst each member naturally has jealously guarded the national rights to which his own State is entitled as a unit in the Society of Nations, all have approached the problems discussed here with the desire to maintain, and, if possible, to advance, those principles of International Law which rest upon the consent of civilised nations, and are in accordance with the spirit of justice and humanity.

* The Grotius Society. Problems of the War: Papers read before the Society in the year 1916. Vol. II. (Sweet & Maxwell. Price 6s. net.)

Certainly Dr. Bellot, in his detailed paper on "War Crimes Their Prevention and Punishment," has not infringed this sound principle of judicial detachment. Though the paper is, of course directed against "certain of the belligerents," and, in particular Germany, who have applied the pestilent doctrine of "military necessity" to override the dictates of common decency and morality, and the laws of war as they have hitherto been understood by civilised nations other than Germany. He writes, "It is indeed, incredible that any lawyer—to say nothing of international national jurists—should ever admit such a doctrine under any circumstances whatever. Military necessity knows no law." Dr. Bellot discusses in valuable detail the right of reprisals. Certainly this country is averse to reprisals. But reprisals may become necessary to stop outrages of a peculiarly fiendish kind. The German attacks on hospital ships have recently, after full notice to Germany, been followed by English reprisals in the shape of dropping bombs on a German town. The Germans have only to stop their submarines from committing outrages of a kind that no civilised nation has ever before committed in order to secure immunity. They have had full notice of the penalty that will be inflicted. They must be prepared to suffer further reprisals of some type if they continue to break the law, as that law has been accepted by them at The Hague. Reprisals are hateful; but the only alternatives are provided by The Hague Conventions, which Germany has defied. The fact that the innocent suffer by reprisals is terrible; but, after all, the responsibility rests on the Germans who have had full notice that certain criminal acts will be met in a certain way. The German sufferers are martyrs to the policy of their own disgraceful Government. There is another alternative and that is the announcement now that the terms of peace will include the summary execution of the German Generals (and the persons employed by those Generals) responsible for war crimes. Sir John Macdonnell suggests that the perpetrators of war crimes should be branded with *infamia*, and, after the war, should be allowed no international rights. This would scarcely be effective as a deterrent to murderers. If a man has deliberately been guilty of murder, that is to say of killing when by no code of international law killing is permissible, he should be tried for murder and executed. Dr. Bellot says that "it must be brought home to the German Government and to the German people in unmistakable language that the rest of the Powers will not tolerate for the future atrocities such as have rendered the German nation infamous for all time. Notice should also be given that the actual perpetrators of forbidden methods of barbarism will meet with the extreme penalty of the law if and when they fall into the hands of the injured party, whether belligerent or neutral."

These technical papers are introduced by a judicial and learned essay by Professor Goudy, in which he throws new light on the life and thought of the great seventeenth-century jurist Grotius whose name the Society bears. Sir Ernest Satow discusses "The Treatment of Alien Enemies"; Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency elaborates the principles underlying the doctrines of contraband and blockade; Dr. E. J. Schuster analyses the complex

question of the nationality and domicile of trading corporations; Dr. Sanford Cole explains the position of neutrals and belligerents in neutral waters; Professor Ch. de Visscher deals with 'la belligérance dans ses Rapport avec la violation de la Neutralité'; Dr. T. J. Lawrence deals with the effect of war on international law; Dr. W. R. Bissshop has a useful paper on international leagues; Dr. W. Evans Darby considers the question of the enforcement of The Hague Conventions; Sir Alfred Hopkinson deals with the very living subject of the treatment of civilians in occupied territories; while Professor J. H. Morgan examines the difficult question of "War Treason." The useful and timely volume ends with an important and highly-judicial paper on 'Destruction of Merchantmen by a Belligerent,' by Sir Walter (formerly Lord Justice) Phillimore.

* * *

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE.*

Mr. Brailsford's new book deserves the praise it has received. Perhaps no British publicist combines such an extensive knowledge of foreign affairs and foreign political literature with such power of lucid and dispassionate analysis, and such a faculty of seeing all round complicated problems. His thoughtful pages might be studied with profit in every country in Europe. Nowhere else have the deep-rooted causes of our troubles been more comprehensively set forth, or the way of escape more helpfully indicated.

"The war," declares our author, "has called forth some good books on the future of international organisation of the world, and others on the settlement of the war itself. To my thinking, these two questions are a single problem, which must be solved as a whole. I have groped for an answer to the question: Under what political and economic conditions would the creation of a League of Nations be a hopeful adventure?" The reply is twofold. First, it must be so composed that in normal times it will assure to all its members such a prospect of fair decisions in disputes and such a chance of effecting reasonable changes in the world when they are due that war will be unnecessary. Secondly, there must be in every probable contingency an available superiority of military and naval strength at the command of the League in the event of any of its members resorting to aggression. In discussing the vexed question whether the League should employ force against an offender, Mr. Brailsford thus decides for its use as the *ultima ratio*, though he would not compel every State entering the League to pledge itself to share in a war of coercion, and points out the efficacy of economic and financial weapons. It is, however, less to the machinery and functions of such a League that Mr. Brailsford devotes his main attention than to the

* *A League of Nations*, by H. N. Brailsford. (Headley Bros.)

conditions which alone can promise it success. "The world's case would be nearly hopeless if the League had to rely mainly on measures of coercion. Unless there is a general will to peace, unless there is, at least in all the more advanced and powerful nations of Europe, a spirit which abhors and condemns aggression, they would labour in vain who sought to build a League of Peace." What of Germany? the reader will naturally ask. The author replies that Germany must both give and receive. The only real guarantee of her sincerity, if she consented to join the League of Nations, would be to limit her armaments in comparison with other members. But there is no hope of a better spirit in Central Europe if war is continued under other names after the treaty of peace is signed. In a penetrating chapter on "The Economics of Peace" the author once again demonstrates that we can have either the Paris Programme or a League of Peace, but not both. "In a world given over to organised hatred no man of common sense will dare to raise his voice against great armaments or menacing alliances. The popular statesman will be the man who promises to lead Germany, cut off from the best markets and the amplest supplies, by the shortest and surest road to the reconquest of her lost freedom of commerce. The resentment of the people will turn, not as it might have been done against those rulers who led her into this ruinous war, but against the foreign enemy who pens her in. This is not to crush Prussian militarism, but to destroy German Liberalism."

Not less essential for the successful launching of a League of Peace than economic opportunity is such a settlement of territorial claims and problems as will content moderate opinion in the countries concerned, and will not create new injustices in the act of destroying old ones. In Mr. Brailsford's draft sketch of peace terms he urges that the opportunity should be seized to remove those causes of unrest which have helped to produce the world conflict. While advocating a moderate settlement, he will not hear of the restoration of the *status quo*. Here are some of his proposals: Germany is, of course, to renounce all her conquests, indemnify Belgium and cede French Lorraine, France permitting the export of iron to Germany; Alsace is to determine its own fate by a plebiscite; Italy is to receive the Trentino; Poland is to be independent; Russia is to have Armenia, Eastern Galicia, and part of Bukovina, the other half falling to Roumania; Serbia and Montenegro are to be united and have access to the Adriatic at Cattaro; Albania is to become an Italian Protectorate; the Bosphorus and Dardanelles are to be internationalised; Bulgaria is to recover the Monastir district; Austria-Hungary is to grant full autonomy to its component nationalities; Germany is to have priority in the industrial development of Asiatic Turkey, to regain Egypt, Africa, and perhaps obtain part of the Congo basin. Every reader will have his own criticism to make of this sketch; but the scheme of reconstruction, of which it forms part, must be studied as an organic whole.

ENGLISH GIPSIES.*

Mr. George Hall's book on gipsies and gipsy life is certainly one of very real value, collecting, as it does, material that illustrates the curious survival of the strange practices of a strange people with the twentieth century, and for this reason we do not hesitate to give this somewhat belated notice of it. Mr. Hall, as a young schoolboy in a cathedral town (Lincoln), saw a good deal of the gipsies that there made their winter quarters, and his interest was permanently roused. He acquired the Romany tongue so fluently that on one occasion, in his curate days, on greeting a caravan party, a gipsy woman exclaimed: "He's one of the Lees, I'll be bound. He talks like one of them." It was on this occasion that Mr. Hall first tasted hedgehog. He spent the evening with the party and feasted with them. "It was astonishing how quickly we cleaned the bones of several bird-like objects set before us." The dish was *hotshiwitshi*—hedgehog! "The blended flavours of pheasant and sucking-pig are still present to my memory as I recall that moonlit meal washed down by a jug of brown ale." The gipsies, as students of gipsy history know, adopt the faith of the people they dwell among, and, it may be added, their superstitions. Mr. Hall tells us of an occasion when he was bidden one dark, tempestuous night to come and christen a baby a few hours old. A day or two later mother and child were taking the air. Two curious birth customs are noted. For four weeks after a birth the mother uses a special plate, cup and saucer. These are then destroyed. It is a taboo custom "still observed in all good Romany families." Again, "Tom Lee, an English gipsy, broke up a loaf of bread and strewed the crumbs around his tent when his son Bendigo was born, for some of the old-time gipsies hold the notion that bread possesses a protective magic against evil influences." Mr. Hall discusses the significance of Romany forenames, of which he gives two long lists, masculine and feminine:—

"Whence come such names as Khulai, Maireni, Malini, Mori, Shuri? In these names Sir Richard Temple discerns Indian forms or terminations. . . . As a rule, you find that a gipsy is unwilling to impart his true name to a stranger. May not this reluctance be due to a lingering sub-conscious belief that the possession of one's true name would enable a stranger to work harmful spells upon the owner? . . . It is a fact that not a few gipsy surnames are identical with those of ancient noble families, e.g., Boswell or Bosville (sometimes contracted to Boss), Gray, Heron, Hearne, or Herne, Lees, Lovells, and Stanleys. It has been surmised by way of explanation that the gipsies, soon after their arrival in this country, adopted the surnames of the owners of the estates on which particular hordes usually encamped, or the names of those landed families who afforded protection to the persecuted wanderers."

The book really brings the reader into contact with the travelling gipsy and his van. A little gipsy boy told Mr. Hall: "Oh, I

* *The Gypsy's Parson: His Experiences and Adventures*, by the Rev. George Hall, Rector of Ruckland, Lincolnshire. (Sampson Low.)

"know a lot about *mulos* (ghosts). There's different sorts—milk-white 'uns and coal-black 'uns. When we're abed at nights, they come screaming round our wagon and flapping at the windows. My daddy gets his gun and shoots; then we hear them no more for a bit. But they are soon back agen, and I'm that frit when I hears 'em, I can't sleep." Mr. Hall discusses the Indian origin of the gipsies, and gives a conversation with a gipsy, Alma Boswell, who contended that they descended from Cain. "We was the first people what the dear Lord made, and, mebbe, we shall be the last on earth. When all the rest is wore out, there'll still be a few of our folks travelling with tents and wagons." The gipsy was a nephew of Westarus Boswell, a scholarly wanderer, who helped to compile the volume entitled, *The Dialect of the English Gypsies*, by Dr. Bath Smart and Mr. H. T. Crofton. Alma claimed that the Boswells were the only pure gipsies left, but admitted later the purity of the Herons and Lees. The pure gipsy (the Black Romanitshels) must not be confused with the half-breeds (the Didakais—who pronounce *Dik akai* (look here) as *did akai*) and the Mumpers, or hedge-crawlers, who are not gipsies at all. But (*pace* Mr. Hall) there are *fair* pure gipsies, though these are unusual. Mr. Hall rightly notes the fact that "all who have ever met a pure-bred gipsy will know what Romany politeness is, and how charming a sense of the fitness of things these wanderers possess. . . . If the duchess is proud of her blue blood and her ancestral tree, so is the gypsy of her black blood and lengthy pedigree. . . . Politeness is a stamp of both extremes." We are introduced to many of these gipsies, such as the Grays of East Anglia; Snakey Petulengro, "one of Nature's gentlemen"; the Boswells, the descendants of the famous Welsh Gipsy, Abraham Wood; and many another. The stories here told of the gipsies of various types, their superstitions, their many good points, their sense of humour, their "separateness" from other folk, their pride, make the book one of real delight, while the remarkable photographs will perpetuate many faces of the pure type. The portrait of "A Mother in Egypt" is a real work of art, while the photographs of "A Romany Lass," "A Gypsy Lad," and "A Romany Fiddler" make the Indian origin of the stock clear enough. The Welsh gipsies, descendants of Abraham Wood, "without exception, speak pure, deep, inflected Romany, akin to the beautiful musical dialect spoken by the gipsies of Eastern Europe."

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UNKNOWN SEAS.*

The present series deals with the wonderful discoveries of the sixteenth century, and is very welcome at this time, when all should know of the great deeds of the seamen—especially those of our own land—who, by their perseverance and faith, succeeded in attaining the object of their search. These voyages laid the foundation of

* *The Earliest Voyages Round the World, 1519-1617*. [Cambridge Travel Books. Edited by Philip F. Alexander, M.A., Hertford College, Oxford. (Cambridge: At the University Press.)

Britain's sea-power, and of that Colonial Empire of which we are so justly proud. Mr. Alexander tells us in his preface, "In the hundred years covered by this volume there were six voyages round the world—one Spanish, led by a Portuguese, two English, and three Dutch. The first of these—that of Magellan—was by far the most noteworthy for its results, and remains probably the most wonderful voyage in the whole history of discovery." The object of these voyages was not primarily to sail round the world, but to discover a new route to the East—which meant commercial gain—and incidentally plunder; but Drake combined with these aims that of finding new lands for colonisation. He looked ahead to the time when the expansion of his country would be such that fresh fields and pastures new must be added to the Motherland for the ever-growing need of her sons and daughters.

The story of Magellan's voyage is told by one Antonio Pigafetta, an Italian gentleman, patrician of Venice and Knight of Rhodes, who had obtained permission to accompany the expedition, and who was one of the few survivors. Ferdinand Magellan, or, more correctly, Magaglianes, was a Portuguese nobleman whose scheme for discovering a new route westward to the Moluccas receiving no encouragement from his own king, turned to Spain and, after relinquishing his nationality, entered the service of the Emperor Charles V., and obtained from him the necessary support, without which it would have been impossible to make the attempt. Magellan started, with five ships under his command, in the year 1519, with the object of finding the shortest route to the Moluccas, and of proving that they lay within the sphere of Spain. Magellan failed to establish either of these theories, but he accomplished the most wonderful voyage in the history of discovery. Unfortunately, he did not live to complete his enterprise, as he was killed in the island of Mactan in 1521 in a battle between native kings. At his death there were only three ships remaining, one of the five had been wrecked, and one had deserted; but the voyage was continued with only two ships, the *Trinidad* and the *Victoria*, the third being burnt as no longer serviceable. A few months later, the *Trinidad* was found to be leaking seriously, and the *Victoria* sailed back alone under the command of Sebastian del Cano, arriving at Seville on September 8th, 1522, the first ship to sail round the world. Of the sixty men who composed the crew when the expedition started, only eighteen returned to tell the tale, and a wonderful tale it was of patience and perseverance, privation and suffering. The men never lost faith, but kept the end ever in view, though at times achievement must have seemed almost impossible; the darkness before the dawn was black enough to daunt the bravest heart when for ninety-eight days after they had come forth from the Strait to which Magellan gave his name they sailed the Southern Sea, which they later on called the Pacific owing to the calm which had prevailed. Suffering from starvation and scurvy, they still held on, and at last—on March 6th, 1521—they reached the Ladrone Islands. They next discovered the islands called by Magellan St. Lazarus, but later re-named the Philippines. It was on one of these islands that their captain-general was killed, when almost at the point of reaching his goal.

It is necessary to read Pigafetta's narrative in order to appreciate to any degree the hardships which the expedition endured and the extraordinary adventures that they encountered on land and sea. It is a story well told in delightful English such as the translators of St. Paul might have used: certainly they were "in peril oft"; but they accomplished that which they had set out to do and did that which none other had done before—circumnavigate the world! "From the day when we left this bay of San Luca until our return thither, we reckoned that we had run more than fourteen thousand four hundred and sixty leagues, and we had completed going round the earth from east to west. Monday the 8th of September, we cast anchor near the mole of Seville and discharged all the artillery. Tuesday, we all went in shirts and barefoot, with a taper in our hands, to visit the shrine of St. Maria of Victory, and of St. Maria of Antigua." Thus ended this memorable voyage with thanksgiving to God for work accomplished and victory won, and for all His mercies in bringing them safely back to the place from whence they started.

A full account of Drake's famous voyage is given next, a story which will for ever hold the imagination of his countrymen. It is a thrilling tale told by Francis Pretty: "The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and thence about the whole Globe of the earth, begun in the year of Our Lord, 1577." This expedition occupied just three years, returning to England in November, 1580. Cavendish's First Voyage follows that of Drake. He set sail in 1586 from Plymouth, and returned to the same port in 1588, just as the good news of the defeat of the Great Armada was made known to them by a passing ship, "to the singular rejoicing and comfort of us all. The volume closes with Le Maire and Schouten's famous voyage, describing "The discovery of a New Passage into the Pacific by Cape Horn, 1616." Enough has been said to show the extreme interest of the narratives, and thanks are due to the Editor, Mr. P. F. Alexander, for his good work, which will surely prove most serviceable to both teachers and pupils in schools and in homes. The great deeds of our forefathers should inspire the present and future generations to emulate their example and to prove themselves worthy of their sires.

S. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

In "Community: A Sociological Study" (Macmillan, 12s. net), Dr. R. M. Maciver, the Associate Professor of Political Science in the University of Toronto, makes "an attempt to set out the nature and fundamental laws of social life." He first discusses "the meaning of social fact and social law." He tells us that "wherever living beings enter into or maintain willed relations with one another, there society exists." These "willed relations" are "the primary social facts," their consequences "the secondary social facts." Thus we have "social relations proper" and "social institutions," the looms on which the threads known as social relations "are woven into a cloth," or continuous surface. Social laws are

timately "those which reveal the interrelations of the purposes of living beings, their conditions, and their consequences." Dr. Maciver contrasts communities and associations of men: "A community is a focus of social life, the common living of social beings; an association is an organisation of social life, definitely established for the pursuit of one or more common interests." A State is an association different from "the living together of men which makes a village, or city, or country." The distinction is important. We have, for instance, to distinguish between the Prussian State and the Prussian community. Dr. Maciver lays down three laws of communal development: (1) "Socialisation and individualisation are the two sides of a single process." [Thus, nationalism and internationalism are co-ordinate processes in any healthy social growth.] (2) Society connotes the joint effort of will and intelligence for the preservation of all values known to man. (3) Character is a function of Life, and not of Environment. Environment is the tool of life. These seem to us the three principles on which Dr. Maciver works in this very helpful and useful book. We are not sure whether the case for which this very elaborate thinker contends could not be put more simply. It seems to us that the whole complexity of social life may be traced back, not to isolated social relations, but to social relations that have sprung out of the necessity of mutual support as a condition precedent of survival. If we take this view, and assume free will in each member of the community, we in fact arrive at exactly the conditions on which Dr. Maciver reasons. However, we are sure that this book deserves the most earnest study. It is original, fruitful in ideas, and stimulating in method. We think that the theory of law might be stated much more simply than is done in this book, but that is too great an issue to be argued here.

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Dr. Vladimir Jabotinsky, the War Correspondent of the "Russkia Vedomosti," of Moscow, tells us in "Turkey and the War" (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 6s. net), that "the root of the present plague is in Asia Minor, and the first and last aim of the war is the solution of the Eastern question." He adds that if this war does not solve the problem, it will only forerun another war, which will succeed in dividing Turkey in some satisfactory fashion. The internal condition of Turkey was such that the Young Turk movement, even if it had been conducted with the highest wisdom, was bound to fail. The country is dominated by a forceful minority, without intellectual interests. "The only race which has no intellectual centres beyond the frontier are the Turks." The Turkish language plays an insignificant part in the Empire, the Turkish element plays no part in the economic life of the Empire. But it is too late in the day for the rule of the ignorant absolutism of a minority. Turkish progress is impossible. The destruction of the Empire is the only hope for the Turkish race. Dr. Jabotinsky naturally and properly claims Byzantium for Russia; she has a right to an outlet into the Mediterranean. She must control the Straits; Syria should go to France, Palestine to Great Britain, and (we do not agree) Germany should control Anatolia commercially.

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Sir Charles Bruce tells us in his book, "Milestones on my Long Journey: Memoirs of a Colonial Governor," (Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, 15s. net) that he was born in India in 1836. His father was a man of some ability in the Bengal Civil Service. Charles was educated at Harrow under Dr. Vaughan; in 1856 he went to America and studied Oriental languages at Yale University under

Professor Whitney. In 1861 he went to Tübingen, continuing his studies in Oriental literature, especially Sanskrit and Persian. A post in the British Museum was obtained through Mr. Panizzi, the Librarian. It is satisfactory to learn that the almost incredible fact of Bruce's examination in German by an Englishman who could not speak it, was taken up by Mr. Panizzi, and cannot recur. Bruce's linguistic powers were very great, and, having mastered the usual European languages, he acquired those of Russia, Roumania, and the Balkan Provinces. In 1868 he was appointed Rector of the Royal College of the Mauritius. He held that "prophylaxis is better than cure," and that watchful eyes should be kept on opposing interests. In 1878 he was appointed Director of Public Instruction in Ceylon; later he became Governor of the Windward Islands and British Guiana, and in 1880 returned to Mauritius as Governor. Here the warm welcome then received from all classes, both French and English, was most gratifying to both Sir Charles and Lady Bruce, as a proof that his wise administration, financial and educational, and the various philanthropic and social agencies he initiated were appreciated in the Colonies. The philanthropic efforts which distinguished Sir Charles's colonial career have been continued in his retirement.

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"The Mark of the Beast" (John Murray, 5s. net) is a terrible book, a detailed indictment of Prussia and Prussianism in the light of the horrible conduct of the German armies in the field and the falseness of the German statesmen in every department of statecraft. The four hundred pages of this book would make the reader despair if it were not now certain that Germany's power to do wrong will end with the war. But, as the end draws in sight, it will be necessary to keep the fearful record of deeds in mind. "This," writes Sir Theodore Cook, "is the moment when I ask my countrymen to remember what I have recorded." The peace, when it comes, must be made in the light of German deeds, and of the fact that no treaty is binding in Germany's eyes. On October 11th, 1916, Mr. Asquith said in the House of Commons: "This long and sombre procession of cruelty and suffering, lighted up, as it is, by deathless examples of heroism and chivalry, cannot be allowed to end in some patched-up, precarious, dishonouring compromise, masquerading under the name of peace." Peace must also be accompanied by punishment for the criminals on the Black Lists of War Crime kept by England, France, and the other Allies. Mr. Asquith, on August 16th, 1916, said: "The Government have determined that this country will not tolerate a resumption of diplomatic intercourse with Germany after the war until reparation has been made for the murder of Captain Fryatt." But none of these things can be done until, as Mr. Asquith declared in the autumn of 1914, "the military domination of Prussia is fully and finally destroyed." Sir Theodore Cook is perfectly fair. He pays a full tribute to the bravery of the German soldier and the technical capacity of the German generals, and he has no wish "to ruin the German people." But he stands for the principle that the German outrage against civilisation and human progress never shall happen again. The peace must be of such a kind as to make a German revanche impossible. Let anyone who doubts the necessity for such a peace read Sir Theodore Cook's book. If one tithe of the unspeakable things that happened in Belgium had happened in England we should perhaps realise the necessity for the full and final destruction of the military domination of Prussia.

The Rev. Neville S. Talbot, in his little volume, "Thoughts on Religion at the Front" (Macmillan, 2s. net), tells us that the thoughts have been growing in my mind during the long months at the Front since the beginning of the war." Such thoughts from an army chaplain who is also a distinguished Oxford man, are certain to be helpful. Mr. Talbot writes: "*On the whole*, I venture to say, there is not a great revival of the Christian religion at the Front. Yet I am eager to acclaim the wonderful quality of spirit which men of our race display in this war, and to claim it is Christian and God-inspired. Deep in their hearts is a great trust and faith in God. . . . I must modify, then, and say that, on the whole, there is not a great articulate revival of the Christian religion at the Front." The truth is that the Army is so close to reality in the shape of hardship and death that there is no room for unreality in religion. We quite agree with Mr. Talbot that religion which manifests itself chiefly or, perhaps, solely in the presence of danger is "not the Christian religion," and is, in fact, what one Tommy called "forwardice." A man has no right to pray that a certain bomb shall not fall on him. The fulfilment of the prayer may mean that it falls on someone else. Mr. Talbot feels that this war is less helpful than all other wars have been in the matter of fostering religion. It is a veritable hell, and in it only a very hardy growth of religion can survive. "And that is just what is lacking among men of our race. . . . Religion as taught by the Church of England, has a feeble grip on the masses." This verdict is vehemently denied by other chaplains and this view also as to the influence of the Church of England. That influence depends on local influences, on vicars and curates, and parish workers. But Mr. Talbot does not despair only of the Church of England. "Right through organised Christianity of all kinds there is, I think, a great absence of the real Christian thing. . . . the Good News of *God in Christ*." Well, all the Churches are out at the Front, and if this is the verdict of all our representatives there we at home here ought to be working at our wits' end to fill the great *lacuna*. Such work is, in fact, going on. The gulf between the Churches is being bridged. Reunion between the leading Protestant Churches is being ceaselessly discussed.

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In "The Hebrew-Christian Messiah; or, the Presentation of the Messiah to the Jews in the Gospel according to St. Matthew," we have twelve Lectures delivered before the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn on the Foundation of Bishop Warburton by the Rev. Lukyn Williams (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 15, Haymarket, S.W.). The Bishop of Ely, in an Introductory Note, after dwelling on Dr. Lukyn Williams's "wide acquaintance with Jewish literature and thought, both ancient and modern," as exhibited in an earlier work on St. Matthew, and still more as shown in this book, declares that the arguments and conclusions "are the outcome of first-hand knowledge and of long-continued thought, and are a contribution of real importance to the study of a group of momentous problems." Dr. Lukyn Williams himself only claims as possible new work for him the new light that the First Gospel may shed when studied in the spirit and from the point of view of the Hebrew-Christian author, and suggests that the book may be of service "in the cause of presenting Christ to the Jews to-day." Devout Jews are often close students of the New Testament, and to these Jews we venture to commend this work. After an introductory lecture and a picture on Jewish parties in the time of Christ, we have successive chapters on "Messiah, the Healer of Disease" (we are told that "the

"place of miracles in the evidence to Christ is being recognised"
 "The Messiah as Teacher" (three lectures), "The Messiah—the Son
 of David—the Son of Man—the Son of God" (three lectures), "The
 Messiah and the Apocalyptists," "The Messiah and the Cross," and
 finally "The Messiah—the Victor." Dr. Lukyn Williams considers
 that our Lord's Resurrection connoted more than mere survival of
 personality: "Is it not probable . . . that the material of His
 earthly body was permeated at once with spiritual power and heavenly
 capacities, though still His body, and not changed into 'Spirit'?"
 "any such sense that it ceased to be 'material'?" This well might
 be the case in the new view of matter as being in its electronic basis
 pure energy; all that Dr. Williams's doctrine would come to would
 be that Our Lord's personality, and therefore the personality of each
 one of us, retains the essential energy that made earthly life possible.
 Dr. Williams shows us in this learned and important book "the Christ
 of prophecy, the Great Physician, the famous Teacher of the principles
 of the Law, the Davidic King, the perfect Man, Very God of Very
 God, the Inaugurator of the Divine rule, the willing Ransom, the
 Conqueror of the grave, who claims the obedience of the nations and
 is ever present with His people—such are the lineaments of the
 portrait of the Hebrew-Christian Messiah. 'This is my Beloved
 Son' and this is my Friend."

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In "Hinduism, the World-Ideal" (Cecil Palmer & Hayward), Mr. Maitra offers to English readers a thoughtful and eloquent vindication of the religion and philosophy, the social and moral life, of his native country. "I very warmly welcome this able statement of the Indian standpoint," declares Mr. Chesterton in an appreciative introduction. "His enthusiasm is for the human side of Hinduism, which touches the heart, and makes the lofty ideals of the Vedas a practical religion and a poetry for the common people." Every reader of this striking and sincere little book will echo the benediction of its sponsor. Mr. Maitra looks with pitying regret on the materialism and externalism of the West. India, he declares in effect, is happy and good because her people are idealists, because they breathe an atmosphere of religion, because they realise the significance of the unseen. "India is a land of dreamers, and her great dream is of God." Just because her religion is creedless, suffuses the whole of life and inspires the family and social institutions. She has saved her own soul, and is ready to save the soul of others. She holds her torch of spiritual culture to dispel the darkness of the world. Mr. Maitra assures us that the practice is as good as the theory. Even caste, which has no friends among European critics, appears in the pages as admirable and enviable. If few of his readers will be able to accept his radiant visions as a transcript of reality, they will none the less feel gratitude for his lofty interpretations.

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Readers of "The New Europe" will be glad to possess the bound volume which contains the issues of the first three months (Constable 7s. 6d.). The interest of its weekly contribution to the study of foreign affairs is now generally recognised, alike by those who approve and those who disapprove its policy. Its main object, as was pointed out in the Review at the time of its inception, is to instruct us in the significance of the problems of Central and Eastern Europe, and to dispel the illusion that our only enemy is Germany, and that the valley of decision lies in the West. Among the many informing articles to which this volume gives permanent form, none surpass in value and importance those in which Professor Masaryk deals with the subjects he has made his own.

The Regulations issued by the Government restricting the supply of paper make it necessary slightly to reduce the number of pages in the "Contemporary Review." By closer printing the Editors intend to provide precisely the same amount of matter as in the past.

Readers are requested to place their orders with a bookseller or newsagent, as otherwise it is impossible to guarantee a sufficient supply.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ITS CRITICS.

THE proposals to create a League of Nations for preserving peace were first promulgated, in the form that is now attracting public attention, by two societies in England and America, called, respectively, the "League of Nations Society" and the "League to Enforce Peace." Their schemes were prepared during the year 1915, and whilst the American proposals attracted considerable public attention in that country, the conditions that prevailed in Europe rendered it advisable that the British Society should proceed with its work more quietly and with much deliberation. Nevertheless, the seed sown has, in due course, germinated, and at present speakers and writers are rushing into the fray to advocate or to demolish the schemes that hold the field.

So much is this the case that the parents of these schemes must feel somewhat concerned as to the safety of their offspring, especially as the child appears to be in as much danger of being suffocated by its friends as of being bludgeoned by its enemies. It is as if an ambitious uncle, having pictured to himself a brilliant future for his new-born nephew and having mapped out for it, whilst still in the cradle, a prosperous commercial career, were to carry the babe away from its mother and set it down in the managerial chair at his own office before she had had the chance of teaching it even how to walk.

Our friends appear to have set up in their imagination a League of Nations rising out of the chaos of war, as Aphrodite rose from the waves, complete in form, perfect in organisation, and ready to supply to order all the demands of the world for peace, justice, and security. This is all very well; but it has the disadvantage of putting the professional iconoclast in the fortunate position of having something to knock down before the edifice that he assails is sufficiently solidified to withstand his blows. This is what is happening with the League of Nations. Those who originated the proposals were not novices at the subject. They knew well the pitfalls of pacifism, and they never imagined that they could apply, at the close of this war, any general panacea for the ills of the whole world. What they did think, and still think, is that the state of public opinion, after the fiery ordeal that mankind has been through, will be such as to render it possible to take one further step forward towards the attainment of international arrangements

better fitted for preserving peace than those which have existed hitherto.

With this avowal of modesty on behalf of the progenitors of the idea, let us now consider some of the objections that have been raised to their plans, and in order to appreciate these objections, let me explain shortly the main idea of the scheme for establishing a League of Nations.

It is proposed that the League consist of those nations who will agree that, if any dispute arises amongst them, they will, in the first instance, have recourse to some method of peaceful settlement or investigation before taking any forcible action, and every member of the League will bind itself to employ all its economical and military forces jointly with the other members to compel the observance of this pledge. This means that any nation that breaks the peace in defiance of its agreement to submit its case for preliminary enquiry, will find ranged against it the united forces of the League whatever may be the rights and wrongs of that case. On this one issue, namely, the right of an individual nation to attack another without notice and without giving time for other influences to be brought to bear, there will be no hesitation or deliberation on the part of the League. One and all will be bound to act swiftly and unitedly. When once time for consideration has been secured, then a new condition arises, and this is dealt with differently by the different schemes. The American proposal does not provide for any further exercise of force by the League; whilst the British Society proposes that in cases in which the nations have agreed to submit their dispute to a Court of Arbitration, they shall be compelled by the forces of the League to accept the decree of that Court, and also that if a nation outside the League attacks a member and refuses arbitration or conciliation the League will defend its member. In both schemes, therefore, it is contemplated that in the most important cases all that the League will do is to ensure delay and investigation, and if that fails to secure peace, the litigant nations will be at liberty to fight without further interference by the League.

The first question that arises is as to the kind of machinery which is to be provided in order to obtain, if possible, the peaceful settlement of a dispute. Experience enables us to divide international disputes into two groups. There are, first, differences of opinion which arise upon the construction of written documents, such as international treaties or accepted international law; and, secondly, there are quarrels that generally have their origin in the weakness of human nature, which is as prevalent in the temper of nations as in that of individuals. National arrogance, avarice, dislike, distrust, suspicion, irritableness, and fear, all tend to bring about war, whilst, at the same time, they do not assume a shape in which they can be dealt with by any judicial authority. They resemble the family feuds that occur in private life, or the differences between labour and capital, in which both sides are equally right in the eye of the law, but where it is often advisable, in the interests of everyone, that some third party should intervene.

Now the world has already had experience of both of these classes

of dispute. There have been, indeed, many cases in the first category, most of which have been successfully treated by methods of arbitration. As regards the second class, there have been a few occasions where machinery for mediation has been set up for the purpose of a particular case, but there has not yet been any attempt to introduce it permanently into the social organisation of the world.

The present proposal is to institute permanent international machinery for both of these objects, and, with this view, the nations which form the League will promise to establish and make use of a Judicial Tribunal for all cases coming within the designation of "justiciable cases," and a Court of Conciliation for all "non-justiciable cases." The first will consist of men trained in law, and accustomed to weigh argument and evidence; and the other, of men of common sense and of the highest possible repute throughout the world—men whose character will command respect, and whose opinions and influence will enable them to carry with them the concurrence of mankind generally.

To this particular proposal two criticisms have been directed. The first is that it is merely a reversion to the idea of the Hague Court of Arbitration, which Court is now said to be discredited because it failed to ward off the present war. The second is that it revives the old controversy as to how an international court can be formed in view of the hitherto insuperable difficulties arising from the claims of every nation to have adequate representation in that court. In regard to the first objection, it is not quite fair to the Hague Court of Arbitration to discredit it merely because its existence did not suffice to prevent this war. Not only was its constitution unsuited for such an emergency as that which arose in July, 1914, but its most devoted admirers can have hardly contemplated its being used for such a purpose. Indeed, it is not a court. It is only a rota of possible arbitrators. It has to be put into motion by the litigant nations themselves. It can only deal with questions that those nations agree to refer to it. Its decisions cannot be enforced. It is difficult to see how, under these circumstances, the question at issue in 1914 could have been dealt with by the then existing system of arbitration. And, apart from the present war, it is not at all correct to say that the Hague Court has failed. On the contrary, it has settled satisfactorily a large number of international questions, many of which might have led to war. It has done more. It has introduced to the world ideas of international justice and has proved to the nations that questions in dispute between them can be adjusted by peaceful methods. In a quarter of a century the whole attitude of mankind towards this subject has changed, and just as, in that period, public opinion developed to the point of accepting the Hague Court, with all its limitations, as a part of the world's social machinery, it is not too much to expect that twenty years hence opinion will have undergone the further growth which will enable it to accept more thorough and effective methods of providing for international complications.

Some of our critics say that it is useless to talk of international

courts until the moral sense of the world has altered, and that if the nations can be brought into the right mood they will then easily discover methods for preserving the peace. This is true. The machinery without the mood is of no use; but, equally, is the mood powerless without the machinery. Let us, by all means, devote ourselves to encouraging amongst nations feelings of goodwill and fraternity; but at the same time let us not omit to take such practical steps as will afford to nations in the time of stress and excitement a means whereby those feelings can be made effective to withstand any sudden outbreak of the powers of evil.

The second objection is that the proposals for a League of Nations necessitate the institution of a permanent court, and that it passes the wit of man to devise any wholly satisfactory method for constituting such a court. In this respect, also, it is true that the attempts of the Hague Conferences to frame a Court that satisfies everybody have not met with success. Questions as to the proportion of seats that should be allotted to each Power: whether Bolivia and Great Britain should each have the same representation: or Russia and Haiti be on an equal footing, and such like questions, have seemed to make this problem almost insoluble. But here, again, be it remembered that we are dealing with a growing international sentiment, and if once such a court can be established, we may hope that it will tend to create for itself the sense of public confidence which will over-ride national suspicion and bias. It is to be hoped that there may arise out of this war a movement towards a sense of World-community in accordance with which it will be possible to find men who, when accepting responsibility as members of this international court, will realise that their responsibility is to the world, and not merely to their own countries. Just as there are on the Judicial Committee of our Privy Council men whose private interests lie in England, Scotland, Ireland, India, and the Dominions beyond the seas, and these men exercise their functions with the single eye to justice in every part of the Empire, so it is not beyond the limit of reasonable expectation to look forward to a time when judges may be able to sit as world-judges to administer universal justice to all nations.

But do not let us imagine that the proposers of the League of Nations have been run away with by any such exalted ideals. All they aim at is to set on foot something which may be capable of such a development as is foreshadowed in the last paragraph. In doing this they have tried to avoid the chief source of difficulty which has made itself apparent in discussions relating to the institution of a permanent court—namely, the question of the ultimate power of the Court. If the Court were to have authority to settle every dispute as it thinks fit, it is evident that there would be much hesitation on the part of national governments before they would place the fortunes of their people unreservedly in its power. Experience has shown that even amongst the nations which are most ready to accept the principle of arbitration, hardly any of them have consented to give themselves over absolutely into the hands of a tribunal. They have generally reserved specifically questions affecting national honour or vital interests. In the pro-

tracted negotiations that preceded the adoption of the latest treaty between England and America, both parties were genuinely anxious to discover a means whereby all questions of difference might be settled peaceably, but it became apparent that neither government could agree to give up, with respect to vital matters, its right, in the final stage, to resort to war. Hence what they consented to was to refer disputes of minor degree to the arbitration of the Hague Court, and disputes of the major degree to a committee of five conciliators whose power is restricted to that of investigation and report before hostilities may be commenced. The method proposed for the League of Nations is based on this plan, but the machinery has to be adapted to suit the arrangements of a group of several nations instead of two only. Difficulties attending the composition of the Council of Conciliation will remain, but the risk incurred by the nations who lay their case before it will not be the same as it would be if the body were to be a Court of final judgment. Therefore, we may fairly anticipate that the nations will be able to agree upon the members of the first Council, and if, as may be hoped, that Council consists of men of the highest repute and of world-wide reputation, it will gradually win for itself the respect and confidence of mankind, until in the end we may find that the world is prepared to accept it as an arbiter in all international disputes.

The next feature in the scheme to which exception has been taken is the provision which entails the use of force for compelling the members of the League to observe their obligations. The reason for such provision is provided by the experiences of the war. The war has shown that it is useless to ask a nation to bind itself by treaty if it is to be free to break its treaty at its own will. No nation will be compelled to enter into the treaty with the League, but if it does so it is only reasonable that it should be compelled by the other members of the League to observe the terms of that treaty. Under the present scheme every nation will promise to use the machinery of arbitration or conciliation, and to abstain from the use of force until this process has been completed. If a nation fails to keep this promise then the League will come in and restrain the offender. It is clear that a promise of this nature is essential to the success of the League. Without it the League would break up at the most critical moment.

Now, it is to this principle that objection has been taken in two very different quarters. The out-and-out pacifists urge that the retention of force is inconsistent with the whole gospel of pacifism. They say: "You must base your new system on the moral sense of mankind and on its growing abhorrence of war. You cannot serve God and Mammon. Until you set peace on the loftiest pedestal, mankind will pay little attention to all your efforts to devise methods by which to escape from war." Then there is the practical objector who says: "The only way to prevent nations from fighting is to deprive them of their arms. If you will secure peace, go for disarmament. Not only is your scheme not a scheme for disarmament, but it may actually become a scheme for more extensive armaments. If you compel every nation to keep up a

naval and military establishment sufficient to preserve peace within the League, you will not be discouraging militarism. Indeed, you may be asking some nations to arm that have hitherto got on very well without military forces at all. This will be particularly the case with the nations of the Western hemisphere. There, you will be taking a step backward instead of forward."

These are formidable arguments to meet, and they are the more redoubtable in that they emanate from persons who have been amongst the most steadfast friends of internationalism. But here, again, modesty is our best protection. Those who propose the League of Nations are not under the delusion that they are about to set up a new heaven and a new earth. Indeed, they do not share the optimism of some people who believe that after this war there will be a new heaven or a new earth. If the Germans were to be the victors, and were to prevail ultimately over Russia, France, Britain, America, China, and Japan, then there might indeed be a new earth, and one indeed in which peace would be assured—for a time—by the over-lordship of the German Kaiser, and the ubiquitous and irresistible efficiency of the German Police. In such a world there would be no need of a League of Nations, since there would be no nations—only subordinate communities subject to a Teutonic hegemony. But if, as we hope and confidently expect, the Allies are victorious, then there will prevail a totally different state of things. The Allies have fought to secure the independence of small nationalities. Unless in the hour of victory they forget all their most solemn asseverations, they will greatly enlarge the number of independent Sovereign Powers. It is, indeed, to be hoped, in the interests of peace, that they will do this, for therein lies the best chance for an effective league of peace. This will mean that the world, after the war, will be much as it was before the war. There will be separate countries having separate interests, separate customs, separate laws. The result will be that for a time, at any rate, every country will depend on its own resources. Each nation, therefore, will be bound to arm itself. Nor can any sensible man expect that, after all the bitterness of this war, all international hatred and suspicion will be set at rest. Human nature will still hold sway in international affairs, and it is certain that whatever arrangements are made under the treaty of peace every nation will stand guard over its own belongings for several years still to come. This being so, it is puerile to imagine that militarism is going to disappear forthwith from the earth. We shall continue to have it with us, and our problem will be how we can prevent it from reasserting its supreme and ghastly power over civilised mankind.

The solution of this problem will be the prime duty of the new League of Nations, and it is a work which a League formed as proposed should be specially capable of effecting. At the close of the war there will be two factors in the situation which will be of assistance. First, the people of all nations will be sick of war. There is hardly a soldier now returning from the trenches who does not swear that he will find some means of doing away with war in the future. Secondly, there will be no money available. The

taxpayer will have his say, and governments will grasp at any suggestion which will save them from recommencing the old race in expenditure upon armaments. In this state of mind the peoples of all lands will welcome any arrangement which will give them security at small expense, and this is what a League will do. If the States undertake to keep the peace and to unite their forces against any one of them that breaks it, there will be—at any rate to begin with—a real security for nations that have no sinister designs against their neighbours. Let us imagine a League consisting of ten states of equal size, and that each undertakes to keep up an army of 100,000 men. There will then be always 900,000 soldiers ready and pledged to protect every State that keeps the peace, and observes the treaty. Even if this situation only lasts a few years it will give a breathing time in which the League can overhaul its whole organisation. During that time the members of the League will necessarily have to study the question of the limitation of armaments, and an agreed solution of this problem will be more likely to be arrived at between nations whilst they are quietly resting on their oars than when they are feverishly renewing their implements of war, as will be the case if every one has to look solely to his own defences. This is the reply to those who object to our adding to our scheme the additional burden and complication of armed force. When people ask us: Why we are not content with our leagued nations, and with their promises to refer differences to arbitration or conciliation, and leave it to the growing moral sense of the world to ensure observance of the treaty, we reply by pointing to the fourth day of August, 1914. There were solemn treaties then for which the sanction was moral force. But that sanction was not sufficient. The invasion of Belgium broke up the whole fabric out of which pacifists had hitherto woven their schemes. Everything that pacifists aspired after and devised rested on the observance of treaties. When once a civilised power threw its moral obligations to the wind it became clear that pacifists must seek for other foundations to build upon. There must be—perhaps only for a time—for the moment there must be, the sanction of force applicable to treaties, and this can only be effected by a group of States entering into a common agreement and binding themselves to see that when once a treaty is signed it is kept.

This may appear to be a backing down from our ideals. On the other hand, it may be a better way by which to attain them. In any case, let us try the experiment. The total elimination of force from international relationships at the moment is an impossibility. Let us see whether it is not possible so to organise that force that it shall be used not as a continuing menace by one State to another, but as a standing assurance to every State, that as long as its behaviour towards its neighbours is of a neighbourly character it can go on its own way and enjoy its own process of development without let or hindrance, or the risk of being assaulted or strangled in the night.

Whilst some critics complain that the present scheme goes too far in forcibly imposing upon independent States the wishes of the League, there are others who assert that it will really be ineffec-

tive, by reason of the absence of any regular Executive having direct authority and sufficient powers of control to enable the League to bring its influence to bear upon recalcitrant States. This objection goes to the root of the scheme, because such an Executive presupposes a kind of Super-state to which that Executive would be responsible. So long as we are trying to solve our problem upon the lines of partnership or union of free sovereign States, we must carefully avoid setting up anything in the nature of an international government which would derogate from the national sovereignty of free peoples. It may be that in the distant future the world may develop into a federation of mankind. It certainly has not reached that state yet, and indeed it is doubtful whether such an organisation would be, at this moment, of benefit to humanity. Unification of government is not necessarily a blessing. On the contrary, there is great value in retaining the varieties of type and the divergencies of custom which now prevail amidst the nations of the world. Our object should be, not to lay mankind under a dull pall of uniformity, but to enable it to develop in all its manifold shapes, provided always that it keeps the peace. The proposals for a League of Nations are not put forward as a means of suppressing nationality, but of rendering it more secure and more effective, and the creation of an Executive having real authority over the States might tend to disrupt the League rather than to consolidate it. At the same time, it is clear that means must be found whereby the constituent members of the League shall be able to consult with each other, and to devise and take such joint action as circumstances of the moment may require, and, in all probability, these nations will set up some kind of joint committee, either as part of the Council of Conciliation or as a separate body, whose duty it will be to watch events, and to keep the national governments acquainted with any happenings that might concern the peace of the world and the interests of the League.

In connection with this branch of the subject it should be mentioned that the proposals of the American Society include the convocation of regular conferences of representatives from the leagued countries. At these conferences there would be discussions as to common laws, common organisations, common trade, and, indeed, all matters of common interest to all the nations. The conference would probably find it necessary to constitute a permanent committee, to which might be deputed the duties just referred to. In course of time, if it were found by experience to be advisable, such a committee might be given executive functions, and indeed it might grow into such a permanent Executive as is desired by our critics. But this must come about by process of evolution and by general agreement amongst the nations concerned.

There is one more objection raised to which attention must be given. It is that such a League will tend to preserve the *status quo ante* and thereby impede and come into conflict with the inevitable growth and healthy desire for change which is part of the necessary progress of mankind. This is by no means a correct deduction. It is true that the existence of a League pledged to preserve peace will prevent a nation from bursting its bonds and suddenly over-

running its neighbour's domain. But it will not necessarily constitute a permanent barrier against all expansion. Where there is a legitimate demand for more territory by a people grown so numerous that their own boundaries cannot contain them, or where the advantages of one particular race having control of some new territory are apparent, the pressure of such demands will certainly make itself felt in the League, and the need for a settlement will, of itself, bring into play the Council of Conciliation. That Council, if it consists of men who command the respect of the entire world, is sure to find itself often charged with tasks of adjustment and rearrangement. It will probably be in a position to remove from the road obstacles to peaceable settlement which, under present circumstances, for lack of means of removal, are left there so long that they tend to precipitate a conflict. Even if the machinery of the League became obstructive or reactionary the suffering nation could, in due course, go to war after the time recognised by the treaty, and the other members of the League would have no right to intervene, and would probably have no wish to intervene if the case appeared to be one of genuine hardship.

But much of this necessarily lies on the knees of the gods. We can do no more than make a beginning. Indeed, it would be foolish to attempt too much in the way of defining the precise functions and powers of the new League. If started on right lines, it will work out its own organisation. If the nations are in the mind to co-operate so as to gain security and peace, they will be willing enough to confer as to the frame-work of the requisite machinery. Let us, at any rate, bring them together so that they may make this beginning, trusting that what they begin may, by the growing sense of fraternity and respect of moral law, be brought in God's own time to full fruition.

W. H. DICKINSON,
Chairman of the League of Nations Society.

AMERICA AND THE WAR.

WHEN the news came that America had joined us in the war, most Englishmen experienced a thrill of exultation which they had not expected to feel. The great immediate and greater future advantages for the purpose of war, though some of us were fully alive to them, counted for little in the intense and lasting emotion of that moment. Many of us felt that the alliance, for purposes beyond the war, between what may be called the Liberal Powers, had not merely been extended, but extended in a manner which would do much to counteract influences hostile to its strength and quality. Contemplating, as we must, after the war, a long and difficult work in the establishment of lasting peace, we rejoiced that the great and growing power of America is freed from the temptation to pose as a mediator between right and wrong, and will take part as a champion of right in the very arduous task of translating right into fact. All of us felt, and may be pardoned if we still feel yet more strongly the simple human pleasure which arises when a long estrangement among kinsfolk is suddenly and permanently reconciled. We felt and feel this in that inarticulate, instinctive way which carries with it the surest conviction—there are probably Americans who can hardly credit the intensity of this English feeling. What has happened is too big a thing for us to attempt complete analysis of it, or to care for much interchange of compliments on the occasion. Yet some desultory reflections about it may have their use in England or in America.

Why did not America go to war earlier? This is a question which weighs more with the Americans who know Europe well than it is likely to weigh with Englishmen. On the whole, Englishmen, who were disappointed and greatly puzzled by the long delay, reflected that the American Government had its own difficulties of which they could not judge. This was partly because a country fighting for its life has little attention to spare for the study of non-combatant nations. But great credit is due also to our chief newspapers. The *Times*, in particular, had, in regard to English and American relations, a stain upon its record to efface. It effaced it, and it did more. Perhaps, too, we know that we must criticise others as having ourselves acted an honest, but not at the outset a heroic or an immaculate, part. We realised that the causes which, in our case, palliated a very unheroic hesitation were still stronger causes in the case of America, though it is hard for us to realise how vastly stronger they are.

Till the violation of Belgium was an accomplished fact a powerful section of opinion (in Parliament at any rate) was in favour of standing by while France was feloniously assailed and perhaps beaten down. Abstractly considered—that is, considered without sympathetic understanding of the precise illusions which made it possible—this policy might seem to have been begotten by the completest baseness upon the completest folly. But something happened which, in our moments of self-righteousness, should force

us to say: "Not unto us be the praise." The German invasion of Belgium need not have enhanced, and did not enhance, our sense of national peril; any Englishman, reasonably alive to that peril, knew that it mattered little by what road the Germans got to Calais and Boulogne. But our actual treaty obligation to Belgium, though no stronger than our moral obligation to France, happened to be far better understood at the time, and Belgium was obviously a weak nation and obviously unoffending. So the violation of Belgium was exactly what was needed to set in motion the imagination of the British people. We took notice, very late in the day but without further doubt, of that enmity to all hitherto recognised conceptions of right, which Germany has declared. The old Puritan, concealed in the honest British pacifist of three years ago, opened his eyes quite suddenly, and those eyes saw red; or, to be more exact, they saw, yet through a veil of blood and tears, and other unspecifically dirty and miserable things which his pacifism had taught him to contemplate more firmly, the nearer vision of the Lord. So the old Puritan set himself side by side with his old enemy, the other principal character in the drama of English history, the Cavalier who had known Sidney and had fought beside Falkland. And both with equal gladness found themselves united with their gallant French antagonist of so many centuries past.

The great guns which, crawling up to demolish the forts round Liège, demolished on the way something else, were the precursors of an equally remarkable achievement some two years later. German submarines, gliding under the Atlantic, glided also under a thick fog which overlay that ocean, and which hid the staring significance of European events from the eyes of so many Americans. In spite of several obvious differences the process of conversion in our countries has been in its essence much the same. The higher minds of America, which there, as in England and in every other democracy, eventually govern, had been divided. There were those Americans whom we know and understand, whose real knowledge of Europe made them from the outset as passionately devoted to the cause of the Allies as any Englishman or Frenchman, and whose splendid services from the first ought to dwell for ever in French and English memories; and there were the sincere devotees of peace, whose illusions on that subject were more widespread and more inveterate than the corresponding illusions which prevailed among so many sincerely religious men in England. Motives of money-making and the like played exactly the same conspicuous, but entirely subordinate, part that they would play in like case among ourselves. America would not go to war while the honest pacifist remained unconverted; when he was converted she could go to war at once. It would be foolish and impertinent for us to suppose that we can appreciate exactly what passed in the minds of Americans, but several things we can appreciate. Not being at the outset immediately concerned in the war, or closely acquainted with its causes, or for a long time able by any possibility to take part in it, many earnest Americans turned very seriously to the hope that their country might fulfil a great

mediatory mission after a while. It is to their credit that they did not easily let go this quite illusory hope. Moreover, there was something entirely honourable in the very features of their conduct which to us were most unintelligible. Outrages which could possibly be counted as, in some sense, isolated acts did not drive the American Government from the course it meant if possible to pursue. Flagrant insults to the American nation were, not from insensibility, but on simple Christian principle, ignored. But when the German Government had completed its demonstration that it was actually at war against the fundamental notions of right which honest pacifists have all the while cherished more than peace itself, the very forces which had hitherto determined America to keep out of the war became by inexorable logic forces which will keep America in the war till the tremendous end is achieved. The pacifist American will tend to become the fellow-enthusiast of those who, let us frankly say, with a purer and more self-sacrificing Christianity, were eager from the first to fight for right. On them remains to complete this summary of a history in which every Englishman will see, as in our recent history, far more to admire than to blame. All the while Americans had studied to some purpose what they would have to do if they were compelled to go to war. The prompt adoption of conscription by Congress is the greatest example yet given of that growth in the power of self-government which does take place in every sound democracy. There need, therefore, be no hesitation or reserve—there is, in fact, none—in welcoming with a joy which will be the parent of increased and steadfast resolution the declaration of war by America. Since it took place its importance, in a military sense, has become increasingly clear; but, besides, it does mean the commencement of a fellowship which, once begun, is bound to increase, between the two great English-speaking nations so long divorced, united now in the practical advancement of certain ideas of great moment for mankind which they equally cherish, and which the fortune of other countries has not allowed to take equally firm root in them. Englishmen have rather more difficulty than Americans in formulating those ideas, but this difference, which is perhaps, on the whole, to the credit of the American, is a merely superficial thing.

We have lately been reminded by Dr. Page, in a magnificent speech, that the superficial differences between England and America are numerous and great. The analysis of national character is a thing which hands less skilful than those of Dr. Page should not attempt, but there are some causes of difference, affecting not the national character of Americans, but the working of their institutions, which can hardly be pointed out too often. To begin with, the American people is, on the whole, scattered over an enormous area. It is an obvious result of this that the interchange of ideas, slow as it is in an English country district, is in America, as a whole, slower still. The idea once planted is apt to take a longer time in undergoing healthy developments and modifications. Adequate information about the current events of the world is correspondingly slow in arriving. The sole newspaper of many

Western Americans makes no such attempt to keep them posted in contemporary history as even the feeblest English newspaper does. Moreover, as is pretty well known, the actual white population of the United States is a vast and increasing aggregation of every European race. That these should be assimilated into what can be called a nation with a certain unity of traditions and aims would seem beforehand almost incredible. Yet, as we know, what Americans sometimes call "Americanism" is a fact. The little nucleus of people who leaven this vast lump, striving to maintain certain ideals, do under conditions of democracy (in some ways less complete than our own, but in some ways unbridled) form the directing element in the whole. We see now their success on the whole; we hardly realise enough the huge obstacles to that success. For our great purpose it must be remembered, too, that the common tradition imbibed by this motley assemblage of peoples contains a large infusion of a sentiment which may be described as indifference to Europe, qualified by hostility to England. The fathers of this multitude, and very many of themselves, escaped into the New World, if not from actual oppression yet from cramping conditions in the Old. American conservatism would, in any case, have kept long alive the old tradition of aloofness from all European affairs, but the private recollections of many of the newcomers give abundant fresh food to that tradition.

Though the directing mind of America has, as we now know, fundamental things in common with the English mind, the divergence of American and English tradition in things not quite so fundamental is still marked. The fact is that the main lines of American life and character began to be traced long before the War of Independence. American historians have traced in many other matters, besides that of language in which a well-known essay of Lowell's traces it, the vestiges of an old England before (say) Charles II., from which in all save the mechanical appliances of life, we in England have travelled away faster than they. What, it may be asked, are the fundamentals of which we have spoken? An Englishman is shyer in speaking of them than an American, partly because he is shyer generally, partly also because, like our political constitution, they live for us in simple tradition, while for an American they have in part been formulated in a document like his Constitution, the Declaration of Independence. But the chief of them is a certain respect, deeply founded in religion, for the individual human being as such. Respect for the rights of other peoples is in turn founded on this, and in our two democracies that deliberately cynical view of foreign policy, from which no Continental Government has ever quite got away, can take simply no root at all.

There are one or two things which an Englishman would like if he could to din into his American friends. In the first place, the mother country grudged them their independence very little, and made a hero of Washington right away. The wrong attitude of some Englishmen during the Civil War was a fact, and an ugly fact, regretted now by all of us, but it was largely the product of a complete and almost inevitable misunderstanding of the causes of

the war, and, above all, it never—this is quite certain—was the attitude of England as a whole at all. Still more would it be well that Americans generally should learn what some of them knew very well, that England with its King and its Lords is a very real democracy, claiming, with some reason, that without the name of democracy it has got the thing in a more effective form than America. Lastly, let Americans get rid of the idea, of which the real causes are long past, though the English vice of shyness helps to keep it alive, that Englishmen are guilty, as Lowell alleged, and as even Dr. Page, alas! has repeated, of “a certain condescension” towards Americans. We are probably in one way or another apt to be objectionable in our manner to all other peoples, but when Americans attribute this to a condescending disposition towards their country because it is new, they have got on a false scent. We are, on the contrary, disposed to be deferential towards them and their great new world.

But enough of these minor matters. Our joint struggle together will test our friendship at many points, and it will stand the test and be far the stronger for it. The two peoples, guardians of one spiritual heritage, so long divided, so potent to influence the world for good in their union, have joined hands with one another, with the French pioneers of all modern civilisation, with the young nation of Italy, and with the elements of life and progress in many another country, to achieve the greatest task for which arms were ever borne. “How much the greatest event it is in modern history; and how much the happiest.”

CHARNWOOD.

THE DESTINY OF THE TURKISH STRAITS.

AT the present moment public opinion in this country is much exercised as to the aims for which the Allies are continuing the war. The *Entente* is still officially pledged to the aims put forward in the reply to President Wilson's peace offer in January last, which contained the words: "the turning out of Europe of the Ottoman Empire as decidedly foreign to Western civilisation." This sentence has been generally understood to denote the Russian annexation of Constantinople, but the Revolution has quite changed the attitude of Russia towards this question. Almost immediately after the old *régime* had been overthrown, M. Kerenski, Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government, declared in favour of the internationalisation of the city, and the Provisional Government, in its very important official declaration of April 9th, stated that "Free Russia does not aim at the domination of other nations, at depriving them of their national patrimony, or at occupying by force foreign territories, but its object is to establish a durable peace on the basis of the rights of nations to decide their own destiny. The Russian nation does not lust after the strengthening of its power abroad at the expense of other nations. Its aim is not to subjugate or humiliate anyone." This declaration was seconded by the powerful Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, who expressed their view a few weeks later in still more emphatic and explicit form in the following words: "no conquest of the Straits, no partition of Austria, will be tolerated by the representatives of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates either in Petrograd or at the front." Practically all the currents of thought of democratic Russia to-day are unanimous in repudiating all ideas of annexation; even the Radical bourgeoisie, in their organ the *Den*, have stated that they are opposed to the policy of conquering Constantinople. Yet the other Powers of the *Entente* have said nothing to modify the ambitious policy laid down by them in their Note to President Wilson. We are still fighting to evict the Turk from Constantinople.

There seems to be an extraordinary lack of continuity in our Turkish policy. For over a hundred years we considered that the existence of a weak Turkish Power on the shores of the Bosphorus was a necessity for the European balance of power, and we acted accordingly. Suddenly in 1915, at the behest of our Russian Ally, we renounced our ancient tradition without any public discussion on the matter. Surely now that the Russian Government, representing the views of its new-born democracy, has framed a foreign policy on totally new lines, the other members of the *Entente* must reconsider their attitude.

It may throw light on the question of proposals for the future fate of the Turkish Straits if we briefly sketch the treaties and events which have led up to their present status.

It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that the

Great Powers of Europe turned their eyes towards Turkey, nominally with the object of protecting the Christian subjects of the Porte, but really with the vague hope that they might thus further their own interests or impede the interests of others, with a view to maintaining the balance of power. In 1775, at the end of the Russo-Turkish War, Russia was given the nominal right to protect all the Christians of Turkey, and at the same time the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles were opened to Russian merchantmen.

England disapproved of this Russian monopoly of Turkey, and in 1809 an Anglo-Turkish Treaty was signed which laid the basis of British right to intervene in the question of the Straits. The Dardanelles were closed to the war-ships of all Powers. In 1829, at the Peace of Adrianople, the barriers were removed from free navigation and international commerce through the Straits. Four years later, at Unkiar-Skelessi, an alliance was concluded between Russia and Turkey, and Turkey was placed under Russian protection. One secret clause stipulated that if Russia were attacked the Dardanelles should be closed to the war-ships of all other nations. The Treaty created so great an uproar in England and France that the Czar was forced to renounce his rights.

This check to Russian ambition was the first definite step in the policy which England was to pursue in regard to Turkey during nearly fifty years. In 1841 the Straits Convention reaffirmed the international rights of the Great Powers, and stipulated that no war-ship might pass through the Straits without the countenance of the Porte. The Treaty of Paris at the end of the Crimean War repeated this clause, provided for the neutralisation of the Black Sea, which was to be closed to the war-ships of all nations, and admitted Turkey to the Concert of Europe. With the support of Bismarck, after the Franco-Prussian War, Russia denounced this Treaty. Great Britain tried to counteract such a flagrant breach of international order, but in vain. Russia's claim was sanctioned by the Treaty of London in 1871.

In the war of 1877 Russia's ambitions seemed on the point of fulfilment. She arrived at the very gates of Constantinople, but there she was checked. The British Fleet had come through the Dardanelles. The next year, at the Congress of Berlin, the conditions of the Straits Convention in regard to war-ships were re-established. They form the basis of the present *régime* concerning navigation through the Straits. As regards commerce, no merchant vessel was allowed to pass the Castle of Chanak Kalehsi, the narrowest point of the Dardanelles, except by day, and all vessels had to stop there to produce their papers.

In the attitude of the Great Powers towards the Turkish question, two of the predominant factors of the situation have always been Russian ambition and British fear. With regard to the first, it is necessary to take into account for a proper understanding of Russia's attitude, the mysticism which is one of the essential features of the Russian character. To all devout members of the Orthodox Church, Constantinople, or Tzarigrad, as they call it, is the focus of their religious life. Ever since Peter the Great's time

the idea of a Crusade for the liberation of the Mosque of St. Sofia has loomed large in the mind of the whole people.

But the far-seeing statesmen and rulers of Russia have all along foreseen the pitfalls of such a policy, and they have realised that they would have to deal with the hostile attitude of the rest of Europe if they embarked on it. So, in the intervals of peace, when the voice of reason had a chance of asserting itself, the proposal to annex Constantinople was definitely repudiated, even officially.

Thus, during his visit to England in 1844, Nicholas discussed the fate of Turkey with Ministers, and declared that he had no wish to possess an inch of Turkish soil; and again, in 1852, when it seemed impossible to uphold the Turkish Empire any longer, he showed himself still decidedly adverse to Russian sovereignty at Constantinople, because he considered that the immense extent of Russia was her real danger. On one occasion he spoke these very significant words: "If an Emperor of Russia should one day chance to conquer Constantinople, or should find himself forced to occupy it permanently and fortify it with a view to making it impregnable, from that day would date the decline of Russia. If I did not transfer my residence to the Bosphorus, my son or at least my grandson would. The change would certainly be made sooner or later, for the Bosphorus is warmer, more agreeable, more beautiful than Petersburg or Moscow; and if once the Czar were to take up his abode at Constantinople, Russia would cease to be Russia."

In 1877, the Russian Government made the following declaration to the British Government: "As far as concerns Constantinople, without being able to prejudice the cause or issue of the war, the Imperial Cabinet repeats that the acquisition of Constantinople is excluded from the views of His Majesty the Emperor. They recognise that in any case the future of Constantinople is a question of common interest, which cannot be settled otherwise than by a general understanding; and that if the possession of that city were to be put in question, it could not be allowed to belong to any of the European Powers."

After the thwarting of her South-Eastern ambitions at the Treaty of Berlin, Russia turned her face Eastwards and decided to carry to their logical conclusion the tentative efforts of expansion towards the Sea of Japan begun in the 'forties. Nicholas II., during the first decade of his reign, devoted an almost exclusive attention to this "trend eastwards," with unfortunate consequences, for this new orientation of Russian foreign policy reacted disastrously on the situation in Turkey. England, realising that she need no longer fear the aggressive designs of Russia in the Near East, relaxed her hold on Turkey, and thus left the way clear for Germany, so ably represented at the Sublime Porte by Baron Marschall von Bieberstein. German control over the Sultan increased continuously from that date. By 1914 the Germanic Powers were nearing their goal, the complete mastery of the Turkish Army. But the Balkan States still thwarted the ambition to possess a corridor for direct communication.

Though Russia has become increasingly alive to the vital

importance of free navigation through the Straits, yet so long as the Balkan States acted as a barrier against the realisation of the Pan-German ideal, she could bide her time. When this barrier was threatened, she sprang to arms. During the first months of this war the question of Constantinople was never broached. It was not till the beginning of 1915 that M. Sazonoff disclosed the Russian ambition to possess the Straits.

The objections to Russian annexation which have proved insurmountable in the past, are equally cogent to-day. Russian control of the Turkish Straits would lead inevitably to an end of the independent existence of the Balkan States. They would either gradually be submerged in the Russian State or else be impelled to enter the orbit of the Central Powers. There is no alternative. And yet an important section of public opinion in this country still seems to favour a Russian Constantinople. The popular idea is that in this way alone can the menace of German Imperialism be destroyed, and the final blow be given to the Berlin-Bagdad project. This view fails to recognise that no solution founded on Imperialist claims, either on the part of Russia or of the Central Powers, can offer a guarantee of lasting peace, because it is bound to be a source of conflict, breeding a spirit of militarism; and that the solution which alone gives a prospect of being decisive is to deprive all Imperialist ambitions in the Near East of their motive. This can be effected only by the establishment of an international system. It offers a stronger guarantee than any national organisation against the dangers of aggression, and it provides for Russia (the country which has the biggest stake in the matter) an equal, or even greater, security.

The question of international administration is so vital that it may be of value to consider some precedents for international action. Of these the most interesting, and the most important, is the European Commission of the Danube, an international organisation, the significance and value of which have been curiously overlooked by enlightened opinion in Western Europe. The forming of this Commission was one of the first steps taken towards establishing joint administration by several nations. The Commission is, at the same time, one of the most successful and useful institutions of modern times. It is a European Syndicate, enjoying real independence, and forming a small State, whose exchequer is filled by those who profit by its services.

Ever since the end of the eighteenth century Europe has recognised the advantages of a free Danube, and in 1815 the principle of the freedom of rivers was recognised, and became a part of international law; but this principle was never put into practice because of the hostile attitude of Russia. By 1829 she was in possession of the mouths of the river, but she effectually prevented the development of all commerce and navigation by obstinately refusing to clear away the enormous deposits of sand which were blocking up the estuaries. In the Crimean War the Emperor Francis Joseph, who was acting as mediator, made one of the conditions of peace the freedom of the Lower Danube (the Riparian States of the Upper Danube—Austria, Wurtemberg, and Bavaria

—had already come to an agreement), and, at the Treaty of Paris in 1856, the freedom of navigation on the whole of the river was definitely established. To carry out its ideas for the development of navigation, the Congress instituted four Commissions, three permanent Riparian Commissions, and a European Commission, composed of delegates from each of the signatory Powers—Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Turkey, and Sardinia. At first this latter international body was given purely technical powers on the Lower Danube, between Galatz and the mouth of the river (to remove the sand deposits and to make the mouths of the river navigable for boats of sea-going tonnage), and as such it was appointed only for a term of two years. But at the end of that time the work was not nearly completed, so the term was extended. At the Treaty of London in 1871, when Russia refused to submit any longer to the neutrality of the Black Sea, to counter-balance her growth of power the Great Powers decided to increase the authority of the European Commission, and to grant it fuller guarantees. It was definitely recognised as a neutral rampart representing “the solidarity of European interests at the mouth of the river.” Since that date the powers of the Commission have gradually increased, and in 1883 its sphere was extended as far as Braila, a distance of 100 miles, where it enjoys complete independence.

The Commission has been called a “real mandatory of international order,” and it is so, for it exercises complete sovereignty, which is a privilege without precedent in international law. It is composed of members and agents of different nationalities, and it has both deliberative and executive powers. As a deliberative body there is no question concerning the merchant marine of the Danube which it is not allowed to examine. It formulates police and navigation regulations, plans of works which it considers necessary, and all tariffs. Once these are voted by the Commission they become law. As an Executive body it has power to promulgate its regulations, tariffs, and plans of work. For this purpose it has under its orders a large staff of specialists. War-ships stationed at the mouth of the river support the measures of the delegates by forcing the vessels of their respective nations to submit to the regulations. The Commission has, therefore, all the functions of a State; it prepares and promulgates laws, and punishes infringements. In its attribute of Supreme Tribunal it annuls or confirms the sentences passed by the navigation inspectors or the port captains, who are judges of first instance. It has also some of the attributes of an autonomous State. It treats with neighbouring States without an intermediary. It is completely independent of the authority of the territory where it is stationed. It has a public revenue, and publishes a Budget officially in every State which it represents. In 1910, the Commission had a clear profit of approximately 837,000 francs. It contracts loans. It disposes of lands for its works, and possesses a flotilla flying its own flag. No local tribunal has the power to pass judgment on it.

The prosperity of the town and port of Sulina is solely the work of the Commission. All the public institutions have been built

and paid for by the delegates. It has been officially recognised as a free port by Turkey and Roumania. The Commission exercises supreme control over matters concerning the port and navigation, but in affairs which concern also the Roumanian Government special action is taken.

The technical work of the Commission is of two sorts. It deals with conditions at the mouth of the river and on the river itself. A sufficient depth must be maintained on the whole course. The Commission has built the lighthouse of St. George, and a system of other lighthouses. It has erected jetties, wharves, landing-stages, factories, two hospitals, and a telegraphic and telephone line between Sulina and Galatz. The whole Commission sits annually every spring and autumn, and an executive committee of delegates is permanent at Galatz, sitting twice a week to supervise the administration. It has technical officials, and administrative, sanitary, and navigation offices at Sulina, Tulcea, and Galatz. In 1904 its powers were renewed for periods of two or three years, subject to denunciation by any of the signatory Powers.

The International Commission has been of inestimable value in developing navigation and commerce on the whole course of the Danube. Trade has increased enormously, especially on the Lower Danube. Freights from Braila to North Sea ports have fallen from 50s. to 12s., or even less, per ton. Sailing vessels have been replaced by steamers twenty times their tonnage. The export of wheat between 1901 and 1905 was five times that between 1861 and 1867. This Danube Commission is the most complete expression of the international spirit; and the smoothness of the way in which this international Government has worked might well be envied by a similar national organisation.

But there are many other instances of equally successful, though more restricted, international institutions. Such is the International Administration of the Ottoman Debt. Here we have proof of the distinct development of the international spirit during the last 100 years. In this case a weak State had sufficient trust in the integrity and disinterestedness of the joint Powers to call upon them to extricate her from financial ruin.

After a series of wars and revolts, Turkey found herself, in 1881, in such an *impasse* that she was threatened with complete national bankruptcy. The public debt was rising to such a colossal figure, and affairs were in so disastrous a state, that the Porte appealed to the Great Powers for help. Delegates of the bondholders in each country were immediately sent to Constantinople to investigate matters and take action. They soon issued a decree, the so-called Decree of Muharrem, by which they reduced the outstanding capital of the debt by more than half. On this capital a minimum interest of 1 per cent. was to be paid, to increase as the revenue permitted.

As security for the service of the new reduced debt, the Decree provided that an international council should be formed, composed of one delegate each from the bondholders of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Turkey, and one

representing the priority bondholders (local banks). The Turkish Government had the right of naming an Imperial Commissioner without voting powers as their representative, and it also had power to name controllers to inspect the accounts. In all other respects the Council, provided that it kept within the bounds of the laws which it had to administer, was to be entirely independent of the Ottoman Government, free to appoint and dismiss its officials, and to carry on its administration as it thought best. Any difference between the Government and the Council was to be settled by arbitration, if adjustment seemed impossible.

In regard to the financial administration of the Council, it was entrusted with the absolute administration, collection, and control of the six "indirect contributions" (tobacco, salt, wines and spirits, commercial stamps, certain fisheries, and the silk tithe in certain provinces), and, in addition, it collected the customs revenues and had complete control over the Bulgarian tribute, the proportional shares of the public debt borne by the other Balkan States, and the excess of revenue. The delegates fully justified the responsibilities entrusted to them and proved worthy pioneers of international organisation. Their administrative work was carried out in the most energetic and impartial manner, unhampered by rivalries or contention between the various national representatives, and with a view solely to the development of Turkish interests. They succeeded in raising Turkey's status in the eyes of the world by placing her finances on a solid basis.

And they voluntarily extended the scope of their duties in order to further Turkish interests. They were not satisfied merely to collect the revenues, but they devised schemes to expand them. They organised a policy of commercial development which before the war was beginning to bear remarkable fruits. For instance, in regard to salt, in the olden times Turkey's very important salt mines lay unutilised, but the European delegates helped to develop them by giving liberal financial assistance and expert advice, so that a very profitable trade in salt to India was established, and the revenues of the salt sold in the Empire increased to double the amount. They also revived the silk industry. In 1885 they introduced the Pasteur system of selection of silk-worms' eggs, and founded an Institute of Sericulture on modern lines at Brusa, which gives free instruction to students from all parts of the Empire. They receive the diploma, and in many cases, when they return to their homes, they spread the new methods. As a result of this system the cultivation of mulberry trees has increased enormously, and new silk factories have sprung up all over the country. In regions administered by the Council the revenue from the silk tithe has increased by seven times. But the other parts of the country have benefited almost equally by the method of propaganda, so that the total value of the crop has increased by nearly two and a-half millions sterling.

From every point of view the International Debt Administration has been one of the most successful and beneficial government institutions of Turkey; and the *esprit de corps* which has dis-

tinguished it throughout promises well for the future of international administration.

Another valuable precedent for international organisation is the joint British and French Government of the New Hebrides. This group of islands in the Pacific has been administered since 1906 by a mixed British and French Commission. Great Britain and France have both had commercial interests there since the eighteenth century, and in 1878 the islands were declared neutral by both Powers. But this arrangement proved unsuccessful, because it provided for no authority to regulate native matters. In 1887 Great Britain and France came to an agreement whereby the civil control of the islands was entrusted to a joint Commission of naval officers. The Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 had a Clause providing for European control of the natives and the appointment of an administrative commission to keep order amongst the white population. Two years later, a Convention was signed in London providing that the New Hebrides Group, including Banks and Torres Islands, should form a "region of joint influence" in which British and French subjects should have equal rights, and each nation should possess power of jurisdiction over its own subjects.

A British and a French High Commissioner were appointed with complete authority over the native chiefs. A Joint Court of two judges, appointed respectively by Great Britain and France, and a third to be President, appointed by the King of Spain, was established with power to judge civil cases, native offences, and all infringements of the provisions of the Convention. Two police forces of equal strength were raised to assist the former naval commission to keep order. Provision was made to safeguard the interests of each nation in regard to public works, finance, and the official use of the English or French language. The erection of fortifications was forbidden. The arrangement has so far worked satisfactorily, so that the resources of the islands have been developed with equal benefit to both nations. National antagonism and commercial competition have thus proved to be easily reconcilable.

In the light of these successful attempts at international government, it will not seem too Utopian to bring forward a proposal to solve the question of Constantinople and the Turkish Straits on international lines. The idea is not altogether new. Different Tsars have planned that Constantinople should be a free city in the event of the partition of the Turkish Empire. Publicists have followed the same line. For instance, there is an interesting pamphlet on this subject, *Constantinople a Free Town*, written in 1860 by the Greek, Rattos. He proposed that the Straits should be neutralised, and that Constantinople should form a small free State with a free Government and free commerce, and should remain neutral in case of war.

Since the war several such plans have been worked out. It is worth while dwelling at some length on Arnold Toynbee's survey of the problem in his recent book, *Nationality and the War*, because he brings out clearly the difficulties which will certainly have to be

faced in any international solution. His suggestion is that the administration of the Straits should be undertaken by the United States, but he prefaces his book by saying frankly that he realises such an idea to be deliberate Utopianism. He describes it as "the *reductio ad absurdum* of that dearth of international organisation, which is largely responsible for Europe's present pass." According to him, Russia's real objective in her policy of intervention in the Balkans has been to secure a free passage from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. The freedom of the Straits is of vital importance to Russia, Roumania, and Bulgaria, and it must be secured for Russia without delay if we do not want another war in the near future.

The Straits must be controlled by a new administration, which will be supreme in the territory on both shores of the Straits and as far inland as is necessary to safeguard the strategic position. The boundaries would thus run, on the European side, within a line drawn from near Eregli on the Marmora coast to the neighbourhood of Ormanlu on the Black Sea; and in Asia west of a line drawn between Deredje and Kilis. The territory would also include the islands of the Sea of Marmora, the peninsula of Artaki, the whole district of the Troad and the Gallipoli peninsula, with sufficient hinterland for protection, and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos.

The population of these lands includes different nationalities. The peasants of the Troad (the largest stretch of land) are almost without exception Turks. The islands are purely Greek. As for Constantinople, it is the most cosmopolitan city in the world. In the fifteenth century the Greeks formed the majority of the population, but this element has not taken a proportional share in the gradual growth of the city, and to-day forms only about 17½ per cent. But the Turkish majority is really only artificial. It is formed mostly of two classes: the huge army of officials, who would follow in the wake of the Government to the new Turkish Capital, and unskilled dock labourers, who are also purely a casual element. So if the Straits territory were to become an independent unit, the Greeks would predominate, and the civil administration could safely be entrusted to them. They would form an autonomous republic on a Greek basis.

But this question of the civil government is unimportant. The real problem is the international organisation of the territory. A formidable military sanction is necessary, and this military organisation must be co-ordinated with the Civil Government. A combination of the two is out of the question, because the national aspirations of this State would not coincide with the interests of Europe. Mr. Toynbee reviews other possible solutions, but he rejects them in turn. He thinks that there are no precedents for a composite military force, supplied on a system of proportion from different States, which give much hope of permanent satisfaction. The joint occupation of Crete, the zones of inspection of Macedonia, the naval landing parties sent to Albania in 1914, the joint defence of the Pekin Legations against the Boxers—all these were only temporary, and had a limited task. Mr. Toynbee argues as follows: That no small Power is capable of undertaking such a task, for it

would lack the prestige necessary. This is the reason of the failure of the Belgian Customs Service, the Swedish Gendarmerie in Persia, and the Dutch Gendarmerie in Albania. Mr. Toynbee despairs too easily of methods suggested by these precedents, but we may agree that he argues forcibly when he says that the task should be entrusted to the United States. American public opinion would have to be prepared for such a breach with all the past national traditions, but the lessons of this war will have taught America the impossibility of isolation. If she consented to undertake such a responsibility, she would be performing an act of real international generosity, and she would also be furthering her own interests by thus guaranteeing peace in the future.

In all respects America is well fitted for the task. She has no private interests in the Straits, she is one of the strongest Powers in the world, and she has links of friendship with the peoples of the territory, through the immigration of peasants from Eastern Europe to the United States, and through her educational missions. The two American colleges in Turkey, Robert College and the American College for women, give the only thorough secondary education that can be obtained by Turks in their own country. This solution, which is the ideal one in the present embryonic stage of the international order, would naturally be of a temporary nature. If a common European patriotism should develop, America's charge could safely be placed in the hands of a joint body.

Amongst Russians we find, in the past and at the present time, many advocates of the neutralisation of the Turkish Straits, but there has been no attempt to put these projects into practice, because there seemed no prospect of clearing the Turks out of Europe. In 1888, the eminent jurist Kamarovski foretold the dangers of a Russian annexation. He pointed out that the Black Sea is not the territorial possession of any one State, that Austria and the Balkan countries have a right to the free use of the Straits, even in time of war, for their commerce and war ships. Russia cannot dispose of the Straits alone, for they are the natural outlet of the Danube basin. These waters must be declared free at all times to the ships of all nations. Fortresses must be razed, and no hostile act committed in the Straits. He foresaw the necessity of some form of international guarantee, so proposed that "International Commissions should protect, in case of necessity, the freedom of navigation in these waters." Later he developed his plan further, by suggesting that the best solution would be to transform Constantinople into the capital of a Balkan Federation. The whole of the Black Sea would be neutralised, but warships were to be stationed permanently in the free waterway to reduce to a minimum any attempt to seize the Straits. To compensate Russia for the loss of the Black Sea as a naval base, she might receive some island in the Archipelago as a station for her fleet. Baron de Rosen, the well-known Russian diplomat, in a confidential memorandum in 1913, also emphasised the dangers of the Russian policy of expansion in the Near East.

Lastly, we have the suggestion of Sir Edwin Pears. It deserves special consideration, because it was the first outspoken proposal

for an international Commission, and because Sir Edwin is the greatest of living British authorities on conditions in the Near East. He considers that a free, international Constantinople is the only guarantee of a lasting peace. The Straits of the Bosphorus must be open to the ships of all nations. A small, independent State must be formed, forever neutral, with its centre in Constantinople, and governed by an International Commission. This independent neutral State shall have no army, only an efficient police to keep order; and its integrity must be guaranteed by treaties "enduring and binding" of all the Powers. It will have no individual ruler. Its sole ruler will be the Commission. Its boundaries will run, in the West from Enos in the South to Medea on the Black Sea, passing south of Adrianople. In the East it will be bounded by a line running from Aramittium through the False Bosphorus to a point on the Black Sea.

If the Straits are not to breed renewed strife, it is, of course, essential that satisfaction should be given to the true claims of Russia. This will now be felt all the more strongly among Russia's Allies, since the democratic forces in Russia have won the day. Her claims are commercial and strategic, and each is satisfied by a genuine international scheme. But she has a further sentimental claim—the Slavs' religious claim to the headquarters of the Eastern Church. It has been suggested by some that Russia might acquire San Sofia without acquiring the town; by others that, if international control is established, the Turks might save their face by retaining the Church for Islam.

The objections brought forward to the plan of internationalisation are all based on the plea that the feebleness of the new administration will make it a fertile source of intrigue. It is argued that the Germans, whose influence in the Near East is already so great, will succeed in undermining the authority of the international body, and reasserting the Pan-German principle. But this argument merely illustrates the bankruptcy of the present international order and overlooks the main issue of the war—the plan to create a "League of Nations," or, to use Lord Grey's phrase, "agreements to prevent war." Such a League, once it is formed, will automatically remove the reasons for national rivalry and intrigue. The *Entente* claims to be fighting to secure the future peace of Europe, but unless this war results in the establishment of an international league of peace it will have been fought in vain.

It is in the spirit underlying the policy of the *Entente* Powers (as expressed in their reply to President Wilson's Note) that this plea for an international settlement of the Turkish problem is advanced. It is realised that further conflict can only be avoided by the establishment of "international settlements attended by the sanction necessary to assure their execution, and thus to prevent fresh aggressions from being made easier by an apparent security."

NOEL BUXTON.

THE PROSPECT IN POLAND.

PART II.

WHEN the rising in Russia collapsed, in 1863, the leadership of the Nobility, which in one form or another had been maintained since the days when Poland was a State and their rule was exclusive and unquestioned, came for ever to an end. From that time on the development of the three Polands proceeded on independent lines. In Poznań (Prussian Poland), two movements developed simultaneously. The one was a political "Democratic" movement, which bade fair to carry on the traditions of the Nobility under another set of labels. The leaders of this movement were the bourgeois *intelligentsia*. They, too, like the Nobles, looked to Paris for their inspiration; but they sought it not in the Court of the Tuileries, but in the Republican Opposition. Academic and cosmopolitan, they found their chief affinities and support in the similarly minded politicians of Austrian and Russian Poland. For social and economic problems at home they had little interest or inclination. From time to time they read papers to one another on "The defective political sense of the masses." The other movement also sprang from the middle class; but, unlike the Democratic movement, it had its activities in the depths. At the time, and for many years afterwards, it was little heeded: and though for some time now its significance has been appreciated by the bulk of the Poles themselves and by the Prussian bureaucracy, it was not realised by the German public until quite a short time ago. In 1907 the German economist, Ludwig Bernhard, published the first edition of his Polish studies.* In writing this notable book, Prof. Bernhard had access both to official and to Polish sources, and by his personal relations with the capitalist world to a great deal of private information, which the Poles take care not to publish. The appearance of the book produced something like consternation in Polish circles. It is written from the Prussian point of view with a kind of half-amused, half-irritated admiration for the Poles, not unlike the feeling which many Englishmen have for the Irish. Its strength, however, lay less in its conclusions than in the facts which it disclosed. It must form the starting-point of any future investigations, whether by friend or foe. The alarm which it caused amongst the Poles was due to the fear that it would be used by the bureaucracy to stir up feeling in Prussia for another anti-Polish crusade; and, to some extent, it has been so used. Prince Bülow quoted from it extensively in introducing his anti-Polish legislation in 1908. But, on the whole, the book has probably made as many friends for the Poles as it has encouraged enemies. The Germanising policy of the Prussian Government has never been popular in Germany outside Prussia, and in Prussia itself it is regarded as a "disagreeable necessity."

Prof. Bernhard traces the origin of the economic movement, which is now to be described, to the Peasant Unions, which were

* *Die Polenfrage*, by Ludwig Bernhard, Ord. Professor der Staatswissenschaften a.d. Universität Berlin. Second Edition. (Leipzig, 1910.)

founded in Poznań by the Insurrectionist, Maximilian Jackowski, on his release from prison after the suppression of the Insurrection of 1863. The peasant up to this time had kept out of politics. When Poland was a State, the peasant was a serf, a serf whose condition had been steadily worsened by the Nobility from the fifteenth century onwards. *Cælum nobilium, paradisus clericorum, aurifodina advenarum, infernum rusticorum*, says a traveller in Poland a few years before the Partitions. About the same period Stanislas Leszczyński, who had himself twice been King of Poland, wrote:—

“Such necessary persons [the serfs] should, without doubt, be esteemed; but we make scarcely a difference between them and the beasts which plough our fields. We often spare them less than the beasts, and only too often sell them to equally cruel masters, who compel them by increase of work to pay the price of their new servitude. With horror I mention the law which lays upon every noble who kills a peasant—only a fine of fifteen francs.”

For the peasant the substitution of Prussian for Polish rule meant primarily the abolition of serfage. The political changes passed unheeded over his head. From time to time during the years which followed, his landlord's agent would pack him into a potato waggon and send him into the town to vote for some candidate for the Prussian Diet. But he noticed that there were fewer landlords now than there used to be. The Prussian Government were splitting up estates to form peasant holdings. In this and in other ways there was much profit to be had from the Prussians. He had no feeling against them himself. They were the rulers, and what they said had to be done: that was natural: he ruled his own household in the same way. But they did not interfere with him. For his part he could not see why the priest attacked them, and the *szlachta* urged him to rise against them. This, or something like it, was the attitude of the peasant when in 1873 the Administration introduced an ordinance making German the language of instruction in the schools. The change was first felt more as an inconvenience by the peasant than as an attack on his nationality. But other regulations followed. Gradually he began to see that there was a policy behind them. The Germans were threatening the mother tongue! In that hour the Polish peasant awoke for the first time to political consciousness.

It was at this stage that Jackowski with his Peasant Union projects offered himself to his notice. The unions promised him economic aid, of which he was badly in need. And they were pure Polish. They were not political—he would not have touched them had they been “politics”—but in some sense he felt they were a protest against the Prussian authorities. This gentleman from Posen, who was so eager to form unions, was a good man. They said he had been imprisoned by the Prussians for helping their brothers in Russia during the late troubles. That could not be right, to imprison a good man for helping his brothers. The Priest said it was not pleasing to God. Jackowski's propaganda made rapid headway. In 1873, there were 11 Peasant Unions in

Poznań; in 1875 there were 45; in 1876, 61; in 1877, 105; in 1880, 120. *And all were combined in one central organisation in Posen, of which Jackowski was the head.*

The conception of combined effort was Jackowski's great contribution to the economic movement. Peasant Unions already existed when he came upon the scene; but they were isolated one from the other, and, because isolated, powerless. Jackowski's organisation to-day consists of over 300 unions. These are grouped in twenty-six districts, each district being under a Vice-Patron. Over the Vice-Patrons is the Patron—Jackowski himself until his death in 1905. The Patronate has an office in Posen, from which it publishes a weekly paper. The activities of the unions are as follows. Each union has a social gathering once a month, at which arrangements are made for the purchase of nitrates, insurance, the hire of machinery, and the like, on co-operative lines. Once a year the district holds a meeting, which for most of the peasants is the principal event of the year. Some 300 to 400 persons may be present. The local newspapers report the proceedings at length. The Patron, or his representative from the Head Office, is invariably present; and great efforts are made to impress him with the success of the district. If he is not satisfied, he does not hesitate to say so in the annual report; and the Press and public opinion follow suit. Finally, there takes place every spring in Posen the general meeting, to which each Union sends its Chairman and one delegate. The Polish Landlords' Union generally arranges to hold its general meeting at the same time, so that the beginning of March sees in Posen a kind of Agricultural Week, not unlike the annual meeting of the British Association. The significance of such a gathering lies not in the papers which are read, which indeed are scarcely listened to, but in the intercourse and interchange of ideas between men engaged on similar pursuits from every part of the province. Though not a word of politics is spoken from beginning to end of the proceedings, attendance constitutes the most effective political education for the delegate from a small and remote village. *The political lesson, which he carries away with him, is simply this, that a State which has lost its independence need not lose its nationality, if it will organise its social and economic life.*

Some fifteen years before Jackowski began to found his Peasant Unions, efforts had been made, principally in the towns, to organise co-operative societies or banks on the model of those which were being founded in Germany by the German social reformer, Schulze-Delitsch. The first co-operative banks, however, were not inspired by the national idea, nor were they directed exclusively or principally by Polish leaders. They were founded to provide credit facilities* for the small craftsmen in the towns,

* The co-operative banks in Poznań were all copied from the German model; and the co-operative movement in Germany has proceeded on different lines from those which it has followed in England. Co-operative trading societies, of the kind with which we are familiar in England, form a part, but an unimportant part, of the Polish movement. The fundamental idea of co-operation in England is the elimination of competition. The fundamental idea of co-operation in Germany (Poland) is the organisation of credit, a work which in England is done by the joint-stock banks.

shoemakers, tailors, masons, locksmiths, blacksmiths, and the like, amongst whom there were as many Germans as Poles. With the growth of racial hostility, however, after the introduction of the Germanising policy of the Government in the 'seventies, the Poles separated from the Germans, and proceeded to form separate co-operative banks, which, after the model of Jackowski's peasant unions, were federated in a Central Association with a patron at the head, the *Związek Spolek Zarobkowych Polskich* (in German, *Verband der polnischen Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften*). From this time on the co-operative banks went hand in hand with the peasant unions. New branches were formed in country districts. At the present time some 65 per cent. of the members are agriculturalists (nearly all peasants), 22 per cent. are craftsmen or artisans, and 14 per cent. are tradesmen or of other professions.

The history of the co-operative movement in its early years is thoroughly Polish. When the Central Association was founded, the founders selected as patron a member of the Polish party in the Prussian Diet. At the end of a year he handed over the concern, "owing to the burden of Parliamentary duties," with the finances in confusion. The next patron, Msgr. Szamarzewski, was a cleric who, like Jackowski, had been implicated in the rising of 1863. Szamarzewski had the typical Polish temperament, Slav enthusiasm, without Teutonic power of work. Under his energetic hand banks sprang up in every quarter of the province, many of them under very inefficient control. Institutions of this kind, which have their origin, not in financial, but in social or political aims, do not prove their economic soundness till the first ten years are past, and the initial enthusiasm has cooled. Towards the end of the 'seventies it became clear that the co-operative movement had come to a standstill. Szamarzewski was no disciplinarian. The vital importance in such a movement of stern central control by audit and otherwise had not been appreciated. Individual banks resisted interference by the Central Association in the name of "liberty," the invocation of which is the preliminary to every Polish crime. The advantages of centralisation were lost. Some banks could not give credits, because they had no deposits: others would not accept deposits because they had nowhere to place them. After 1879 no new bank was founded; and several of the existing ones were obliged to close their doors. The movement was discredited.

This state of affairs continued for some years. A change came just at the time that the Prussian Government inaugurated its Land Settlement policy in 1886. Land values were then low; many of the Polish landlords were heavily in debt; the Government proposed to step in, buy up the encumbered Polish estates, and settle German peasants on the land. 100,000,000 marks were voted for the purpose. Twice in his life Bismarck met his match: the first time in his conflict with Rome; the second time in his conflict with the Poles. In the latter instance the journey to Canossa has still to come; but the resistance of the Poles has proved just as insuperable as was the resistance of the Catholics in the *Kulturkampf*. Bismarck's mistake in the Polish question was his belief that the Nobles were still the leaders of the community. Their

measure he had taken sufficiently well; and the readiness with which they surrendered their land during the first five years after the passing of the Settlement Law seemed to justify his opinion.* Resistance from any other class was hardly expected. The Polish troops had fought with traditional bravery for Prussia in the war of 1870, as they have in the present war: and in the absence of political agitation of the kind made familiar by the first half of the century, there had grown up the belief in Germany that conscription had "educated the Pole": *der Pole der drei Jahre gedient hat ist loyal*. English readers have not far to look for a parallel to such a misapprehension.

While the Government was introducing the Settlement Bill, the co-operative organisation was being remodelled. The Central Association had been placed in new hands. The leaders had learnt in adversity the value of discipline. Above all, the movement had found at last its Jackowski. At the head, indeed, still stood the patron Szamarzewski, now old and feeble; but behind him were ranged a group of energetic men, the most notable of whom was a young parish priest, Father (later Msgr.) Peter Wawrzyniak of Schrimm, Vice-Patron from 1886 and Patron in succession to Szamarzewski from 1892 till his death in 1910. If Wawrzyniak was not the founder of the Polish co-operative movement, he was by far the first of its benefactors. He taught it discipline; and the lesson has been so well learned that it has become, as discipline does become, a second nature, with infinite advantage, moral and material, to the Prussian Pole. Wawrzyniak had the secret, which so few Poles have, of combining enterprise with caution. Again and again, when enthusiastic spirits urged the extension of the movement to new spheres, the patron delayed action till the new policies had been thought out; above all, till the reaction which they were likely to provoke from the Prussian Government had been forecasted. When new policies were ultimately adopted, they almost always bore the trace of his own masterful shaping, and they were commonly successful. But, if there were few failures, there were few dazzling triumphs. Wawrzyniak had many of the characteristics of the late Lord Cromer. When Jackowski died the peasants revered him as a saint. There was no such feeling for Wawrzyniak. "The Monsignore" was less a personality than an institution. While he lived, no political or financial project was begun without his sanction. Yet when he died, he left no irreparable gap, because his voice still speaks and his inspiration lingers in the organisation which he created.

The first step which the reformed Association took was to found an Association Bank (*Bank Związku Spolek Zarobkowych*, in German *Verbandsbank der Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften*). It began as a kind of clearing house for the branch banks, to equalise the flow of capital between rich and poor branches. The power which it thus wielded enabled it to insist on regular audits and

* Between 1886 and 1890 the Settlement Commission acquired 133,824 acres of land, 90 per cent. of which came from Polish landlords, and settled 650 German families. The purchase money, or such part of it as the vendors could save from the Jews, filtered through to Paris, Nice, and Monte Carlo in the usual way.

book-keeping after a prescribed pattern. As the central control became stricter, confidence revived, and deposits and membership began to increase. Wawrzyniak's next move was to draw the parochial clergy into the movement. His motives were probably more economic than clerical. The co-operative banks, originally intended to serve the small craftsmen of the towns, required much adaptation to meet the needs of the agriculturalist in the villages. For such adaptation, knowledge of local conditions was essential. In many Polish villages the priest is the only person who combines with local knowledge a certain amount of leisure. At the present day there are very few village banks of which the priest is not either the Chairman or one of the managers. When Prof. Bernhard made this assertion in the first edition of his book, it was contested by Polish critics. In the second edition, accordingly, the Professor published the names of all the priests figuring on the management of the banks. From these lists it appears that in 1909, of 225 co-operative banks, 159 had priests as managers, while 217 priests in all held official positions in the movement. In bringing about this extraordinary development Wawrzyniak was at times supported and at times mildly opposed by the authorities at the Archbishopric. That the cure of souls should include a knowledge of book-keeping was a novel idea to some prelates; but the encyclical *Rerum novarum* was a powerful ally on the Monsignore's side, and the success of the movement a still more powerful one. When a new branch is founded to-day in an agricultural district, it is almost invariably the work of the priest. He collects at the Presbytery or the Inn a score of peasants, the organist—the organist will be cashier—and any small tradesmen there may be in the village—the saddler, for example, or the chemist. The meeting then decides to form a co-operative bank, and applies for affiliation to the Central Association. Three peasants are elected managers with the priest, and they meet once a week to receive savings and grant credits. Generally, the peasants want to keep the books "in their heads," as they do their own accounts: and great roughness on the part of the priest is needed before he can induce them to use a pen. When a peasant receives a credit, he signs a simple form of bill, to which two neighbours add their names as sureties. On this modest basis the great part of the Poznanian credit system has been built up. The organisation of the banks is similar to that of the peasant unions, which has been described. The control by the Central Association is very strict and somewhat autocratic. The Association has laid down the rule that a bank is unsound when the number of members is greater than the number of depositors: and that under normal circumstances the number of depositors should be twice the number of members. Banks, which have let their ratio fall low, are warned at the half-yearly audit by the Association, and, if necessary, refused credit by the Association Bank. Banks which have maintained their ratio are rewarded by publicity in the Press and at the annual general meeting. There is accordingly keen competition to attract the savings of the smallest peasant or labourer in order to increase for the balance-sheet the *Liczba deponentów* (number of depositors). Any sum can be placed on

deposit down to a mark (1s.). There is little or no competition from the Government Savings Banks, which as German are boycotted.

In the granting of credits the underlying principle is the vigorous enforcement of regular repayment. The banks will, and do, evict to enforce repayment. Renewal is hardly ever granted, except to peasants who have got into the hands of usurers, in which case the banks allow latitude till the debts to the usurer are paid off. The scrutiny, however, in such cases is very strict, as the Polish peasant (like the rest of mankind) is generally reluctant to make a clean breast of his debts. The priest's knowledge of his parish is generally a useful control in these cases. So strict are the banks with the peasants that German critics often call them "usurious." In reality, however, their principle is the opposite of the usurer's principle. The usurer is anxious to postpone payment. The banks are anxious to enforce it. The banks have proved, indeed, the worst enemy of the usurer, who, as commonly in Eastern Europe, is the Jew. The writer has seen no statistics as to the decline of usury in Poznań; but from the statistics of the whole Jewish population it appears that whereas in 1871 Jews constituted 3.9 per cent. of the population, in 1900 the percentage had dropped to 1.9, and in 1905 still further to 1.4. These are very remarkable statistics for an East European country. The constant inflow of the peasants' repayments enables the Association Bank to do a great deal with a small capital: while, by accustoming the Polish borrower to short credits and frequent calling in, it provides a certain protection against economic crises, and against those political attacks on the part of the Prussian Government, for which the Association has to be unceasingly on guard. The Government, indeed, is always on the watch to catch the banks in any illegality; but the banks adhere rigidly to the forms and regulations of the German law.* On the whole, this constant menace has proved a useful discipline to the movement.

Sometimes the weapons, which the Government have employed, have recoiled on their own head, as the following story shows. The Polish banks pay slightly higher interest on deposits than the Government Savings Banks; and they used, until recently, to attract the savings of a good many minor Government officials. In not a few villages the (Prussian) schoolmaster was elected on the management; and it was even the case that a Government official (of Polish nationality) sat on the Board of the Central Association. In January, 1904, the Prussian Minister of Finance suddenly issued an Order that all officials and their families should withdraw their savings from the Polish banks, and cease to participate in the management. The manner in which Wawrzyniak met this attack was characteristic. At first, when the officials began to withdraw their deposits, there was an angry demand that all credits granted to German clients should be immediately called in, so as to drive as many as possible into bankruptcy and (with luck) the sale of their land. Polish sureties, who had stood as guarantors for German

* They are registered as co-operative societies (*Erwerbs-und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften*), and the legislation for such societies is—fortunately for the banks—Imperial and not Prussian.

borrowers, withdrew their guarantees. It looked as if the Polish banks would be completely purged of what German elements they contained. That, however, was not at all what Wawrzyniak desired. The German element in the movement, while quite without influence, had been to a certain limited extent a protection against Government aggression. To remove it would in any case accentuate the national aspect of the movement, and render it more open to future attack. Accordingly, before retaliatory measures had gone far, each branch received from headquarters in German and Polish, as the law requires, the following circular:—

“ Mogilno, January 22nd, 1904.

“ To the Honoured Co-operative Societies affiliated to the Central Co-operative Association.

“ In accordance with an Ordinance issued by their superiors, all State officials have been compelled to resign from membership of our societies, and to withdraw their deposits in our banks.

“ In the name of all the societies, I declare that we have given no pretext for this regulation. Our societies have invariably been conducted in accordance with the prescriptions of the law, and have made no difference between clients in respect of religion, nationality, or political views.

“ We propose to continue this policy in the future.

“ I desire to caution societies, which have been injuriously affected by the withdrawal of officials, and which complain of lack of consideration on the part of the authorities (who but a short while ago urged us to place ourselves in a position to point to members of German nationality on our lists), not to allow themselves now to be induced to desert the only just principle, or to cease to deal with financial matters, without regard to differences of nationality.

“ The withdrawal of capital, which the Ordinance in question will occasion, will not (I apprehend) cause our societies any serious loss, or compel us to call in credits granted to our members, even in cases where the latter may be German.

“ I trust that we shall refrain from every thought of revenge or retaliation as heathenish.—With respect and greeting,

“ WAWRZYNIAK, Priest,

“ Patron of the Co-operative Societies.”

The Polish Press protested against so lily-livered a reply. The German Press treated it as a sign of “the essential weakness of the Polish co-operative movement.” But the Monsignore had never meant to rest content with branding retaliation as “heathenish.” Though no Germans were driven out of Polish banks, almost every Pole in a German bank withdrew his savings. A lively agitation was initiated to “meet the withdrawal of the Prussian monies by an increase in the savings of the Pole.” At the annual meeting in October of the following year, it was reported that the annual increase in deposits, which for years past had varied between 5,000,000 marks and 7,000,000 marks, had suddenly risen to 12,000,000 marks! There is something Irish about this story.

The truth is, the co-operative movement is now too strong for the Government to be able to shake it without producing an

economic crisis in the province, and to no small extent outside, of the most formidable dimensions. The co-operative banks have gradually absorbed almost every form of financial activity in the province. There are hardly any Polish joint stock banks, and there is not much company enterprise. The aristocracy is wealthy, but without inclination to employ its capital in business. Under these circumstances the savings of the peasant and the labourer represent the working capital of the country; and the Association Bank, which has organised it, usurps functions which in any other country would be performed by a variety of institutions. It lends the labourer with a half-acre allotment money to buy seed. It finances the great Cegielski engineering works. It has rebuilt Posen. It has played a prominent part in the resistance to the Settlement Commission. It is a building society, a savings bank, a land speculator, a trust company, and a joint stock bank in one. Its deposits in the year 1907 amounted to £6,150,000,* which is the equivalent of over £3 1s. 6d. per head, if the total Polish population in Germany is taken at 2,000,000. The credits granted in the same year ranged from 7s. to £30,000. The business, which it did with private customers outside the co-operative movement, amounted to 33 per cent. of the whole.

In the struggle against the Prussian Land Settlement the Polish banks have played at once a negative and a positive part. On the one hand the network of branch banks has acted as a kind of police to prevent any Polish peasant land passing into German hands. On the other hand, the Association Bank has founded and financed institutions, which buy up large estates (German, if possible, but, if not, Polish) and split them up into Polish peasant holdings. For many years after the passing of the Settlement Law, Wawrzyniak was unwilling to lock up the capital of the co-operative banks in such a risky operation as land speculation. The sales of Polish land to the Settlement Commission had been brought to a standstill by 1890. For the next ten years the Association Bank confined itself to financing certain individual land speculators. In 1900, however, with the experience of the 'nineties behind it, the bank began the founding of a number of "parcelling banks" (banks for splitting up estates) in affiliation with the Co-operative Association. Their activities were struck at by the Government, first, through the Amendment Act of 1904, which made it practically impossible for the Poles to found new peasant holdings; and, secondly, through Prince Bülow's law of 1908, giving the Settlement Commission powers of compulsory expropriation.† The ingenuity with which the Poles circumvented these measures, and the unsuccess of the Settlement Commission, have often been described in this country. The real factor in the Polish resistance, which alone has made its success possible, is the land-hunger of the Polish labourer; and this the co-operative banks have organised. There is no such distinction in Poznań as that to which we are

* In 1913 the total had risen to nearly £9,000,000. In judging such figures, the extreme poverty of the Polish agriculturalist, at the time when the co-operative movement started, must be taken into account.

† The Prussian Conservatives in the Diet, who dislike the principle of compulsory powers, succeeded in limiting the expropriation to 192,500 acres.

accustomed in England between the agricultural and the industrial labourer. The agricultural labourer sends his son to the factory in Silesia or Westphalia because of the high wages to be earned there. But the aspiration of both is to own a farm of their own and become peasants. The priests dislike this "emigration"; and it was chiefly their desire to fight it that induced them to take up the parcelling enterprises of the past few years. When a parcelling bank has acquired a property, it advertises in the religious and other papers which circulate among the Polish workmen in Westphalia that it is prepared to advance the purchase price of a holding, which the purchaser is to pay off by the proceeds of his labour during the next six or more years. Like the credit banks, whose methods have been described, the parcelling banks are very severe in exacting repayment; and there is no mercy for defaulters. The land-hunger is such that the banks have no difficulty in disposing of a defaulter's holding. It is a common thing for a man, who has bought a holding, to remain working in Westphalia for six or seven years to earn the instalments of the interest and repayment, while his wife and family manage the land. Sometimes the purchaser knows that he cannot free himself of the debt in his own time, but he works for the next generation. The contrast between this devotion and the selfishness of the German land-holder, for whose benefit the whole machinery of a powerful Government is constantly brought into play, has something in it of the revolting. The ideal, which the Government constantly proclaims, of Germanising the East Mark is not in itself a low ideal. It closely resembles, in fact, the ideal of the Pole. The justification or condemnation of both lies in the extent to which each is prepared to sacrifice himself for his ideal. The German, in the East Mark, has shown no readiness to sacrifice himself. The German co-operative societies have neither the cohesion nor the discipline of the Polish Societies. The landlords will not split up their estates. Peasants and landlords alike are ready to take advantage of the inflated prices, which the purchases of the Settlement Commission have brought about. If a Polish bank is prepared to outbid the Commission, they sell to the Polish bank. Not only will the Germans not work with the Commission: they will not even work with one another. The Peasants' Association and the Landlords' Association fight openly, while the Pole mocks. Not many years ago all Posen was humming a tune which some humourist had written after one of these encounters:—

" Michel sagt zu seinem Sohne :
 ' Hol ' der Teufel die Barone !
 Ob sie deutsch sind oder Polen,
 Alle soll der Teufel holen ! ' "

There are some Poles still in Poznania who ignore the economic movement: and there are not a few who will say that the political education of the people has been neglected for economic development. It is true that politics have been in the background during the past twenty years. The best brains of the country have gone to the economic movement, and the Parliamentarians in the Diet

have lost weight. But that the economic movement is political in the deeper sense of the word has, it is hoped, been shown. It has raised a peasantry, which was degraded to a degree unknown in Western Europe for many centuries. It has made an outlet for the energies of a gifted middle class, denied access save at the price of their nationality to the Army, the Navy, the Civil Service, and the teaching profession. And it has afforded to a people, whose ineptitude for self-government was once one of the commonplaces of history, an education in that hard school, whose lessons are now written in books. It is not possible, when the future of Eastern Europe is once more on the *tapis*, to write down such a movement as a matter of German internal politics, and to say it has no international significance. The show, which is now being enacted at Warsaw, is a puppet-show. The High Well Born the Crown Marshal, the Exalted Council of State, and all the crowd of attendant politicians, have no vitality save such as is lent them by the man behind the stage. The Provisional Government will last precisely as long as the Grand Duchy of Warsaw lasted; and that was as long as Napoleon's bayonets were there to support it. The Poles now talk of raising an Army of 2,000,000 men; but the advocates of compulsory service have failed to carry their point on the Council of State;* the Legions are not believed to amount to more than 30,000 at present; and it remains to be seen how much larger a force Poland is able to raise on a voluntary basis. Neither 30,000, nor 60,000, nor 90,000 men will decide the future of Poland when once the beloved Austrian and German bayonets are withdrawn. If and when the Allies re-draw the map, the Poland which they will reconstitute will have to satisfy two conditions: it must not be hostile and it must not be weak. The Allies intend, in reconstituting Poland, to reconstitute the Poles. With that object they must look for a nucleus of Poles, who do not truckle to the Central Empires, and who show signs of capacity for the Herculean task of resuscitating a State. The politicians in Warsaw have been too ready to burn their boats.

O. DE L.

* This important decision was reached at a meeting of the Council of State held in February last.

SLEEMAN'S RAMBLES AND RECOLLECTIONS.

THERE is a stage of convalescence at which one wearies of the light literature which has been a compulsory diet during illness, and feels a craving for rather more solid food. At such a stage one searches one's shelves for some old book which will bear reading again. And at such a stage the present writer found a book which amply repaid his search.

Of all the books for which we are indebted to servants of the East India Company there is none which is more interesting and instructive, none which can be more confidently recommended for the study of Indian civilians and of aspirants to that position, than Sir William Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*. Until a comparatively recent date it was costly and difficult to procure, but Mr. Vincent Smith's admirable edition, published in two small volumes by Mr. Constable in 1895, has now placed it within the reach of all.

Sleeman's Indian career was distinguished and remarkable. It began in 1809 when, at the age of twenty-one, he went out to India as an infantry cadet in the Bengal Army. He served for some eleven years as a soldier, took part in the war of 1814-15 against Nepal, and was nearly carried off by the fever which decimated the troops engaged in that campaign. In 1820 he was given civil employment, and remained in civil employment for the rest of his Indian time. He began his civil work as a magistrate in a region which had been recently taken over from the Mahrattas, and which is now included in the Central Provinces. In 1835 he was appointed general superintendent for the operations for the suppression of Thuggee, and in 1839 he was made Commissioner for the suppression of Thuggee and Dacoitee. In this capacity he took the leading part in the suppression of the crimes with which Meadows Taylor's *Confessions of a Thug* have made us familiar, which survived the anarchy prevailing in the times of the Pindari raids, and of which the smouldering traces, always liable to burst out into flame, remained for many generations afterwards. Indeed, even yet they have not been wholly extinguished. In 1848, after some intermediate appointments, Lord Dalhousie made him Resident at Lucknow, and the remainder of his official life was spent in the province, then the kingdom, of Oudh. The terrible revelations of misrule contained in his *Journeys Through the Kingdom of Oudh* largely influenced Dalhousie in his determination to annex the kingdom, though Sleeman himself was opposed to the policy of annexation. In 1854, after forty-five years' service, his health finally broke down and he was ordered home. He died

on the voyage home, off the coast of Ceylon, four days after his accession, on Dalhousie's recommendation, to the dignity of K.C.B. had been gazetted in England.

It was in the autumn of 1835 that the grant of sick leave gave Sleeman the opportunity of making the tour which is the groundwork of his *Rambles and Recollections*. India, it should be borne in mind, was then in a condition of internal and external peace. The peaceful rule of Lord William Bentinck, for whom Sleeman had a great admiration, had recently drawn to a close. There were no wars or rumours of wars, for the disastrous first Afghan War had not yet loomed on the horizon. But in the region through which Sleeman travelled memories of the ravages and horrors of the Pindari raids were still fresh in the minds of many.

Sleeman started northward from Jubbulpore, near the Nerbudda river, accompanied by his wife and son, then a child under six years of age. From the Central Provinces they passed through Native States on their way to Agra. The journey was conducted in the leisurely fashion of India before the railways. The marches were reasonably short, and there were frequent halts at places of interest, and at places where ceremonial visits had to be paid and returned. There were, for instance, halts at native capitals such as Jhansi, where a disputed succession required delicate diplomatic action, and at Gwalior, where, through some blunder, he was uncomfortably lodged, and which, under the rule of Sindhia, produced on him a very unfavourable impression. "As a citizen "of the world," he remarks, "I could not help thinking that it "would be an immense blessing upon a huge portion of our "species if an earthquake were to swallow up Gwalior and the "Army that surrounds it." Agra and its lovely buildings, now familiar to all Indian tourists, are described in much detail. So are the buildings at Delhi, which was then under the nominal rule of a successor of the great Mogul, a shadow emperor, whose children and relations, an unsavoury crowd, swarmed throughout the magnificent apartments of the imperial palace. Meerut, where the journal stops, though the journey was extended to Simla, gives occasion for an amusing description of Anglo-Indian society, and thence, by a natural digression, the author's memories stray to the society of Calcutta. A leading figure in the society of that day was the old Begum Johnstone, a venerable lady whose married life began before the tragedy of the Black Hole, who had subsequently had many husbands, of course in succession, and one of whose daughters married Lord Liverpool.

"She had been a very beautiful woman, and had been several times married; the pictures of all her husbands being hung round her noble drawing-room in Calcutta, covered during the day with

crimson cloth to save them from the dust, and uncovered at night only on particular occasions. One evening Mrs. Crommelin, a friend of mine, pointing to one of them, asked the old lady his name. 'Really I cannot at this moment tell you, my dear, my memory is very bad' (striking her forehead with her right hand as she leaned with her left on Mrs. Crommelin's), 'but I shall recollect in a few minutes.' The old lady's last husband was a clergyman, Mr. Johnstone, whom she found too gay, and persuaded to go home on an annuity of £800 a year, which she settled upon him for life. The bulk of her pictures went to Lord Liverpool; the rest to her grandchildren, the Ricketts, Watts, and others."

This quotation was difficult to resist, but must not be taken as a sample of the book, which has very little to do with Anglo-Indian exotics, and is concerned almost wholly with India proper and its inhabitants. Sleeman was a model traveller, with an alert and intelligent eye for everything that he saw, and with an open ear for all that could be heard. He notes the qualities and capacities of the soil, and the geological character of the rocks. His speculations on the trap formation of Central India, though they have not found favour with more recent geologists, are still worth reading. But his chief interests were in the ways and thoughts of man. Like the great traveller of the *Odyssey*, he saw the cities of many men and knew their mind. No one, not even Sir Alfred Lyall, knew the Indian mind more intimately, or was better able to interpret its workings to the Western world. And he was superior to Lyall in this, that his accounts are given in the actual words of the narrator. Sleeman had the genius of a Boswell for eliciting good talk, and for recording conversations faithfully. He was a suggestive, discreet, and courteous questioner, a patient and sympathetic listener, and an accurate reporter. He talked with all sorts and conditions of men, ruling chiefs, great land-owners, cultivators of the soil, Indian officials, superior and subordinate, priests, learned Mussulmen, learned Hindoos. And the conversations ranged over all possible topics, human and divine, natural and supernatural, for in the Indian mind the two provinces are perpetually and inextricably intermingled. Difficult problems were solemnly discussed. Was the blight on the crops to be attributed to the increase of adultery, to the inconvenient, and probably impious, practice of measuring the land, or to the eating of beef? What was the efficiency of scapegoats in driving out influenza, small-pox, and other epidemics? How had the experiment of harnessing a pair of scapegoats succeeded? Why was it necessary to take a lease in the name of an old proprietor lest his spirit should be offended? What was the best mode of dealing with ghost-haunted villages? By what process could a man be converted into a tiger? Or into a god?

Grote long ago made acquaintance with Sleeman's book, and used it in his *History of Greece* for illustrating Greek myths and local beliefs. We know, at least from Shelley's poem, the pretty story of Alpheus and Arethusa, which was doubtless for many Greeks a matter, not of poetical fancy, but of serious belief. A local high priest told Sleeman in all seriousness how it was that the marriage arranged between the river goddess Nerbudda and the river god Son was broken off. It was broken off through the awkwardness of a barber's daughter who had been selected as intermediary, and who is now known as the little river Johila. Hence it is that the waters of the Nerbudda flow westward into the Gulf of Cambay, instead of flowing eastward, with the waters of the Son, into the Bay of Bengal.

One could multiply indefinitely the accounts of religious beliefs and usages described to Sleeman or observed by himself.* There is much, for instance, about suttee, and nothing could be more graphic or affecting than his description of a suttee on the Nerbudda in the year 1829. He had no legal power to interfere, for Lord William Bentinck's prohibition of suttee had not yet come into force, and he exhausted in vain all his powers of dissuasion and entreaty. The old lady, a Brahmin widow of about sixty-five, was determined not to survive her husband, and remained sitting on a bare rock in the bed of the Nerbudda, dressed in her funeral garments and refusing all food. Had she not been allowed to burn she would have died miserably of starvation. "My soul," she said, "is with Ummed Singh Upadhyia," violating in that supreme moment the strict rule which forbids a wife to pronounce her husband's name before others, "and my ashes must here mix with his." And so she walked calmly into the funeral pyre, only once stopping to cast her eyes upwards and say, "Why have they kept me five days from thee, my husband?"

There is a good deal more about suttee in Sleeman's pages. Here is a story told to him by a native gentleman of Jubbulpore soon after suttees had been prohibited by Government:—

"When Duli Sulkul, the Sihora banker's father, died, the wife of a Lodhi cultivator of the town declared, all at once, that she had been a suttee with him six times before; and that she would now go into Paradise with him a seventh time. Nothing could persuade her from burning herself. She was between fifty and sixty years of age, and had grandchildren, and all her family tried to persuade her that it must be a mistake, but all in vain. She became a suttee and was burnt the day after the body of the banker.

* Sleeman was a pioneer in a field which, since his time, has been worked extensively and fruitfully by many others, of whom the late Sir Herbert Risley is a brilliant example. But Sleeman's pioneer work still retains its interest and value.

“ ‘Did not Duli Sulkul’s family, who were Brahmins, try to dissuade her from it, she being a Lodhi, and very low caste?’ ”

“ ‘They did, but they said all things were possible with God, and it was generally believed that this was a call from heaven.’ ”

“ ‘And what became of the banker’s widow?’ ”

“ ‘She said that she felt no divine call to the flames. This was about thirty years ago, and the banker was about thirty years of age when he died.’ ”

“ ‘Then he will have rather an old wife in Paradise?’ ”

“ ‘No, Sir; after they pass through the flames upon earth, they both become young in Paradise.’ ”

Soon after this conversation Sleeman had a visit from the Sihora banker’s youngest brother, who was then the head of the banker’s family, and requested him to tell what he remembered about this singular suttee. He gave a detailed account which confirmed the story previously told in all material particulars, though the date appears to have been fixed at twenty instead of thirty years before.

“ ‘And what is now your opinion, after a lapse of twenty years?’ ”

“ ‘Why, that she had really been the wife of my brother, for at the pile she prophesied that my nephew Duli should be, what his grandfather had been, high in the service of Government; and, as you know, he soon after became so.’ ”

“ ‘And what did your father think?’ ”

“ ‘He was so satisfied that she had been the wife of his eldest son in a former birth, that he defrayed all the expenses of her funeral ceremonies, and had them all observed with as much magnificence as those of any member of our family. Her tomb is still to be seen at Kitoli, and that of my brother at Sihora.’ ”

Sleeman’s rambles and recollections afford him an opportunity for discussing almost every problem which now exercises the mind of the Indian administrator, and he brings to bear on each a singularly vigorous, independent, and suggestive mind. Famines and their causes and prevention, the collection of revenue, the tenure of land, the administration of justice, are some among the many topics which are brought under discussion.

About Thugs and their ways he has, as might have been expected, many curious anecdotes to relate. In connection with the administration of justice he has an interesting chapter on veracity. The difficulties of eliciting truth in Indian courts of justice are notorious. All men are liars, said the psalmist in his haste, and the lawyer is tempted to say the same in his leisure about those with whom he is brought into professional contact, perhaps not more often in India than elsewhere. The chances of obtaining the truth from a witness depend on many conditions, of which race and country are not the most important. “ ‘In the matter of lying,’ ” said one who had had judicial experience both

in England and India, "the citizens of B—— beat the Bengali "into fits," and B—— is not in India. The present writer remembers hearing a respectable witness, on being asked whether a statement which he had just made was not wholly inconsistent with one which he had previously made, say, "Yes, but that was "for the purpose of an affidavit in Chancery!" This, however, was before the Judicature Acts, at a time when those whose experience lay chiefly in courts of common law were less familiar with the principles which regulate chancery proceedings.

Sleeman had much experience as a magistrate of witnesses and their ways. One day he asked a native gentleman of the plains in the valley of the Nerbudda what made the people of the woods to the north and south much more disposed to speak the truth than those more civilised of the valley itself. "Because they have not "yet learned the value of a lie," said he, with the greatest simplicity, for "he was a very honest, plain-spoken man."

"Veracity," Sleeman comments, "is found to prevail most "where there is least to benefit by falsehood and most to be feared "by it." And he goes on to discuss the comparative efficiency of the different sanctions employed in India as inducements to speak the truth.

"In the very rudest state of society, among the woods and hills of India, the people have some deity whose power they dread, and whose name they invoke, when much is supposed to depend on the truth of what one man is about to declare. The 'pipal' tree (*Ficus religiosa*) is everywhere sacred to the gods, who are supposed to sit among its leaves and listen to the music of their rustling. The deponent takes one of these leaves in his hand, and invokes the god who sits above him to crush him, or those dear to him, as he crushes the leaf in his hand, if he speaks anything but the truth; he then plucks and crushes the leaf, and states what he has to say. The large cotton tree is, among the wild tribes of India, the favourite seat of gods still more terrible, because their superintendence is confined exclusively to the neighbourhood; and, having their attention less occupied, they can venture to make a more minute scrutiny into the conduct of the people immediately around them. The 'pipal' is occupied by one or other of the Hindoo triad, the gods of creation, preservation, or destruction, who have the affairs of the universe to look after; but the cotton and other trees are occupied by some minor deities, who are vested with a local superintendence over the affairs of a district, or, perhaps, of a single village. These are always in the view of the people, and every man knows that he is every moment liable to be taken to their court, and to be made to invoke their vengeance upon himself, or those dear to him, if he has told a falsehood in what he has stated, or tells one in what he is about to state. Men so situated adhere habitually, and, I may say, religiously, to the truth; and I have had before me hundreds of cases in which a man's property, liberty, or life, has depended upon his telling a lie, and he has refused to tell it to save either;

as my friend told me, ' they had not learned the value of a lie,' or rather they had not learned with how much impunity a lie could be told in the tribunals of civilised society."

The chapter on Bhumiawat illustrates the state of things which prevailed in Sleeman's time in states under native rule, and which, he suggests, " were very familiar to our ancestors in the middle " age." The term, he explains, signifies in Bundelkhand a war or fight for landed inheritance, from " bhum " the land, earth, &c.; " bhumia," a landed proprietor.

" When a member of the landed aristocracy, no matter how small, has a dispute with his ruler, he collects his followers, and levies indiscriminate war upon his territories, plundering and burning his towns and villages, and murdering their inhabitants, till he is invited back upon his own terms. During the war it is a point of honour not to allow a single acre of land to be tilled upon the estate which he has deserted, or from which he has been driven; and he will murder any man who attempts to drive a plough in it, together with all his family if he can. The smallest member of this landed aristocracy of the Hindoo military class will often cause a terrible devastation during the interval that he is engaged in his bhumiawat; for there are always vast numbers of loose characters floating upon the surface of Indian society, ready to ' gird up their loins ' and use their sharp swords in the service of marauders of this kind, when they cannot get employment in that of the constituted authorities of government."

In the kingdom of Oudh, when Sleeman wrote, the practice of bhumiawat was a curse to the inhabitants of that kingdom, but, according to him, had incidental advantages from the English point of view, as being a sort of nursery for our native Army, " for," he says, speaking of Oudh, " the sons of Rajput yeomen " who have been trained in it are all exceedingly anxious to enlist " in our native infantry regiments, having no dislike to their drill " or their uniform." But it must not be inferred that Sleeman would have defended on that ground the continuance of anarchy in a neighbouring State. His later *Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh* amply disproves any such suggestion. As to the best mode of putting an end to this state of anarchy, Sleeman was not in agreement with the Governor-General under whom he served at a later date, for, as has been said above, he was opposed to Dalhousie's policy of annexation.

The reasons which he gave, in his earlier book, for wishing to retain native states are interesting.

" There are two reasons why we should leave these small native states under their own chiefs, even when the claim to the succession is feeble or defective; first, because it tends to relieve the minds of other native chiefs from the apprehension already too prevalent among them, that we desire by degrees to absorb them all, because we think our Government would do better for

the people; and, secondly, because, by leaving them as a contrast, we can afford to the people of India the opportunity of observing the superior advantages of our rule.

" 'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,' in governments as well as in landscapes; and if the people of India, instead of the living proofs of what perilous things native governments, whether Hindoo or Mohammedan, are in reality, were acquainted with only such pictures of them as are to be found in their histories and in the imaginations of their priests and learned men (who lose much of their influence and importance under our rule), they would certainly, with proneness like theirs to delight in the marvellous, be far from satisfied, as they now are, that they never had a government so good as ours, and that they never could hope for another so good, were ours removed.

" For the advantages which we derive from leaving them independent, we are, no doubt, obliged to pay a heavy penalty in the plunder of our wealthy native subjects by the gangs of robbers of all descriptions whom they foster; but this evil may be greatly diminished by a judicious interposition of our authority to put down such bands."

Sleeman had read and thought much on economic questions and deplored the ignorance of, and indifference to, these questions which he found among his countrymen in India. " The ignorance " of the first principles of political economy among European " gentlemen of otherwise first rate education and abilities in India " is quite lamentable, for there are really few public officers, even " in the Army, who are not occasionally liable to be placed in " situations where they may, by false measures arising out of such " ignorance, aggravate the evils of dearth among great bodies " of their fellow-men."

He himself was a free-trader in days before the Government at home had been wholly converted to free-trade, and he had not much belief in the power of Government to regulate trade wisely and beneficially. Nor is he, in other matters, to be counted among the advocates of paternal despotism. Keenly as he appreciated the advantages of good government, he doubted whether rulers could make their subjects happy or prosperous otherwise than by removing anarchy and misrule. He knew, from personal experience, that whatever might be the wisdom and virtue of rulers, they had to work through agents who were only too likely to be ignorant and corrupt.

One is tempted to multiply quotations indefinitely, but, perhaps, enough has been said to assure the reader that in Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections* he cannot fail to find much to arrest his attention and repay his perusal.

C. P. ILBERT.

THE JEWISH CLAIM TO PALESTINE.

AT a moment when British forces are advancing into Palestine a Jew may be forgiven for reminding a distracted world that the Jewish claim upon that land has never been withdrawn, and that the Jew has never renounced his dream of reviving his nationality in Palestine. It is true that cynics contend that a nation which has lost its liberty to superior force must regain it by arms or go without it. But that is in essence the very theory England and her Allies are fighting, and finds a magnificent disavowal in Mr. Asquith's historic words: "We shall not sheathe the sword until the rights of the smaller nationalities are placed on an unassailable foundation." Were the principle of military force accepted as the sole arbiter of the lives of nations, why should not these smaller nationalities be swallowed up in the larger Powers? Evidently the principle of nationality is itself considered sacred; it is an asset to the world, and it carries its rights, moral rights, which are none the less rights if they cannot be enforced by the sword. The cynic might, perhaps, find more justification had Israel ever forgotten or waived his claim to the Holy Land; but a continuous chain of aspiration and prayer, and even of political activity, binds him to the soil from which he was driven early in the Christian era.

All over the world conforming Jews pray three times a day that "our eyes may see the return to Zion." At our annual Feast of Freedom (the Passover) we pray, in our most exalted moment, "May our next year find us in Jerusalem!" And year by year, three weeks of humiliation, beginning and ending with strict fast days, demonstrate the fact that although his right hand may as a nation have forgotten its cunning, Israel cannot forget Jerusalem. I know it will be said, and it is true, that to many Jews these are mere words—lip service—conventional or traditional celebrations. Others, it may rightly be said, do not say the prayers, observe the ceremonies, or even wish the spirit that animates them to find its fulfilment. Yet to the great mass of Jews the world over, the hope of Israel's restoration is a real and true one. It is, indeed, the one great fact that has made for the persistence of the Jews to this day. In times of trouble and persecution—and when has the Jew been free from these?—the idea of the restoration, together with his belief in his religion, have been the Jew's one and only ray of light. "Man does not live by bread alone," and the Jew has lived, and will continue to live, for the Jew's ideal—his restoration to his land—Erez Yisroel—the Land of Israel.

During the centuries that have passed since the dispersion of the Jews, attempts have several times been made to realise these prayers and hopes. The rising under Akiba and Bar Cochba was suppressed in 118 C.E. The pseudo-Messianic venture of Sabbathai Zevi collapsed in 1676. It is a wide stretch of time, and the intervening period was dotted with like attempts and like failures. Nor were all the efforts entirely Jewish. Napoleon, for instance, invited the Jews of Asia and Africa to settle again in

Jerusalem. The present Zionist movement—the Jewish National Organisation—is the first effort of a practical nature which the Jews have put forth for the realisation of Jewish hopes. It is a movement free from mysticism or fanaticism born of pietetic zeal. It is a national effort based on all the highest ideals of nationalism, and works upon such severely practical lines as colonisation in Palestine and propaganda in Jewry all over the world.*

“It is the lineal heir of the attachment to Zion which led the Babylonian exiles under Zerubbabel to rebuild the Temple, and which flamed up in the heroic struggle of the Maccabees against Antiochus Epiphanes.

“The idea that it is a set-back of Jewish history is a controversial fiction. The great bulk of the Jewish people have throughout their history remained faithful to the dream of a restoration of their national life in Judea. Its manifestations have suffered temporary modifications under the influence of changing political conditions, and the intensity with which it has been held by individual Jews has varied according to their social circumstances, but in the main the idea has been passionately clung to. . . .

“The enthusiasm of Dr. Herzl’s adherents . . . has not diminished, and the Zionist movement is to-day the greatest popular movement that Jewish history has ever known.”—(“L. W.” on *Zionism* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.)

The opening of the Ghetto gates found Jewry without organisation. It is little wonder that Jewish national aspirations did not appeal to those who had inhabited them. With Palestine as at best a pious, and, for the most part, a theoretic hope, these Jews turned from Jewish National Regeneration as a forlorn aspiration, and spun for themselves a theory to justify their despair. Under this influence, “Reform” Jews, mainly in Western lands, endeavoured to convince the Jewish people that Judaism was the be-all and end-all of a form of religious faith, which in its missionary objects was inconsistent with national strivings. The cradle of Reform Judaism, it is worthy of note, was Germany, and it is probably not accidental that that country produced a twin-crib—that of anti-Semitism. But the main effect produced by Reform Judaism, with its anti-National bias, has been Jewish assimilation in its worst and not its best sense. To some extent, notably in America, Reform Judaism has recanted of its anti-Nationalism, and has, in consequence, grown all the stronger as a religious force. Its failure on the whole, however, to influence the Jew politically has been marked, and to-day the Jew who wishes to retain his Judaism, his Jewish thought and ideals, and to contribute in, as he thinks, the worthiest manner his share—as Jew—to the world’s development and progress, strives for a restoration of Jewish nationality, or pins himself to it as an article of faith. He knows that therein a remedy for the Jewish question, if but a partial one, with which so many lands are confronted, is to be found.

That Palestine, and it alone, claims the heart of the Jewish people, received in recent years a striking proof. In 1905, the Zionist Congress—the only organised voice of the Jewish people—

had before it an offer from Great Britain of a territory for an autonomous Jewish Settlement in East Africa. While thanking the British Government for its generous consideration, the Congress, by a huge majority, declared that only in Palestine could the Jewish people, with any hope of success, undertake the work of a national settlement. The Congress thus preferred that Israel should be homeless rather than that our people should be diverted from their age-long striving for the ancient homeland. And this, it should be remembered, was at a time when large numbers of the Jewish people were suffering from active persecution in Russia.

Attempts have been made to settle Jews as colonists in other lands—the most notable and recent being the Hirsch Colonies in South America. None of these schemes have appealed to the Jewish masses—they are exotic growths. But the striking point about these Colonies is that there are few that do not possess their Zionist Societies, thus showing their desire to be linked up with their brethren in the striving for the re-establishment of a home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

The Zionist movement, established as a result of the first Jewish Congress, held at Basle in 1897, is the work of the late Theodor Herzl. He wrote "The Jewish State" in 1895, and published it in 1896. It at once aroused remarkable enthusiasm—and also strong opposition—among Jews. He was largely inspired by the revival of anti-Semitism generally all over the Continent, and the Dreyfus affair in particular. He was then living in Paris as a correspondent of the "Neue Freie Presse." In later years, when he became more conversant with the Jewish question, and more in touch with his fellow Jews, his Zionism deepened, and without the stimulus of anti-Semitism he continued as ardent a worker in the cause of Jewish Nationalism, and was its leader until his death. He was from the first joined by Max Nordau, who loyally supported Herzl until the latter's death in 1904. Nordau has throughout his connection with the movement consistently in and out of season preached the Zionist faith that was in him, and is to-day the foremost champion of the Zionist idea all over the world.

Jews of all shades of religious opinion were attracted to the movement. In its ranks are to be found representatives of all classes of thought and position; it is, in fact, a miniature of all Israel. The first Congress laid down the objects of Zionism to be the establishment in Palestine of a legally secured publicly recognised home for the Jewish people. Its immediate effect upon the colonisation by Jews of Palestine was unfavourable, as the leaders were of opinion that, pending the grant of a Charter in Palestine for the Jewish people, no further work should be undertaken in that land. This policy, however, was subsequently modified, as the promises of political privileges were postponed. The first agricultural Jewish colony in Palestine was founded in 1878. Efforts by Jews in Palestine had till then been confined to such objects as homes for aged people, built by philanthropists like Sir Moses Montefiore. At the date of the founding of the first colony, the Jewish population of Palestine was estimated at

34,000 out of a total population of 500,000, and contained no Jewish colonists, as Jewish efforts till then were confined to the creation of purely charitable institutions. By 1903 this had grown to 70,000, out of a total population of 680,000, and contained over 5,000 colonists. While in 1911—the last year for which figures are available—the Jewish population is estimated at 100,000, out of a total of 700,000, with 10,000 Jewish colonists. In 1898 there were twenty-five colonies, with 70,000 acres of land in Jewish possession, and a population of 4,500. In 1911 there were forty-one colonies. These are to be found in Judea (15), Samaria (8), Galilea (16), and one in Transjordan, comprising 100,000 acres. In addition, Jewish schools, primary, secondary, and of various kinds have been opened, and the last Zionist Congress (Vienna, 1913) appointed a Committee to study the question of a Jewish University. Many encouraging promises of support were at once forthcoming, and, but for the war, the scheme would probably by now have been well under way. In Haifa a high school is already half built, and would have been finished by now but for an unhappy dispute between some of the Directors—German subjects, who wished the German language to take a preponderant place there. The Zionists, however, insisted that Hebrew should be the chief language of instruction. Nothing, indeed, is more remarkable than the revival of the Hebrew tongue as a living language in Palestine. Formerly confined to the synagogue as a medium of prayer, it is now used by Zionists everywhere, but mainly, of course, in Palestine, where it has practically become one of the recognised languages of the land.

The commercial and industrial claims of the Jews to Palestine have been largely aided by the Anglo-Palestine Company—a daughter institution of the Jewish Colonial Trust (the financial instrument of the Zionist movement) which, with its chief office at Jaffa, has branches and agencies at Jerusalem, Haifa, Beyrout, Tiberias, Hebron, Safed, &c. This Company, beginning in 1904, with a capital of £40,000, and deposit and cheque accounts of £37,000, had, in 1913, a capital of £100,000, and deposit and cheque accounts amounting to £350,000.

In addition, the Zionist Organisation has created the Jewish National Fund, the object of which is to acquire land in Palestine as the inalienable property of the Jewish people, and which may be leased only to Jews. Established in 1903, it has now a capital of about £250,000, and before the war had an income of about £40,000, contributed, for the most part, in halfpennies and pennies by the Jewish masses all over the world. Besides these two main institutions, there are attached to the Organisation the Palestine Land Development Company and the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Haifa, the Jewish National Library at Jerusalem, the Olive Tree Fund, Co-operative Settlements, Jewish Culture Fund, Hoechozoo Societies,* &c., all of which

* The purpose of the Hoechozoo Societies is to demonstrate that people with limited means can acquire a home for themselves and a livelihood in Palestine. There are several such societies in existence—seven in America alone, with a capital of about \$500,000.

subsidiary organisations are devoted to the development of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine. When it is remembered that, in addition to these activities, there are, in practically every country of the world, Zionist Federations of bodies carrying on propaganda and supporting the movement, it will be readily seen that such an organisation must make a world-wide appeal to Jews or it could not exist. It must be added, too, that, in the main, the organisation relies upon the Jewish masses, who are the backbone of the movement. There are also in various countries special societies in connection with the Zionist movement for the study of the Hebrew language, culture—spiritual and physical—University Students' Unions, and other associations, all, from different points, concentrating upon the national regeneration of the Jewish people. As an instance of the sort of effect produced by the Jewish settlement of Palestine, I would point to the suburb of Tel Aviv, near Jaffa. It is, if you will, a new ghetto, but an utter reversal of ghettos such as we are accustomed to. European ghettos, though they almost invariably compare favourably in point of sanitation and health, physical and moral, with the slums around them cannot be regarded as models of cleanliness and order, such as are the more wealthy parts of modern cities. Tel Aviv, however, is a modern garden city, erected by Jews, inhabited by Jews, and governed by Jews. The administrative governance of this part of Jaffa is entirely in Jewish hands, it is provided with efficient drainage and lighting, wide streets, and is well policed by a Jewish force. A council elected by the inhabitants of Tel Aviv governs it, and yields the impression of the perfect commonwealth in miniature. I might go on multiplying instances which show the Jewish claim to Palestine—as expressed, consciously or unconsciously, through the Zionist movement. I must, however, not omit to mention that, apart from organised Zionists, many other Jews have also taken an active part in the development of Palestine, although not entirely actuated by the motives which have impelled the Zionists. In this category must be placed the colonisation work of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, in which an enormous sum has been sunk; the charitable foundations of various European and other Jewish communities; the schools founded by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*; the Anglo-Jewish Association; *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden*, &c., the Odessa Committee's work in the promotion of agriculture and handicrafts, the Jewish women's work among their sex, various land and plantation companies, and the numerous hospitals and almshouses. When Zangwill said, "Give the land without a people to the people without a land," he spoke truly. Although it has been said that the existing population of Palestine makes it difficult for the Jews to obtain Palestine as a land of their own, the fact is that the 600,000 non-Jews of Palestine are not as 6 to 1 of an ordinary population, since a very large proportion of the non-Jews are nomads. Apart from Jewish colonisation, too, there has been very little real development of the potentialities of the land. From what has been

accomplished and from the amount of land still lying fallow, it is abundantly evident that Palestine can contain and support a much larger population than it holds at present.

This war will settle many questions, and it should make a settlement of the Jewish question also possible. There are thirteen millions of Jews in the world—more than half of these live in Eastern Europe in an unsatisfactory and unsatisfied state. Will the Peace Conference bring them a message of Peace? It is calculated that, owing to the disturbance of the war, some two million Jewish people have been uprooted from their homes in Poland and in Russia. What is to be done with these? Cannot a *permanent* home be found for at least a part of them? Cannot a *centrum* be established for the Jewish people? Jewish history for the last 2,000 years has been one ceaseless attempt to live as lodgers in another man's house. I understand that some Jews oppose the settlement of the Jew in Palestine because they fear their rights to the citizenship of the various countries in which they reside may be prejudiced. To state this objection is to expose its absurdity.

We Jews are the only people in the world without a home of their own. What home can be more natural and appropriate than Palestine? Who else in the world has so great a claim to it? We Jews—Zionists and non-Zionists—have proved by our readiness to sacrifice ourselves for the countries in which we live that we can be and are faithful and loyal subjects. There must be more than half a million Jews fighting in the various belligerent countries—the vast majority on the side of the Allies. So far as Britain is concerned, she is pursuing in this war no selfish ends but in view of what has happened she must protect Egypt and the Suez Canal—the highway to India. None of us therefore can admit a possibility of the Turk remaining in control of Palestine. This must come under British protection. And what nobler use can Britain make of this land than offering a welcome to Jews there?

Russia by her glorious Revolution has solved the immediate problem of her Jews in granting them equal rights with the rest of her population. But even that will not solve the Jewish question. That is only giving us our rights as men. Our rights as Jews are equally vital to us, and equally necessary to the world at large. If Judaism or Jews disappear, the world will be the poorer; and the Jew as Jew cannot "appear" except he be endowed with national rights as Jew. We have earned, if any people on God's earth have a right to a national existence of our own. Jewish Nationalists like Jewish non-Nationalists, believe that they have a mission in the world. The difference between us is that the anti-Nationalist mission is entirely religious without any practical backing, while our mission is practical work in the world devoted to the highest of spiritual and idealistic objects, and, it may be, a mission which an age of iron materialism and red militarism urgently needs. Can this settlement of the Jewish problem not be one of the points which Britain will pledge herself to? Jews the world over look to Britain as the foremost fighter for justice and freedom to be their deliverer.

JOSEPH COWEN,
English Zionist Federation.

THE WORLD WAR AND THE SMALL STATES.*

PUBLIC discussion of questions of foreign policy has been very rare in our country during the war. Public opinion on these matters has, with some few exceptions, been rather silent. Apparently, the great principles of the gigantic collision, as well as the origin of the war, have been forgotten. The thought about the aim of the war, and the coming peace terms and their importance for the future of the peoples, and the understanding especially of the vital interests of the small countries involved in the victory or defeat of one or other of the belligerent Powers during this war, have equally seldom found expression. The daily reports about the cruelties and miseries of the war seem to have blunted many people's power of seeing the broad lines and of realising that the existence of the small States, or their independence and safety, after the war will depend upon which ideals and principles are victorious.

In the fatal days of August, 1914, these ideals and principles were brought clearly into the limelight. The despised "mercenary spirit" of peace policy was contrasted with the arrogance which hungered for military triumphs. The principles of justice were stifled by the lust of power, the ideals of liberty by those of subjugation and violence. The respect for a plighted word was trampled in the dust. The beginning of this war cast a dark shadow before it. It appeared to ring the death-knell of the small nations, and nobody yet knows if its warning will come true.

The basis of the safety of small nations is international morality and the inviolability of treaties. In the years immediately preceding the war, there had been a marked tendency to avoid conflict by submitting international differences to mediation and arbitration. The free States of North America took the lead in it. The small countries, Norway included, were anxious to follow this lead. Arbitration treaties increased in number and in scope. The small countries knew that their military power was a frail defence against the great ones. If the spirit which tore up the Belgian treaty of neutrality and sent the invading armies into Belgium, should become victorious in this war, then the work to assure mediation and arbitration by treaties hereafter would become a mockery without weight or value. The war has become a trial of strength also in this matter. None of the war-waging Powers need be crushed in order that this spirit shall be crushed in the policy of the civilised world. The wrong which was done by the invasion of Belgium did not attain its goal. France was not crushed. Paris was not conquered. But the sense of justice of all peoples was violated and the moral forces of the whole world were challenged—forces that, in the long run, are a greater power than militarism understands. The wrongdoer's own conscience, in reality, also burdened by them. When the German people realises that the attack on Belgium was not only, as the Chancellor expressed it, a wrong but also a blunder—which wrong always is—

* This article is appearing in the Norwegian monthly, *Samtiden*.

then this episode will become an important part of the inner settling of account which comes to be made by the German people.

The treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium was a European interest, an important factor in the "Balance of Europe." It was, to a special degree, an English interest. It is a dogma of the British people that the Belgian coast in the hands of another Great Power would be a direct sally-port against England. Through centuries it has been a corner-stone of British policy to prevent any great military Power getting a firm footing in Belgium. When the German armies flooded Belgium, England had accordingly to resist them. The most primitive knowledge of European history and English tradition must make this obvious. Merely for this consideration the German surprise and bitterness at the interference of England in the war after the invasion of the Belgian frontier becomes rather incomprehensible. But the breach of treaty had, in Great Britain, an immediate moral effect of the greatest importance. It roused a public feeling which made the statesmen of England able—nay, forced them at once—to throw the British Empire into the war. In the long run, England would not have been able to keep outside a war when the issue at stake was whether France should be crushed and disappear as a Great Power. But so strong was the will for peace in the great majority of the English people, specially within the ruling Liberal Parties, and in the Liberal Government, that it would have taken some time before England, out of regard to France, would have thrown herself into a world war. England cannot declare war without the consent of Parliament, but the invasion of Belgium, contrary to an agreement, which England as well as Germany (Prussia) had guaranteed, came as a shock to the heart of the people; the sentiment of the nation, its moral indignation rose spontaneously and violently, and transformed, in the course of one single day, a vacillating and divided Parliament to a practically unanimous organ for the demand of an immediate declaration of war. Even the City of London was carried away: the day before the German troops crossed the Belgian frontier, it stood for peace; the day after, it demanded, with one voice, that England should resist this breach of treaty with all forcible means.

Germany has herself asserted as her strongest reason for drawing the sword that she did not possess "the place in the sun" which was due to her. What does that mean? No people in Europe, hardly any in the world's history, has in the course of one generation gained such expansion of power and influence, such a growth in the application of science, in technique, in production and prosperity as the German Empire. When Germany would not let herself be satisfied with this, the question arose: Did she want to carry her world policy by force of arms? Did she want to win political world-power by military superiority? Did she want to build her dominion on bayonets, on the triumphs of war, and command by the terrifying of the beaten and the weak? She would in that case let her fate be decided by false sentiment, and not by a modern statesman's view. An arrogant romanticism, nourished by the great victories of the years 1860-70 became ingrafted in the whole German people. With such arrogance a

people may themselves break off their peaceful progress towards the first "place in the sun."

The military politicians who provoked this war failed to understand the importance of the moral values of each independent people, be it small or great. Accordingly, they broke, with no thought of the moral effect, the Treaty of Belgium, and flooded the little country. She had only a handful of soldiers for her defence. Accordingly they calculated that England, even after this, would keep outside the war. Accordingly they made themselves guilty of the miscalculation that the English world-empire would break down during the war. They did not understand the ties which bind this immense realm together. They saw that England neither had bureaucracy nor militarism to keep the colonies and the natives in subjugation. They did not understand that England's free institutions, her great traditions, her confidence in popular government, and her liberal system are ties which bind more firmly than officialdom and military power. Thence came the great disappointment, that all the great and small crown lands and colonies eagerly rushed to the help of the mother country. The Western Powers, England and France, have been the stronghold of civil freedom in Europe.

It was, and is, old English politics to protect Europe's small nations, and it is specially of vital interest to England that the small States along the North Sea shall maintain their independence and integrity. Europe's commerce and shipping and free communication in all parts of the world, and in all seas, are the basis of her prosperity; her powerful Navy has for its aim only to protect these interests and the widely-scattered parts of the British world-empire, as well as the island itself. *England's sea-power has not been abused.* England has carried on the open door policy. She is the only Great Power which has maintained Free Trade, she has kept the oceans and her own markets under the law of free competition. *She has maintained the freedom of the seas.*

The blockade policy of the belligerents has not prevented the commerce of the neutral countries from increasing during the war, but the gain has only profited a minority of the population. The increase in the prices of most goods produced by the war, and especially the great demand for tonnage with the rise of freights, has, on the other hand, increased the prices of necessities, so that a great part of our Norwegian people has suffered from the dearth. The same is the case in the other northern countries. But, after all, the economic prospect of these countries was at the end of 1916 less dark than many had feared. Now that there is danger of a change in this respect and a stoppage of the supplies of our vital necessities is threatened, we ought to be quite clear about the reasons for it. Before the intensified German submarine war was proclaimed, the supplies to our country of goods for home consumption went on unhindered in the main by the blockade of the belligerents. By special agreements England had besides tried to secure that goods which were imported to Norway should not be used for the production of Norwegian goods to be exported to the enemies of England. It was, as is known, the breach of these agreements—as asserted by England and denied by Norway—that

caused the very injurious "coal prohibition" in January-February, 1917. Apart from this prohibition, Norway has had from England during the whole time of the war all the coal she has needed. It has not been a one-sided favour. The great Norwegian mercantile fleet and Norwegian timber, especially for the English coal mines, have given high value to England in return. Neither did the German U-boat war, before the last sharpening of it, tend to hinder imports to the neutral countries for their own need. Only as an exception were neutral ships sunk when carrying cargo or goods for home consumption. On the other hand, the obligation of not exposing human lives to danger, recognised on all sides, was repeatedly broken. Tragedies of the most shocking character have happened in this U-boat war at sea, and sometimes terrible catastrophes. Not even women and children have escaped these horrors.

All neutral countries have lodged protests against this warfare as contrary to all international and human laws. It seems in its application to be directed chiefly against the neutrals. The small neutral countries did not follow the invitation of North America to join her policy. Their geographical situation and their small means of defence explain their utmost endeavour to keep outside this horrible war, and they must suffer outrages which a great Power will not submit to.

It is a fair demand that the Allies in their command of the seas shall take this into consideration. The Powers that vindicate the rights of the small nations will not wish to increase the burdens of the small nations. Their task must be to prevent the U-boat war from punishing the neutrals because they continue to ply the seas as before. The Norwegian sailors have shown a heroism which must rouse admiration from all seafaring nations. They have maintained the respect for our country in a depressing and bitter time. If they risk their lives to provide their own country with what it needs, this must also be respected, and Norway's own ship must, above all, be allowed to serve this need without being subjected to conditions of any kind.

The world which will arise from the immense sacrifice of this war will be different from that which nearly three years ago was cast into the furnace. What is the new world which will come out of it?

The longing of all nations is for peace—the longing of the belligerents, as well as of the neutrals. Before this war Europe was an armed camp. Shall there now come a peace which opens a way to the same policy of rival armaments and still worse militarism, a new war still more formidable?—a peace which creates a new arrogance, a peace which proclaims that might is above right, and which teaches the nations the lesson that history forgives any crime which succeeds? Such a peace would not make the repetition impossible of the fateful events of July and August, 1914. It would only be an armistice.

JOHAN CASTBERG,

President of the Odelsting.

PARLIAMENT AND EXPENDITURE.

FINANCE is the very stuff which binds a State together, the indispensable foundation of the whole fabric, and the situation at this moment calls for attention from the general public.

"Ways and Means," or the manner of providing the funds, whether by taxation or by various kinds of loans, are matters of prime importance; but in this place it is proposed to emphasise the expenditure side of these leading duties of Parliament. The pressing need of special attention to expenditure may be shown by reference to the position of our National Debt, and of the twelve "Votes of Credit" granted by the Commons to supplement income from taxation, in order to meet the extraordinary expenses on war. Our National Debt, as I write, is colossal; and it is no comfort to think that the debts both of France and of Germany are greater. Mr. McKenna left our debt, at the end of March, 1916, at £2,189 millions (gross aggregate capital liabilities). Since then we have been spending, in gross, at the rate of £5 millions to £7½ millions a day, and, in spite of a fine yield of revenue, it is probable that the debt at the end of March next, 1918, will be at least £5,000 millions. Some £706 millions of the total are due to pre-war days; but on the sum as it stands we shall require, say, for sinking fund and interest in the future, £250 to £300 millions a year.

We have no data yet to tell us how much the war has cost us; but, in spite of an increase of revenue from £198 millions in the year ending March, 1914, to £573 millions for this year, ending March, 1917, we have found Parliament (*i.e.*, the House of Commons in this matter) granting Votes of Credit successively during the war which, as I make it, total to £3,854 millions to March last, and since then, on Wednesday, May 9th, Mr. Bonar Law has obtained another vote for £500 millions, which, it was hoped, would suffice for Treasury issues for three months or less. That £3,854 millions should have been granted in this extraordinary way is a grave matter of itself, but a further acquaintance with the special conditions of such grants adds very much to that gravity. From the first, and to each Vote, on the paper showing the sum required, the following note has been added:—

"NOTE.—The Vote of Credit is intended to cover not only the cost of Navy and Army Services and warlike operations but also all expenditure which may be necessary or desirable in view of the conditions created by the war, *e.g.* :—

"(1) Payments under guarantees given by the Treasury for the purpose of the restoration of credit, the encouragement of trade and industry, and to facilitate the raising of funds by His Majesty's dominions or protectorates outside the United Kingdom and by Allied Powers, and repayment to the Bank of England of advances made by them at the request of His Majesty's Government for such purposes.

"(2) Advances by way of loans or grants for purposes connected with the war, and to local authorities and other bodies for undertaking public works for the relief of distress.

" (3) Advances by way of temporary loans to provide funds which would otherwise be raised by the issue of securities guaranteed by Parliament.

" When the Vote of Credit is used to finance the purchase and resale of foodstuffs or materials or for other operations undertaken in the public interest, which involve an immediate outlay recoverable in whole or in part by sales to the public, receipt of insurance premiums, or otherwise, advances for these purposes will be made from the Vote from time to time to separate accounts, and the receipts will be credited to these accounts, the net expenditure only being charged to the Vote of Credit. Any balances standing to the credit of these accounts when they are finally closed will be paid to the Exchequer."

Never was a graver announcement of a financial kind made to the House of Commons. Remembering the capacious maw of war too, that last sentence, suggesting a possible balance from Votes of Credit, to be repaid to the Exchequer, is one of the leading instances of mockery in the English or any language. But the meaning of that note is not seen wholly except from a Parliamentary standpoint, coupled with a knowledge of Parliamentary practice. To vote £3,854 millions of war credit is a serious thing, and to be told that some of the money thus raised will be used to finance things not directly applied to waging the war, but yet connected with the state of war, such as the support of credit in general, loans to Dominions and to Allies, the purchase of sugar and corn, and other supplies, is all to the good; and it will always be a matter of much interest in the record of this war how the House never failed to grant the immense sums of credit that were demanded in a long series. Yet from a prudent financial point of view, from the usual Parliamentary standpoint, that note, and the whole system of these credits, marks a grave departure. This condition of things has arisen from the exigencies of war-time.

How things work out in practice may be judged by reference to the Second Report of the Committee of Public Accounts, issued so recently as October, 1916. The accounts in question were for the year 1914-15, or the earlier period of the war; but the procedure by Vote of Credit had been adopted already. When the Report reaches the Navy accounts, we read:—

" The Navy Appropriation Account presented to Parliament is, in effect, confined (I) to the abstract, with the expenditure under certain main votes grouped together, (II) to particulars of balances recoverable, and (III) to certain correspondence. The Board of Admiralty represented that it would be detrimental to the public interest to publish further information at the present time, to which the Treasury, on December 27th, 1915, agreed; saying, however, ' that Parliament should be informed of the proposal at once, and that an undertaking should be given by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that information will not be withheld when the objections to publicity no longer apply.' Your Committee are informed that the Accounts have been prepared, as far as possible, in the full manner of former years,

and submitted to the Comptroller and Auditor-General for his examination, and points connected therewith are mentioned in his report. Your Committee agree to the limitation of the information now made public, on the undertaking, as twice specifically given in Parliament, that nothing should be withheld from the Comptroller and Auditor-General, and that the full accounts shall be published at the earliest moment that it can be done without detriment to the public interest."

When we go on to the Army Appropriation Account, under the heading of "Treasury Control," we find the following significant remarks:—

"The Treasury Minutes of December 8th, 1914, and January 29th, 1915, which were laid before Parliament, explained such relaxation of the normal Treasury control as was necessitated by the war. It was provided *inter alia* that Treasury sanction should not be required for expenditure certified to be vitally necessary to the public interest, and to have been incurred under such conditions of urgency that it could not be submitted to the Treasury beforehand. All certificates given under this Minute are signed by the Financial Secretary on the authority of the Secretary of State, and it was stated that, though occasionally the Department was committed to expenditure before the Certificate of Urgency was obtained, the Finance Member speedily made it clear that he would refuse to give the necessary certificate unless he was asked before the expenditure was incurred. It is stated that this procedure has been made use of by the War Office almost wholly in connection with building services. . . .

"The Treasury Minute of January 29th, 1915, related in the main to contracts for guns, small arms, and ammunition, with regard to which speed was of paramount necessity. It therefore provided that contracts should be concluded by the War Office without reference to the Treasury, although involving terms which would, in normal times, require Treasury sanction; but it urged strongly on the Army Council the desirability of taking every possible step to secure the most economical terms consistent with the requirements of the public service. . . ."

These are very remarkable statements, which should be read with close attention, not only for what they say, in such diplomatic language, but also for what they do not say. The latter is of peculiar interest in this place. It has been alleged that the Vote of Credit system has not slackened the control over public expenditure, because the Comptroller and Auditor-General has had the usual accounts before him. But here we are told officially that Navy accounts "have been prepared as far as possible in the full manner of former years," and that Treasury control over War Office expenditure has been so relaxed that the Treasury is bound urging the Army Council strongly to secure economical terms for what it bought without the usual sanction. Instead of control equal to ordinary, here is official revelation that, in addition to any system of estimating, the Treasury control had also gone by the board—"as was necessitated by the war." What the result of such a relaxation of control was may be judged in part, but in part only, by reference to such instances as the following.

From the Report of the Accounts Committee we find a recrudescence of the practice of Admiralty work done on the net cost plus percentage basis, a system open to abuse, and leading to much loss. It is clear the Committee regards this practice with great displeasure, but the enquiries revealed the fact that a great deal of work had been put out to private yards since the war began, comparatively little under competitive tenders, but much also on the net cost basis. It was admitted that owing to pressure securities against extravagance in prices of materials, number of men employed, and rate of wages paid had not been taken. In obtaining supplies, and their general requirements, it was admitted that competitive tenders in placing contracts had been abandoned "in great measure," but, in the case of ships, former ships gave them "a rough and ready calculation" of the cost. Take the following paragraph, which appears in this connexion, under the head of "Emergency Procedure"—

"The attention of your Committee was drawn to the fact that several contracts in connection with war requirements had been placed without competitive tenders, some being given to contractors already on the site or engaged on other Naval works, and, in particular, that in one case a sum of £200,000 was promised with a view to acceleration of a section of certain important works where the progress was being retarded by circumstances arising out of the war. Your Committee understand that the Treasury had some difficulty in sanctioning the first instalment of this payment and enquired more closely into it, but on consideration of the whole facts, they agree that the desired end was of sufficient importance to justify the arrangement which was made."

It is not surprising that the Treasury and the Committee remark on this £200,000 thus added to the price of these important works. The evidence before the Committee shows that several members were inclined to regard it chiefly as a bonus to the contractor. No species of expenditure does the public regard with a more jealous eye than that which results in great advantage to a contractor during war.

If we turn to the Army sections of the Report, the evidence of relaxation in control of expenditure accumulates. Those who have followed such things know the kind of expenditure in regard to which laxity is prone to appear. Accordingly, we find that in contracts for stores it was found that the practices and checks for peacetime were "modified as being too slow to meet the requirements of the Army," but soon, it appears, "the whole procedure was found to be unsatisfactory," for goods "had to be accepted irrespective of prices." Powers had to be taken by amendment of the Defence of the Realm Regulations to deal with such cases, and secure production, and to get a fair price at a factory. A very different case, but pointing to a like moral, is that of retired officers recalled to the service in the present war, who have been granted the pay and allowance of their rank in addition to their retired pay. When the Committee sat in the summer there was a sum of

£700,000 a year on this account under consideration. The Committee express their "regret" at this regulation. In this place, I can only make a bald reference to the case of "Hutting the Troops." The Committee reveal the interesting fact that in 1914 and 1915 over £27 millions had been spent in that direction; and it is to be feared that the spending, or much of it, was not in ways which bring admiration.

Such instances of expenditure and methods adopted with regard to it are only as drops from a bucket when we know that war expenditure at the rate of £2,400 millions or more a year is being incurred. But sufficient has been culled from this Report by the Committee of Public Accounts to show the need for close supervision of expenditure, and also that the Committee now find themselves deprived of much of the wonted opportunity to judge of the accounts submitted to them.

It should be observed that in referring to this Committee, we speak of *accounts*; and the Committee, which was established in 1861, and now consists of fifteen Members of the House of Commons, is one of the methods by which the House deals with financial matters. This paper would not be written but for the conviction that these methods, in their totality, and in peace-time, were not sufficient to ensure careful spending of the huge sums entrusted to the public departments. But now that war on an unexampled scale is upon us, and the system of Votes of Credit has been adopted, the relaxation of ordinary checks is admitted, and there is an uneasy feeling abroad that, in addition to waste that may be inevitable, there is much, and much that is known officially, while much is also bruited about unofficially, which goes to show that a vast amount of expenditure is incurred loosely, and otherwise, which should be prevented. It is contended, without entering upon the necessity of the matter, that the Votes of Credit system contributes to the laxity prevalent, and supplies opportunities for emptying the public purse too rapidly. The facts respecting the cost of the war are so grave that no apology is needed for raising the question; and, indeed, the Committee of Public Accounts, by the reports and a discussion in the House, have shown a sense of the gravity of the situation. But what does the House do by way of discharging this financial work, the first and most characteristic of all its tasks? A short account of the methods by which it attempts to fulfil this duty may not only prove a useful reminder, but help to exhibit the necessity of overhauling these methods of control, which are far from a creditable success.

Reference has been made already to the serious departure by a Vote of Credit, such as the following (October 11th and 12th, 1916):—

(RESOLUTION.)—"That a sum, not exceeding £300,000,000, be granted to His Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the expenses which may be incurred during the year ending March 31st, 1917, for General Navy and Army Services, in so far as specific provision is not made therefor by Parliament; for the conduct of Naval and Military operations; for all measures which may be taken for the security of the

country; for assisting the food supply; and promoting the continuance of trade, industry, business, and communications, whether by means of insurance or indemnity against risk, the financing of the purchase and resale of foodstuffs and materials, or otherwise, for relief of distress; and generally for all expenses, beyond those provided for in the ordinary Grants of Parliament, arising out of the existence of a state of war."

Such a sum, as has been shown, and as the form proves, once voted in that way, is spent without any estimate for a specific sum for a definite object, over which the House has any control before expenditure is incurred. But such an estimate is the foundation of all grants of Parliament in normal times. The estimates for all the Departments—Civil, Naval, and Military—are, by law, required to be laid on the table of the House every year soon after the Session opens; and the Treasury is to see that they are so laid. In due time, "Committee of Supply" is set up, which is supposed to vote each demand after examination. But that examination never has been real and effective; and now, for the past twelve years, a "standing order" directs that only twenty days shall be devoted to supply, with the result that every year, on the 10th and 20th days respectively, all the votes which have not been discussed are put to the vote and passed. In that way some £50 to £60 millions are voted without even the desultory and ineffective discussion given to the other votes. The next step is found in the Appropriation Bill, which contains a reference to each separate total voted by the House during the Session, and by means of which, when passed, a legal sanction for expenditure to the amount specified is given. In the disbursement of the public money the Comptroller and Auditor-General appears, for he is directed not only to require, and get an account of all money paid into the Banks of England and Ireland on behalf of the Exchequer, but also to examine any issue of money from the Treasury, so as to be in accord with the purpose for which it has been granted. The Treasury regulations appear strong, and the Treasury does not issue without the Comptroller's fiat. That officer also, under the powers of Mr. Gladstone's great Act of 1866, is Auditor-General, and examines all the accounts of the public expenditure, except in cases where a grant is made free from such a restriction. The Auditor's reports on the accounts are made regularly, are of high value, but cannot be regarded as touching vital aspects of expending the large sums in question, not to say the policy of such an expenditure, which the House has, supposedly, in its keeping for approval. The Comptroller and Auditor-General works in close association with the Committee of Public Accounts, whose function it is, the following year, to examine the accounts and the Auditor's reports—*i.e.*, after the expenditure has been incurred. That function is by no means of small value, and has been discharged for years with much advantage, but such a Committee is not a complete provision, nor a sufficient supplement to the House's own work on the estimates for expenditure. The argument to insufficiency is, *a fortiori*, much more clear when we regard the expenditure out of the Votes of Credit.

It may be asked how a better control may be secured. The centre of responsibility always lies in the House of Commons itself. Long experience has shown that discussion in Committee of Supply, a Committee of the whole House, is futile as a measure of direct control, for the House is not in possession of data enabling it to approach votes with knowledge and intelligence. A few years ago, a beginning of some promise of amendment was made when a *Committee on Estimates* was appointed; but now, during war, that has ceased to sit. Looking to the House's methods, it is clear that, in addition to the Committee of Accounts, which deals with matters which are closed, we need Committees on Estimates. None of the estimates should be voted until the House has a report from such Committees; and it is difficult to see how fewer than four Committees, appointed at the very opening of each Session, could report in time for the voting of the supplies required. It is to be hoped that the House may be pressed to re-establish such Committees, and that they may be provided for by a Standing Order to that effect.

It is obvious that it will be said at once that in war-time speed is necessary. Granted; but it is also obvious that "something should be done" so that the tremendous bills should be kept as low as possible, not to say that avoidable waste and profusion should be checked. Might it not be possible to appoint a Committee of the House, armed with strong powers, which shall report rapidly on proposed outlay during war; in some departments, if not in all? Such a Committee appointed to sit during the war, if directed by the House to report with despatch on the financial aspects of a proposal, might prove, directly and indirectly, an aid both to the Government and to the departments, while affording reassurance to all. Let it be added that meantime a load of responsibility for expenditure, and for a good deal of misuse of means, is being piled up. Such a proposal as this has now won the approval of more than 180 M.P.s of all political persuasions, the group for which Colonel Godfrey Collins acts so vigorously.

Mr. Bonar Law, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, has not only demanded, and been granted, further Votes of Credit: on March 5th £60 millions, and 22nd £200 millions, and £350 millions on March 21st, and a further vote on May 9th for £500 millions, but has made his Annual Financial Statement—May 2nd, 1917—for 1917-18. The total cost of the war to March 22nd was £4,200 millions, and we know that the National Debt at the end of March was £3,854 millions (which included loans to Allies and Dominions). But £350 millions of the £550 millions granted on March 22nd were for 1917-18, and the £500 millions granted for war on May 9th made £850 millions granted for the current year—i.e., to about the end of July, and we have been informed that expenditure is being incurred at the rate of £6½ to £7½ millions a day now. Allowing for the £600 millions from revenue for a whole year, 1917-18, it is evident that the National Debt at the end of the war, say, this year, cannot be expected to be less than £5,000 millions—which would require from £250 to £300 millions annually for the Debt Service. Looking, then, at the position

for the moment, the prospect of heavy burdens after the war, and the plain need for care, Parliament cannot amend the ways of control over expenditure too soon. Nor can it be said convincingly, by any person acquainted with affairs, that such an improved control would interfere with the efficient prosecution of the war to the favourable end now within our view. As has just been said, a large section of the Commons is convinced that this is one great need of the hour—economical administration in our war outlay, and Colonel Godfrey Collins and his friends are gaining recruits daily.

A very large, difficult, and complicated matter is opened in this paper. That is done with the conviction that the country is growing uneasy under its vast commitments, and wishes to be assured that Parliament is giving earnest attention to the capital matter of expenditure. The powers of Committees, which would practically approve and sanction estimates, might then, in the future, be passed on by a Standing Order to similar Committees of a permanent character.

W. M. J. WILLIAMS.

ECONOMICS OF PERSONAL ENERGY.

ECONOMICS may be defined as the science and art of securing the greatest efficiency with the least expense and friction, the greatest ease and pleasure. There are many false tests of economy, and, indeed, of efficiency; often fuss and hustle are mistaken for hard and useful work: they are quite different things, but—to show how ignorant the public is with regard to real efficiency, is distinct from the show of accomplishing something apparently wonderful—not long ago a certain Cabinet Minister was opening some electrical works, and he thought he was paying the highest compliment in his speech when he said that he had been much impressed with the noise and the heat of the place; he had mistaken them for signs of efficiency. He offended the people, since it must be obvious, after a moment's reflection, that in such works noise and heat would be signs, not of the Economics of Energy, but, rather, of friction and waste. Just fancy if one congratulated the owner of an electric brougham on his brougham being hot and noisy! Clearly, the ideal electrical works would be cool and quiet; and of two given electrical works, producing equally satisfactory results in consumption and output, the one would be preferable which appeared to be doing least: that is to say, the one which gave rise to the less heat and the less noise.

Attention has been paid already to the economics of mechanical energy; and to the economics of money, especially in so far as it concerns personal and domestic saving of money, in contrast to institutional and departmental saving of money, and in contrast also to wise expenditure and investment of money—which is an important branch of the economics of money. To take a simple little example: suppose, at the beginning of war, someone had invested in simple bottles for preserving fruits, vegetables, &c., and had then taken various foods in season, and had sterilised and preserved them; here would have been a considerable initial outlay, but there would have been great economy as the ultimate result.

In this article I want to deal especially with the Economics of Physical Energy, though the mental side of it cannot be altogether left out: the mental and the physical interact and interpenetrate. It will be noticed that some of the headings which I select allude both to the saving of energy on the one hand, and the wise expenditure or investment of energy on the other.

Take, first, the position of the body—a matter to which we have only just begun to attend in physical culture: the great majority of people, for most of the day, have their bodies in the wrong position, their spine, for instance, being unhealthily curved, and their organs being too low. Now, the Greeks—and, especially, the Athenians—in their physical culture, laid enormous stress on the necessity for getting the body into such a position that it not only looked graceful and alert, but also worked with the greatest mechanical advantage; the Greeks aimed at the happy mean between excessive alertness, which, of course, is waste of energy, and excessive slackness. They tried to get such a general position of the body

that it involved the smallest amount of effort to do any work required; they did this by exercises which brought the weight just where the bones and muscles of the body could most easily bear it; and brought the spine to healthy and normal curves, and kept the various organs in their right place. Here is a simple little exercise which anyone can try; it should be practised gently and without strain. Standing equally balanced on the two feet, which should not be in the stiff, old-fashioned, military position, but should be in the more natural position—say, twelve inches apart; and resting the weight rather on the balls of the feet than on the heels, send the head and the trunk gradually back, as if you were looking at something directly above you; once again, do not strain, but keep in this position for a moment or two, and push up gently against your chin, and you will feel that this is drawing up the organs of your body. Now, without bringing the chin forward, bring the top of the head forward, and then bring the body forward also, from the hips; but do not let the organs sink down—hold them up until your body is tilted slightly forward from the hips. Now your spine has better curves than it had before, and your organs are higher than they were before: your stomach, for instance, is no longer too low down, as it probably was before.

It will naturally be asked what bearing this has upon economy of energy; it has a most vital bearing; for the spinal column is most intimately connected with both nervous systems—the cerebro-spinal and the sympathetic; and, if the vertebræ of the spine are in their wrong position, it is impossible for the right amount of nerve-force to reach the various organs of the body. One need not enter into the question of “spinal health” here, but, obviously, it must depend largely upon the spinal position. As to the organs, how can they function rightly when they are sagging down? A vast amount of trouble, to-day, is due to the organs being out of their proper place, and being cramped or otherwise handicapped. How can the lungs function rightly—and, therefore, how can the blood be purified and energised—if they are constricted, let us say, through the shoulders being brought too far forward? Now, the acquirement of a better position of the body—about which I have only touched on a few points here—may seem to be the reverse of economy of energy. It will naturally be said, “We should have to do exercises, and that, surely, uses up valuable force.” This is a case of investment; we must invest time and energy in order to save energy in the future. Once establish the habit of correct positions of the body, and every hour of the day is less expensive of energy than it was before! As to how long it will take, and how much work it will take to make the correct position subconscious and automatic, so that we never have to attend to it again—this depends largely on the individual; but in many cases I have known the right habit established in a few months, and that right habit will continue, without further effort, and with great saving of force, for decades to come.

As a second instance, consider breathing. Those who breathe rightly—that is to say, who habitually, without conscious thought, breathe deeply and fully and rhythmically—save more energy than

most people have ever realised; it is not merely that there is less muscular exertion, just as a person who walks with a fairly long (but not strained) step uses less energy than a person who walks with a number of short, scuttling steps; it is not only that more life-giving oxygen is inhaled, more poisonous carbonic acid is exhaled; it is not merely that the organs, such as the stomach and the liver, receive a natural and health-giving massage; but the whole state of the nerves and of the brain itself is altered by the rhythm of the breathing. Anyone who has observed himself carefully must know how exhausting are the states of mind belonging to the "fear" group and the "anger" group, including worry and resentment. What a waste of energy they are! Few people are aware that, when he breathing is kept deep and full and rhythmical, such states of mind are practically impossible. Breathing, then, for a number of reasons—and I have not mentioned nearly all the real reasons—is a means of economising energy; and here, once more, we must invest energy in order to save it. We must practise consciously, one of the best plans being to take a deep and full breath in through the nostrils, and hold it for a moment or two, and then exhale as thoroughly as possible, at frequent intervals throughout the day; I do not mean taking twenty breaths of this kind in succession, but, let us say, devoting to this practice the moments which otherwise would be wasted, or worse than wasted, by worrying or petty thoughts: there are the times when we are waiting for someone, when we are just going to cross a road, when we are sitting in a room or on a train, when we are waiting for a meal to be served, when we feel we are getting impatient, and, of course, the first thing in the morning and the last thing at night—all these are opportunities for wise investment of energy, with a view to saving energy in the future.

We may take a third example. Only recently there has been brought to the attention of thoughtful people the need for muscular relaxing, in contrast to the tension and gripping which prevails among highly-strung people. Muscular relaxing is not the same as slackness and laziness; in fact, it can go—and even does go—with the most intense mental and spiritual activity, and even with the most intense physical activity, as when a man runs and does not grip with his hands. An obvious instance is the one pointed out by Dr. George Wilson—namely, the relaxing of the muscles of the eye; in a little leaflet he rightly insists that we ought to learn to untense our eyes—for example, by looking to a distance; and this has a restful and quieting effect upon the mind itself.

Delsarte taught the same for the whole body; his philosophy was worked into a practical system by a Miss A. P. Call, of America, and was first introduced into England by Mrs. William Archer, who kindly gave me lessons years ago. Ordinary physical culture professes to teach us to use the muscles; it has not any notion of teaching us how not to use the muscles unnecessarily. We are told that such and such a system is a complete one; this is far from the truth. The Swedish system, for example, is—to use an Irish phrase—"full of omissions." It does not teach muscular relaxing. We ought to learn how not to use muscles which we should gain

nothing by using in any given activity. Here, also, there is needed time and trouble; for most people are stiff, and it is no simple matter to teach them to relax; but a moment's thought will make it perfectly clear that to grip the hands and to fidget is useless, as well as waste of energy. The economics of energy must include the study and practice of muscular relaxing. There is no space to enter into details here, but it is interesting to note that the great psychologist, the late Professor William James, in his popular work on Psychology, emphasised the need of muscular relaxing—especially for the American people; and those who have studied the Greek statues will realise how important a factor this muscular relaxing is in gracefulness. Fancy what it would mean if, where only ten muscles were required—and most people habitually used twenty—they could learn to use only the ten! Akin to this is the use of the supreme effort where a small expenditure of force would suffice, as when a man lifts a light weight with power enough to lift a heavy weight.

A fourth example is that of thorough mastication and insalivation of all food, as advocated by Mr. Horace Fletcher, the practice being known by his name as "Fletcherism." His idea is that, when it has been established as a habit, we not only are satisfied with half or less than half the amount of food which seemed to be necessary before, when we ate in the usual way; but that the food, being more thoroughly digested, and being taken in less quantity, saves the system a great deal of energy; there is less energy needed for digestion; for the teeth and the mouth and the saliva now do their proper share in this work, and thus relieve the stomach and the intestines; there is less clogging of the system, less poisoning of the system, and, therefore, less expenditure of energy than would be required by a clogged body, endeavouring to get rid of its poisons.

We might digress for a moment to discuss here the Hindu theory of energy (or *Prâna*). The Hindus believe that the energy of the universe is one, but that it has many different manifestations. We need not enter into the reason why one manifestation should be different from another, but we can easily imagine that it is, to some extent, the same fundamental energy which is used when we walk or move our arms, when we digest food, when we use our brains and think, and so forth. It is rather as if we had a certain sum in the bank, and drew cheques for various amounts; these cheques then go out, and one may enable us to buy a house, another to buy food, another to get work done for us in the house, another to travel, and so on. They are all similar cheques, but they produce absolutely diverse results. Now, if we spend less money on our house, we have more to spend on our travelling; so, if we spend less energy on our digestion and elimination of waste matter, we have more energy to spend on our physical or mental work.

The subject of Economy of Personal Energy through the right individual diets and abstinences, the right number of meals, the right way of eating, is too complex to be discussed here. And, indeed, it must be obvious that a balanced diet will tend to save energy by giving the system—the body and the mind—the

maximum of work, with the minimum of clogging, and therefore the minimum of friction.

Here, also, it is a matter not only of avoiding (or lessening the amounts of) foods and drinks that are bad for the individual. It is also a matter of taking the foods and drinks—especially pure water—that are good for the individual. There must be wise “investment” as well as wise “saving.”

All these helps, and many others—such as the right use of sleep and the right use of recreation—mean less friction and more enjoyment of work; and, of course, more enjoyment of work is in itself an economy; we use less energy when we are happy in what we are doing than when we are miserable.

Another point is—as Professor Mosso, of Turin, has proved—that we should stop physical or mental activity before we have gone beyond the fatigue-point; this does not necessarily mean that we should work no more on the same day (for there is a system by which we can get through a vast amount of work, with hardly any fatigue at all). Mosso has proved that, when we begin to feel tired, exactly the same work uses up far more energy than when we are fresh. I remember, on one occasion when I lost my way in York-*shire*, and had to walk far longer than I had anticipated, the last mile of the walk seemed to take more out of me than the first forty miles. Mosso proved his point by means of his Ergograph, by which he registered, with curves and tracings, the results of lifting a little weight with a finger so many times. Once let fatigue begin, and the loss of power, for a given piece of work, is immensely increased; so, if one runs for a mile or two miles or three miles, it may be exhausting, especially for the young; if one runs for 30 yards and then walks till one has recovered breath, then runs another 30 yards, and so forth, three miles of running can be done without any discomfort at all. The system of spells is now recognised by many as a great economiser of energy, and this applies not only to individuals, but also to businesses.

This is an example of organisation. Organisation is one of the most important economisers of energy; and it holds good of the organisation of a business, and of the organisation of the work of the individual. It is surprising how much energy is wasted because people will hurry without method. I remember being in the office of an American business man, who dictated a hasty letter to a stenographer; it seemed as if he were saving a great deal of time by his intense speed; but, when he had finished the letter, he found that it was not satisfactory, so he said, “Do not send that letter, but send this one instead”; and he dictated a second letter, very fast indeed; this speed was perhaps a greater strain for the stenographer than for himself, but even the second letter did not quite satisfy him; perhaps when I had gone he dictated a third! Now, if he had sat down quietly and written the points of the letter which he wanted to dictate, and perhaps put it aside for a moment, so as to let his sub-conscious mind think it out, and then had corrected it, if necessary, and dictated it quietly, he would have saved time and trouble for himself and for his stenographer. Pace by no means necessarily a waste of energy: thus I find that in writing it is a saving of time—and no more expensive of energy—

to write quickly; I can write up to 2,000 words an hour, and provided I have prepared my subject beforehand, this does not necessitate re-writing; but, if I write a thing hastily and without preparation, then I may have to do it again.

It is extraordinary what an amount of energy can be saved, also, by technique. The historic instance is that of the bricks. Mr. Herbert Casson, in his *Axioms of Business*, says:—

“To get the full value, Motion-Studies must be made with a stop-watch, so as to find out exactly how many motions are made to do each piece of work, and of what duration. . . . The most conspicuous success in this matter of Motion-Study was made by Mr. Frank B. Gilbreth, of New York. He studied Bricklaying, and found that eighteen motions were usual in the laying of every brick. He discovered that a bricklayer stooped down to the ground for a brick, tosses it in the air, taps it, lays it on the mortar, and fusses with it in several unnecessary ways.

“Then, Gilbreth planned out how bricks ought to be laid. He had them properly piled and conveyed to the bricklayers. He had the mortar deposited in the handiest place. He had every group of bricklayers waited on by a labourer. And he cut down the number of motions per brick from eighteen to five. Instead of laying 700 bricks in a day, his men actually laid 3,000 and 3,500 a-piece. They did four or five times the work, without any more exertion, and with greater sense of convenience.”

What applies to the bricks applies to everything. It applies to rowing. Put a person to row for the first time, and he or she will use the wrist and fore-arm, rather than the big muscles of the body, and the beginner will tire easily; but, let the beginner first master the main part of the technique of rowing (that is, an investment of energy) and the beginner will now be able to row fairly well without great waste of energy. So it is with walking; there is a way of walking which economises energy. The great French Professor Marey, was allowed to experiment with French troops; the idea was that they should not “poke” with their heads, nor have the shoulders hunched forward—in fact, the upper part of their body was held in a correct position; but the body was tilted forward from the hips, and the legs were bent at the knees, so that the weight of the body was used to carry the body forward; the body, in this position, expends far less energy in walking, and, indeed, this is the position in which many Red Indians run, and other natives do well; less energy is used in lifting the body on the feet; the feet do not rise so high as in ordinary walking; after a little practice the soldiers could march for longer distances. Everyone knows that in this position they would feel going up-hill much less; of course, the appearance of the marcher or walker is not particularly dignified; he seems, as it were, to be tumbling forwards all the time; and perhaps this was one reason why the French Army did not adopt it; but, as a means of economising the physical energy, it was an undoubted success. And so it is in games. There is no game in which the right technique does not save energy, as well as produce greater efficiency and success. This forms a subject all by itself, and one need not labour through the point. Whatever we do, we can economise energy by mastering the correct technique.

Finally, there is cheerfulness, and the right way of regarding

ings, as an economiser of energy. No one has yet estimated how much power is wasted by worry, as distinct from reasonable rudence and precaution. Worry inevitably poisons the whole human system, and thus makes it less efficient; worry paralyses energy; it belongs to the states of mind of which fear is a factor. Cheerfulness, on the other hand, is a tonic without reaction. Those who have scarcely been able to get through their work for their depression will, if they get good news, be revived as if someone had poured into them a supply of power. The Economics of Personal Energy, whatever other topics the study may omit, must include the right way of approaching the work and the right way of doing it. We are too apt to resent things—to be a mass of grumbles and discontentments. While contentment of the wrong kind means stagnation, dissatisfaction of the wrong kind means waste of energy. If we start with the idea that we will welcome whatever circumstances Providence shall give us in the day, being part of our "daily bread," sent to us by an entirely wise Father; and if we also make up our minds that we will enjoy our work as far as possible, and will get as much good as we can out of it, and help others as much as we can by it, then that work will use up less energy. Every wrong emotion is a creator of poisons and a analyser; every right emotion is a creator or saver of energy and tonic.

We can only realise this by means of a comparison. Suppose there are two people with similar faculties, similar stores of energy and similar work; we can compare them for five years of consecutive work; they both have similar foods, and, in fact, lead similar lives in every respect; the first man is cheerful, the second is gloomy; the first regards his work as helping him and helping others; the second regards his work as hurting him, and he never thinks of its relation to others. We can regard the second man as daily putting a little poison into his system; he does not go to the chemist and buy it, and then swallow it, but he produces it within himself by his attitude of mind. That fairy story of the two children, one of whom, when she spoke, brought gold from her mouth, while the other, when she spoke, brought a frog or toad—is really worth studying; the cheerful and kind speech of the former little girl produced something valuable; the unkind and gloomy speech of the second little girl produced something ugly, if not harmful. Cheerfulness would not only produce better results, but it would produce them with less friction.

It is time that a book was written on "The Economics of Personal Energy," dealing not so much with what can be done for people, as what people can do for themselves; and I have not the least hesitation in saying that most people, to-day, could get through double as much work with half as much effort, and the work would not only be better, but would also be pleasanter. It is a matter of national importance, as it has never been before. Our terrible losses of male workers in this country make it essential to us that those who are left should know how to develop their powers, and how to use these powers to the best possible advantage.

EUSTACE MILES.

STATE HOUSING (RURAL).

THE proposals now under consideration were issued early in the year as an Addendum to the Minority Report of the Departmental Committee on the Employment of Sailors and Soldiers on the Land, by Mr. Leslie Scott, K.C., M.P., Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., and the Hon. Edward G. Strutt. A new system of State housing is advocated, not to be independent of local authorities, public utility societies, and voluntary service, but organising all three factors into union, and providing for readiness to take immediate action throughout the kingdom at a given moment. If, when demobilisation takes place, ex-Service men are to be attracted to the land—not to one particular part of the country but to all the villages—building must proceed rapidly everywhere otherwise while schemes are being talked about, the men will have gone. The class for whom the land cries out are just those who with most hope and certainty of prospering can go to the Colonies.

To enable the scheme to be prepared on a national basis, the whole of the capital needed for 200,000 cottages is to be voted by Parliament. Apart from other considerations, no uniformity of simultaneous action could be obtained if the weight of the capital outlay, all or in part, were placed on local rates, for before local rates can be used for housing schemes much time has to be wasted, through, nor can there be any guarantee of sufficiency of houses. In addition to permanent results a by-product of the greater service which would follow the assurance of capital from the State would be the pre-arrangement of employment in the building trade for many thousands of men directly war ends. Both from this important point of view, and the larger outlook of agricultural settlement of ex-Service men with its requirement of plentiful cottage homes placed where cultivation most needs them, it is Parliament alone that can take effective action. Only by special legislation, as urged in the Addendum, can delay, uncertainty, and patchwork results be prevented. But while State initiative is asked for, it is not suggested that building should be undertaken by any of the Government departments.

A general increase of wages for agricultural workers is assumed as impending. Since the issue of the Addendum the Prime Minister has announced that the minimum wage shall be 25s. a week. Whether this will prove sufficient to allow of the payment of an economic rent based on money at 5 per cent. interest remains to be proved. On the figures given, by which 6s. 6d. is shown to be the lowest possible economic rent, it means that the agricultural worker with 25s. a week and one of the new cottages would have 18s. 6d. for family purposes. If that net wage be deemed sufficient to attract ex-Service men to the villages under present rental conditions, which allow of a weekly 2s. or thereabouts for existing cottages, then the "extending rent" suggested by the proposals will not be needed, in as far as it may be taken as a measure of expediency intended to bridge over the period of wage transition.

to a higher rate. This extending rent is illustrated by a table, and is given as beginning at 3s. 6d., increasing annually by 6d. a week till the 6s. 6d. is reached. It is believed that the sharp difference between the 6s. 6d. and 2s. rent, since wages would be at the same minimum for occupants of both the old and new cottages, would prevent many men from settling down in the latter. It is to overcome this immediate difficulty of the "disparity in rents" that the graduated method is put forward. The approximation of new rents to old by starting the former at 3s. 6d. is urged in expectation that by the time they have matured, old rents will approximate to the new. The building of these 200,000 cottages would, through the action of local authorities, lead to the closing of the worst old dwellings, and to the repair and consequent higher rent of others, while landowners and farmers in face of a largely increased wage are not likely to continue rents on their present footing. Thus, at last, the rent question as concerned with agricultural workers would gravitate towards an economic level.

Evidence of the intention which runs through the Addendum that nothing in it should be a hindrance to prompt legislation is instanced by the omission of any mention of the rate question. No consideration of rural housing in which time was not urgent could leave this thorny problem out, but it would delay and obscure the main object of the present scheme. Critics who may be disappointed that the proposals do not seem to go far enough in the particular directions along which they are convinced that the way of housing redemption lies, will need to realise that the main impulse of the scheme is to secure an immediate preparedness to meet a special situation—namely, to secure that ex-Service men brought up in, or with a bent for outdoor agricultural life, can be sure of a home where they would best like to be, on their return from the exile of war. The new cottage with a rent, first, at 3s. 6d., a wage of not less than 25s., with possibilities of a general increase to a higher minimum to set against the annual rise in rent, security of tenure irrespective of employer, and facilities for improvement of position by means of the small-holdings ladder would, compared to pre-war conditions, make a man think twice before he went into a town or overseas.

The proposed economic rent of 6s. 6d. will startle many agriculturists. Even in intensively cultivated fruit and vegetable districts like some parts of Kent, where an average cottage rent of 3s. 6d. now holds good, the rise to 6s. 6d., though gradual, will be considered excessive. But there is no option between ultimately charging such a rent and normalising rural building, or letting the existing condition of things continue. It must be noted that 6s. 6d. a week is an economic rent only in relation to that part of the capital which bears interest, and not as regards the full cost of the cottages. The latter is put at £280, from which £70 is written off as a State bonus. The rent, therefore, is calculated on £210 at 3s. 1d. weekly per cent.

Owing to the economy of administration which is possible under the methods proposed, it would be practicable that risks of loss through failure of rent here and there could be met by such

risks being pooled, and an assurance fund accumulated for this purpose by means of a yearly fractional contribution from rents.

The £70 bonus per cottage is taken as representing inflated cost which now exists in all building, and is likely to continue for some years after hostilities cease. For 200,000 cottages it would mean a total bonus of £14,000,000, or, as the proposals put it, "about three days' cost of the war." This sum would be required by instalments. To trespass on the rate question for a moment, it may be pointed out that if rents did not carry rates, the bonus, instead of £14,000,000, would not be more than £12,000,000, for the 6s. 6d. rent would be able to yield interest and sinking fund on a further £60 per cottage. This calculation is based on the usual allowance of one-fifth of a rent for rates. Alternatively rents could be 5s. 3d. (approx.).

The precedent given by the financial arrangement made under the Emergency Housing Act, 1914, by which 10 per cent. of the capital cost of the proposed cottages was to be granted by the Treasury to meet the increased cost of building, is quoted in the proposals. Another direct precedent is furnished by the free grants, in addition to loans, for housing made to nearly a dozen towns during the war, the said grants amounting to 20 per cent. of the cost. But the strongest precedent is that afforded by necessity, which must be blind to everything except taking direct steps to avoid the disaster of a weakened agriculture. Every townsman for his own sake ought to put himself behind any practical proposals for the prosperity of home agriculture, since, in the long run, it is of more moment to him than to the countryman. It means an insurance against starvation or deprivation in war-time, and a permanent extension of the home market for manufactured goods. As previously remarked, it is the countryman who can most easily and successfully emigrate. The Britisher who stands to be "left in the cart" by delay or half-measures for the redemption of agriculture is not the farmer or farm-hand, but the townsman.

In weighing the various figures put forward in the Addendum, clearly they must be regarded as proposing an average. Taking the estimated cost of a cottage, £280, this in some places will be more, and in others less, than the price paid. The building conditions of different parts of the country, as they affect cost, vary considerably; and further, the cost of cottages, identical as far as plan and structure are concerned, may show considerable inequality in the same district, owing to nature and position of sites and distance from railway. The scheme may be expected to work out financially in fairly close approximation to the figures given, but also it is undoubtedly capable of certain adjustments without disturbance of its main effect. What variation in minor matters may need to be made cannot become apparent till the proposals reach the stage of detailed preparation for enactment.

The cottages are to be strictly reserved for those engaged in agricultural work. In the unlikely event of a cottage becoming vacant and no agricultural applicant appearing, it would, of course, be let for the time being to any responsible tenant on ordinary terms by which, on an agreed notice, it could be released for an agri-

agricultural worker who required it. Security of tenure irrespective of employer, but subject to "good neighbourship," will be the right of every tenant. The certainty of having decent neighbours in the next-door cottage would go a long way with reliable families towards reconciling them to the higher scale of the new rents. One of the best methods to prevent unsatisfactory tenancies is to form a tenants' Committee, who should have the duty of confirming, or otherwise, new tenancies after an interval of three months, by which time the character of newcomers would have become known. His plan is in operation with rural societies formed by the Housing Organisation Society, the confirmation of tenancy in their case taking the form of granting membership. Tenant Committees of this kind can undertake various matters concerned with their welfare and can organise themselves co-operatively for the purchase of seeds and implements, and for credit societies.

The £280 estimated as the average cost indicates a five-roomed cottage, with scullery extra. With a limit of the total sum per cottage, as there must be, too large a share of it may very easily be absorbed by unnecessary items of expenditure in the actual shell of the building. The efforts of Mr. St. Loe Strachey and others to arouse interest and promote experiment in lightening the cost of cottage building have been more productive of results than might appear on the surface. It would serve no purpose to consider the rival claims of ordinary cottages and those of the Merrow type which can be built and let at an economic rent about half the usual figure, 'because the former are inevitable in a scheme such as the latter one. But the avoidance of unwanted strength, the saving of useless space, and some other innovations which received emphasis from the experiments mentioned, are as available for larger as for smaller buildings, when only a specific sum can be spent and as generous a proportion of it as possible is needed for domestic appliances and fittings. As to elevations and groupings, architectural resources there is abundance, and it would be easy under a national scheme to ensure that the planning and details of village extensions should accord with the true spirit of the countryside. Neither monotony of type, colour, or material is necessarily part of a healthy economy, nor need a reasonable use of standardisation imperil general effects varied with climatic character and local traditions.

It would be an economic advantage of a State scheme that there should be scope for saving through organisation, standardisation, and large purchasing power. As to contractors, a far sounder method is possible than acceptance of the lowest tender. This could be by an agreed fixed profit per cottage, varied according to number, provided the cost fell between a reasonable agreed minimum and maximum: the estimate of cost to be based upon quantities. A bonus extra to the profit would be paid when the minimum was kept, and a deduction from profit made if the maximum were exceeded. Any marked increase or lowering of rates and prices for labour and materials (as compared with the fixed-out estimate) occurring during the course of the work would be a credit or debit to the contractor. Bonuses would be shared in

agreed parts between contractors and men. There is every reason to believe that this method would be accepted both by builders and operatives, and on these lines the building of the whole scheme could be prepared for the country through their organisations ready for putting in hand at any given moment.

In connection with making ready for building, a valuable suggestion has been put forward that Government, while it still has control of the railways, should arrange for special flat rates for building materials of various kinds, and also that a proportion of the enormous number of motor transport waggons it will have at the end of the war, should be placed at the disposal of the county authorities for the purpose of undertaking the delivery of material for the cottages from the railways, or from central county sources of supply. Arrangements could be made for returned soldiers already accustomed to handling motor waggons to be employed for these purposes. Another suggestion from the same source is that a considerable saving in insurance charges for workmen's compensation risk, which puts from 2 to 3 per cent. on wages, and covers risk in the whole range of building work, could be made if an insurance limited to the cottage scheme were to be arranged for, as the risk in cottage work are less than in any other kind of building. If this could be done the percentage would probably not be more than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which would make a saving on the whole of the 200,000 of at least £2 5s. a cottage, or thereabouts, or £450,000 in all, since the wage-bill approximates to half the cost of a cottage. These suggestions indicate the large economies which are possible in State undertaking if it be organised with foresight, knowledge, and time for preparation.

The possibility of combining co-operative housing with the cottage scheme, although not suggested in the proposals, is one that certainly would be practicable. At the present time there are numerous public utility societies which before the war had already achieved the object of retaining men in agricultural life at home. These societies are on a membership basis, and give security of tenure. They are able to extend their membership, and could most satisfactorily accommodate more families, if cottages could be obtained. In other cases excellent schemes are on foot for the formation of similar societies under circumstances that assure success. It would be a national duty, and ought not to be a difficult one, to give sufficient elasticity to any State housing scheme to enable it to be applied in this direction wherever the conditions justified it, and for the purpose of housing of ex-soldiers and sailors was served. Such societies could take, in their total, but a fraction of the 200,000 cottages, for the movement they embody is still in its young days, but the secure homes and the unexploited labour instanced by them afford the hopefulest sight now to be found in the countryside. It may be asked why this system should not be made of general application in the scheme. The answer is that any attempt of this kind would mostly prove impracticable. Increase of the movement depends on the steady growth of social economic education, and cannot be forced. Probably no better encouragement to extension could be given than by a large State scheme su-

as urged in the proposals, for this would everywhere provide an alerter population. The success of moral co-operation rests on the spontaneity of application for its local establishment by the workers themselves, who have a knowledge of their district and are prepared to respond to the gospel of combination.

Under the scheme the Local Government Board would determine the number of cottages for each county; the County Councils would allot the number for each Rural District Council's area, while the actual location of the cottages in villages and hamlets would be made by the Rural District Council, with the advisory help of a Small Holdings Commissioner, or his representative (a probable amendment would be the substitution of the local Public Utility Society for the R.D.C.). The organisation proposed for locally administering this State scheme deserves particular notice. It combines official and voluntary service. It would be a Public Utility Society with a difference, and misapprehension will arise if care is not taken to understand its special features. It would be identical with existing societies in registration as a corporate body and in being controlled by rules complying with statutory requirements, the essential result of that procedure being legal competence to receive loans from the Treasury, to acquire land and undertake building, and to hold and administer the property thus developed. The society would be unlike the bulk of existing societies in that membership would be limited to those who constituted the Committee of Management. The Chairman and Clerk of the Rural District Council would, *ex-officio*, take places on the Committee (it might prove a useful alternative for the Council annually to nominate any two of its members as its representatives), while two residents selected for special qualifications concerned with agriculture and housing would be nominated for the Board of Agriculture by the local Small Holdings Commissioner, and two by the County Council. Additionally to the six members, they would themselves co-opt a seventh, having open choice in the matter. This would give opportunity to include a representative of the tenants. Committee men would hold office on the same footing as membership of a Local Authority, that of unpaid public service.

In considering the proposal that the County Council and district Small Holdings Commissioner should each undertake to nominate two persons for the committees of the societies in their area, it must be remembered that the latter bodies, once formed, seldom change in subsequent years. The county committees of national housing societies which Mr. Runciman, when President of the Board of Agriculture, intended to use in organising the building of rural cottages, would be at the service of the Commissioners if their local knowledge of suitable persons for nominations were required. Or the county agricultural war committees should be able to co-operate serviceably. Bearing in mind the wide areas of many Rural District Councils, and how the executive work in regard to Small Holdings in those areas is undertaken by the County Council in conjunction with the Board of Agriculture—and remembering, also, the vital need to ally the betterment of the agricultural worker's employment

with the possibility of stepping off to a small holding—it is obvious that those holding an impartial view of the needs of localities for cottages and possessing an expert knowledge of agriculture and its prospective developments, should be represented in the local administration in any State scheme.

Financially, the new type of society would be unlike those now existing in that none of its funds would come from private sources. As pointed out in the proposals, with the Local Authority as a basis, these societies could be formed rapidly. Under the direction of the Local Government Board the national housing societies could, in conjunction with the local authorities, undertake the work. Registration would be simple and costs little. Model rules exist and would need but little revision to be adapted to the case. Shares could be for a nominal amount, and carry no interest, and membership would cease on retirement from the committee, which would be reconstituted annually at the time of the presentment of the year's accounts. In regard to clerical work, the Rural District Council's office would in most cases be able to supply the Secretary, who would be remunerated, not from the rates, but from the management expenses earned by the rents. Assistance in details of administration, such as rent collection and repairs, might be given by the Rural Councils in return for the part relief of housing expenditure effected for them by the building of these cottages in their districts. Since the cottages would be reserved strictly for agricultural workers, local authorities would still have other housing to undertake, but their financial responsibility would be lessened by the State scheme. It would be worth considering, as a variation of the suggestion in the proposals that the Rural District Council should purchase the site and then lease it to the local society, that purchase should be made direct by the Treasury, the Local Authority concerning itself, in the first place, only with the selection of the site or sites in conjunction with a Small Holdings Commissioner. The freehold of the village extensions could then be vested in the County Councils or the Rural District Councils as may be decided, and could be leased to the societies for a peppercorn rent for the sixty-year period of the Treasury loan, at the expiry of which they would fall into the County or District Authorities as public trustees for each local community.

ERNEST BETHAM.

UNDESIGNED EXPERIMENTS.

MAN has been performing in all ages certain effective experiments with living things after the manner of the Man with the Muck-rake in Bunyan's parable. Intent upon immediate values and reaching them by empirical methods, while unaware of their hidden meaning, he has been the active agent in many experiments which have, on the one hand, fortified some existing doctrine, and, on the other, have led up to certain new discoveries. Such experiments as these are indirect, and not controlled by the exact and calculated rigour of modern direct experiments, which are the breath of life to science, but, such as they are, they stand out for us to interpret them. Here there is a necessary absence of any desire to prove a point, and whether their evidence be of small or great value, it is unimpeachable. They have needed the lifetime of many generations of men, and these died in ignorance of their value and "received not the promise." Few of the human agents employed were men of scientific mind, but they builded better than they knew, and some of them have demonstrated a truth which was little in accordance with their desires. As we look into these rough experiments we cannot but ask ourselves: "Are we not to-day experimenting as active agents 'on some living things of whose existence we know not, are we 'perhaps building up some doctrine which awaits its Pasteur'?" The experiments here described are doubtless crude and simple, but are not without intellectual value to one who considers the subject-matter *from the point of view of experiment.*

Micro-organisms.—Man has been happily called by Sir E. Ray Lankester the "insurgent son" of Nature, and he has fought a stubborn fight sometimes against and sometimes in alliance with the microscopic hosts of earth, air, and water, careless as Harry Smith of the Wynd of the deeper issues at stake, and his conquests have been not unlike those of the British race, who are said to have colonised a third of the globe in a fit of absence of mind. With what success he has handled for his own purposes these myriads of the infinitely little! How he has checked their putrefactive action when he embalmed his Pharaohs and wrapped them in multiple folds of linen in the dry soil and climate of Egypt, preserving the very form and features of a Rameses the Second! How he has watched the gigantic mammoth being disinterred from the icy soil of the Siberian tundra, where it had lain in "cold storage" for thousands of years, and has even eaten of its flesh preserved by the cold from the putrefactive bacteria! How the housewife of a hundred years ago has boiled her fruit, destroying its contained bacteria, and has excluded others by the crude covering of her jam-pot, all unconscious of the science of her procedure! How man has ripened his cheeses, and cultivated certain useful bacteria, some for his Stiltons, some for his Gloucesters, and others for his Wensleydales! And how he has learned to tame certain others for the making of his different kinds of tobacco! How the Hebrews of old excluded from their Passover bread the *toralas* of yeast,

unaware of their existence in that leaven which was to them a type of evil! With what shrewd practical knowledge, though blind as to its scientific value, the well-known Citoyen Appert acquired his fame during the stormy days of the French Revolution for his secret methods of preserving many articles of food, heating them to certain special temperatures so successfully that in 1810 he attracted the notice of the Minister of the Interior and of the Academy of Science, whose Pasteur was yet unborn! Again, man has found out from the days of his early childhood and in nearly all countries, that if he put in water certain saccharine substances, such as the juices of fruits, and exposed them freely to the air in moderate warmth, or if he steeped malted barley in hot water, a certain fermentation took place, resulting in the formation of what he began to call "spirit," so that, as Huxley says, "thus it has come about that we use the same word for the soul of man and for a glass of gin." But in spite of the great and long experience of man in the making of intoxicating drinks, brewing and wine-making never went beyond the stage of art until the researches of Pasteur embodied in his great work, *Etudes sur le Vin*, in 1866, turned it into a young and vigorous branch of science. The chief authority in England on scientific brewing, Dr. Horace Brown, has well pointed out that Pasteur's countrymen showed that *they*, at any rate, understood the logical order and coherence of his discoveries, in the form of that inscription which adorns his tomb in the Pasteur Institute in Paris, where "we find inscribed in due chronological order all the links in the unbroken chain of his achievements, including *Etudes sur le Vin* and the *Etudes sur la Bière*, which immediately precede (my italics) the record of his work in "infectious diseases, vaccines, and hydrophobia." Who would not rather have to his credit the opening of that New World by Pasteur in 1866 than that of Columbus in 1492? From Pasteur to Lister was but a step in the foundation of the germ-theory of disease and its beneficent application to surgery, and it was by this method of analogy that Lister, working on Pasteur's bases, gave his great boon to mankind. Everlasting honour be to these two great men! Dr. Horace Brown says of Pasteur what one may legitimately apply to man himself in his undesigned experiments: "He was like Saul, the son of Kish, who went out to seek his father's asses and found a Kingdom." It is, indeed, fair to claim, and this fortunately cannot be contradicted, that if man had never learnt in brewing and wine-making how to tame, coerce, and employ those micro-organisms of which he knew nothing, the discoveries of Pasteur and Lister would never have been made.

It must also be remembered that if, in 1873, Huxley could deliver the funeral oration of the doctrine of spontaneous generation in the words, "So much for the history of the progress of Redi's great doctrine of Biogenesis, which appears to me, with the limitations I have expressed, to be victorious along the whole line to-day"—if this could be said and never again seriously assailed, it is to the work of Pasteur that the supremely important death of this doctrine is due—another outcome of undesigned experiments!

Puerperal Fever was once the opprobrium of medicine, but is

ich no longer. Its story is one of needless deaths of multitudes of victims in Lying-in Hospitals, of heroism on the part of one man and shameful opposition to him on the part of many. Thus was the experiment carried out. This deadly disease was entirely misunderstood by the medical profession before 1843, when the humane Semmelweiss gave his serious attention to its cause, then vaguely attributed to atmospheric or epidemic influences, or, indeed, anything but the true cause. Oliver Wendell Holmes, at about the same time, and Dr. Robert Gordon, in 1795, had expressed their opinions that the cause of the disease was infection from without, but nothing was done to prove this opinion or carry it any further until Semmelweiss was appalled and arrested by the mortality which he saw going on in a great Lying-in Hospital in Vienna. To-day, the mortality in such hospitals is one to two in 1,000. What was it in those days in Berlin? Anything from 10 per cent. to 100 per cent., and in Vienna it seldom fell below 10 per cent., rising in bad times to 60 and 75 per cent.—and this in healthy young women, who went into that great house of doom to be “delivered,” and who were delivered, but to their death. Now comes the experiment, a veritable experiment of the Finger Post, as the physicians have it, which was being carried out before the only man who had eyes to see and heart to read its meaning. There were two classes of patients in this hospital, one of which was attended by women only, and the other by medical students who came straight from the surgical wards, the dissecting rooms, and the dead house. The difference between the two classes of patients as to rate of mortality was so striking that it arrested the mind of Semmelweiss, and he boldly denounced the attendance of the students as the chief cause of the mortality in their wards. Bravely and alone he attacked the medical forces securely entrenched and strongly supported. He was persecuted by them even to his death in an asylum, but, for the generation of the mothers of his day, his victory was won and his triumph is enduring and great. Thus, twenty years before the work of Pasteur, were those medical students and their supporters carrying on a grim experiment with pathogenic bacteria until Semmelweiss appeared to read the writing to our great profit.

Vaccination is the outcome of another unconscious experiment with bacteria. The disease vaccinia, or cow-pox, is an eruptive disease of the cow, only found in heifers, and only on the teats. It develops at intervals in herds of cows, and is always associated with milking. It is the result of irritation of the teats which are themselves the subject of a small and comparatively harmless vesicle. This repeated manipulation of the teats converts a simple into a specific eruption, and eventually the disease cow-pox may be communicated to the whole herd. Man may be said to have made cow-pox as a by-product of his domestication and use of the cow. In this unconscious and daily experiment of the milkers the ground was being prepared for the important discovery announced in 1798 by Jenner, a West of England country practitioner and friend of John Hunter, that persons inoculated by accident with the virus of this animal disease became immune to small-pox. While medical science has been carrying on the proof of Jenner's work so that by

vaccination he has nearly got rid of small-pox, certain individuals and towns have been making some dangerous experiments of the kind here dealt with, and have provided excellent though painful evidence of the value of vaccination, by refusing its aid and thus carefully preparing limited outbreaks of a once-dreaded scourge. Several years ago you could take out a licence to propagate small-pox for the small sum of twenty shillings, but under later legislation you have to declare yourself one of those "conscientious objectors," who seem in another sphere to be unpopular to-day, and do not pay anything. Whether the cost of a "conscientious objection" to vaccination is supposed to be well calculated at twenty shillings, it is difficult to say. The price is a small one either way for so large a licence. We can, at any rate see that the long-continued and unwitting action of the milkers and cows have constituted a valuable, indeed *essential*, experiment for the enlightenment of Jenner and the benefit of mankind.

Homœopathy is an honest delusion supported by many able men who have mostly been of non-scientific mind. During the early part of the nineteenth century a German physician named Hahnemann introduced into the teaching of therapeutics a certain law which he summed up in the words, *similia similibus curantur* ("Let like be cured by like"), basing his teaching and practice on numerous experiments on healthy persons by "provings" of drugs. He announced a general principle for treating disease, that the remedy for a disease is that drug which, given to a healthy person, will produce in him the most nearly perfect imitation of his group of symptoms. This was followed by the theory of attenuation of doses until such incredibly small quantities were given that the strict homœopathic treatment became a valuable undesigned experiment in favour of the *vis medicatrix naturæ* as a powerful factor in every "cure" of disease performed by them, and incidentally of the power of suggestion. It has been said that the extreme exponents of Hahnemann's teaching, the "high-dilution" men, gave doses whose strength was equivalent to that of a wineglassful of the water taken from the Sea of Marmora, an ounce of Epsom salts having been mixed with that of the Black Sea. It was an integral part of his system that drugs are unfailing remedies for disease, being, as was held, provided for this purpose by the Almighty. For my part I am persuaded that homœopaths have "cured" their patients very well, being themselves usually intelligent men of genial and hopeful personality, who paid great attention to nursing, diet, and general hygiene, which (alas! for their scientific value) by their very excellence reduced greatly the evidential value of those stubborn facts of their cures, attributed by them to their infinitesimal drugs. Is there anything which may mislead us as "facts"? Hahnemann was in another way benefactor to the public and to current medical opinion, for if his drugs did not cure he and his drugs did not kill *secundum artem* with that facility which was the mark of much medical treatment of his day. The very charge he made against the defensive mechanisms of the animal body was never better refuted than by himself and his enthusiastic followers; while they thought the

are curing disease with their little drugs they were unconsciously laying stone to stone in the building of the fabric of the modern knowledge of immunity—to the greater glory of Nature. I think I may claim here to have illustrated clearly what an undesigned experiment is.

Mutilations have been the delight of savages in all ages, and modern men have practised them on their own bodies and those of their domesticated animals for a long period of time. They have locked out their front teeth, bored large holes in their ears and noses, and have practised the rite of circumcision for several thousand years. They have cut the ears and tails of dogs and cats, and have gelded their horses, and thus have been unconsciously bringing together a mass of evidence as to the great and disputed doctrine of Lamarck, that acquired characters are inherited. They know nothing of the long and stubborn contest between the extreme followers of Darwin called neo-Darwinians, and the moderate followers of Lamarck called neo-Lamarckians. It is a singular fact that this dispute about facts, which oceans of ink will not alter, has always seemed, like certain chemical substances, to require heat for solution. It should not be so, for "things are what they are," and so on. What, then, have these old-fashioned mutilations taught us in this controversy? Just what the neo-Lamarckian would expect, whatever his adversary might wish him to appear to expect—viz., that such momentary and acute stimuli as are involved in these mutilations, seldom, if ever, lead to inherited characters, they are loosely called. The evidence, then, of these prolonged experiments is negative and in keeping with what both sides in the controversy would expect, and any large mass of evidence, even of the negative order, is not without value. We have been taught by them what *not* to expect, and to look elsewhere for positive evidence. He is reminded by them of a remark made by Wellington early in his career, to the effect that a certain unfortunate expedition in the Peninsula had at least taught him how such matters should not be conducted.

The Use of Harness on Horses.—We have become so much accustomed to the sight of domestic horses with some kind of harness on them that when we see one being led along the street with no other harness than a halter we almost feel a shock. The use of harness is many thousands of years old, and all this time man, who has been employing harness for his own purposes, has been making a very definite and prolonged experiment on this his best of animal friends, an experiment closely allied to, but more significant than, the mutilations I have mentioned. Here is a form of artificial friction applied constantly through perhaps a third part of the whole life of a horse, and from the point of view of experiment ought to produce some visible inherited effects. I will show that he has done this, and very definitely affected certain patterns which are found on the hairy coat of a horse. It must be pointed out that the hair of an animal is not a rigid stationary structure. It grows at a certain rate all through the life of its possessor, and its length is determined by the needs and habits of the species. Each individual hair starts from a papilla at the bottom of a tiny pit in the skin, and

is pushed out by the force of growth *in the line of least resistance* at the rate of one inch in two months. This line of least resistance is equivalent to the *direction* of the hair, and over the greater part of each animal's body the course taken by the hair is from the head backward to the tail, and from the body to the ends of the limbs in the simpler long-bodied class of mammals, such as an otter, rat, or cat. But this simple slope becomes greatly modified in higher animals of a more complex form, such as a cow or a horse, and the varieties of its slope or direction are numerous. Besides this general fact, many animals display their own peculiar patterns in certain regions. These all have some definite mechanical reason for their form, and are associated with the habits of life of the animal possessing them. Now some very well-marked patterns are produced in a certain number of horses by the reversed friction of harness in regions where no other such forces are acting. During the examination of several thousands of horses I have noted nine different regions where patterns such as *reversed areas*, *whorls*, or *featherings* are found. Of these none are proved to be inherited as far as my present observation goes, except one—viz., the ventral or under surface of the neck. Here the *normal* slope of hair is uniform and smooth, and no attempt at a pattern is present. But in a very large proportion of draught horses I have found that this normal, simple arrangement is being modified by the constant jolting of the lower portion of the collar, so that the friction *against* the current of hair is tending to produce many degrees of change of slope. Out of 749 horses that I examined for this particular point, I found 338 with the normal smooth slope, and 411 with some degree of the pattern produced by the friction of the collar. This result might not be very convincing to the stalwart ne-Darwinian, but the evidential value has been carried further than this, for I have examined certain very young foals still being suckled by their mothers, and, of course, innocent themselves of any harness, and in all these but one there was definite evidence of the presence of these patterns produced by the friction of the harness worn by their ancestors. This again will be called by the adversaries a small result. Well, a straw is a small thing, but it shows the way the wind blows, and this evidence cannot be dismissed by the ne-Darwinian, who has swallowed whole the doctrines of Weismann; for here is a "character" inherited of just that kind that he has been asking us to produce for a generation or so. It is for him to square it with Weismann's sweeping doctrine.

The sum of the matter is that a few undesigned experiments by man have taught or fortified the doctrines of the germ-theory of disease, the septic origin of puerperal fever, the doctrine of biogenesis, the value of the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, of suggestion as an aid to medicine, and has produced two contributions, one negative and the other positive, towards the controversy as to whether or not acquired characters *can* be inherited.

WALTER KIDD.

THE GERMAN WAR AND THE GERMAN POETS.

THE Stuttgart philosopher, Friedrich Theodor Vischer, once wrote a long and elaborate treatise entitled *Krieg und die Künste* ("War and the Arts"), with the object of demonstrating the æsthetic value of war. It was a matter on which Vischer, whose *Æsthetik* is in Germany an often-quoted, but little standard work, could certainly speak with authority, but none can doubt that on this occasion he failed to prove his case. He was able to point, of course, to the enormous volume of literature, from the *Persæ* of Æschylus onwards, directly produced by war. But such illustrations are not of much value to such a thesis as this, unless, at the same time, it be shown what was the attitude towards war taken up by each writer. If such a method of selection be applied the number of really great writers whose immediate inspiration was the glory of war will be shown to be very few indeed. It is rather a detestation or a dread of war, or, at least, the desire of representing war as it really is, laying bare its ugliness, that has moved the true artist and stirred his imagination. The terrible beauty of the *Trojan Women*, in which Euripides set forth the sorrows of an ancient Belgium, the coarse and brutal exactness of Zola in his *Débâcle*, the didactic purpose of Tolstoy in his *War and Peace* and *Sevastopol*—these are far more representative instances of the effect war produces upon art than any ultra-patriotic and bellicose novel or poem it would be possible to name. No country is quite free from the taint of militarism in its literature. The Crimean War let loose a flood of bombastic rhetoric in this country, and the poets, from Tennyson downwards, wrote a good deal in a manner we have become accustomed to label Prussian; France, too, has had her Jingo poets—the last, before the present war, was Paul Deroulède; as for Italy, anyone who thinks militarism a purely German phenomenon should read the futurist poet Marinetti's writings on the Tripolitan campaign. But Germany's position among the Powers in regard to this matter is unique for this reason, that, while England speedily grew ashamed of her Jingoism, and most people in France forgot the existence of Deroulède, as Italy will some day probably forget Marinetti, while other countries have neglected their bellicose poets, Germany has always striven to keep their memory alive. Modern Germany has had two great decisive wars—her War of Liberation in 1813 and her War of Unity in 1870. Each of these gave a great impulse to literature in quantity, if not in quality. Among famous names the first produced Ernst Moritz Arndt; the second, Emanuel Geibel. Both poets had considerable lyrical gifts, and both are classics, lectured upon at the Universities, and discussed with care and minuteness in doctoral theses. Yet their work—notwithstanding Arndt's liberal views—is the most concise exposition it would be possible to find of Pan-Germanism and the Prussian doctrine of aggression.

It might have been expected that this, Germany's third great war, would have similar results. And it has. The literary output

in Germany during the present war has been tremendous, as befits a struggle of such unparalleled magnitude. Vast and highly-amusing calculations have been made in Germany by professors and critics as to the number of poems produced by the war. Thus a Professor of Munich University has solemnly estimated that three million poems were written from August, 1914, to January, 1915—within the first five months! Harry Schumann, a critic of some note, in his book *Deutscher Geist im Weltkrieg* ("The Mind of Germany in the World-War"), asserts that fifty thousand poems per day were written in the first month of the war, and six million in the first year. This, he triumphantly concludes, is surely an answer to those enemy-poets, such as Maeterlinck and Verhaeren, who accuse the German nation of barbarism! With such a record of imaginative activity before him, how can anyone persist in speaking of Germany's *Barbarenum*!

These ridiculous exaggerations may be disregarded. Very many of the boasted six million poems did not succeed in getting published—Herr Schumann is naïve enough to admit this—and a large number of those published were absolutely without interest or value so far as literature is concerned. Nevertheless, it is true that German poets, in comparison with the French or English, have shown an amazing fertility during the past two and a-half years of war. If it could be proved that they have been as inspired as they have been prolific, the enthusiasm of certain neutral observers, and their descriptions of a "great literary revival," might find some justification. At present this cannot be attempted; the utmost one can do is to state the facts so far as they are known. A clearer judgment will not be possible until the end of the war.

Nearly all the writers of established reputation are to be found among Germany's war-poets: Gerhart and Carl Hauptmann, Richard Dehmel, Sudermann, Holz, Wedekind, Otto Ernst, Rilke, Schaukal, Ernst Hardt, Ludwig Thoma, Paul Ernst, César Flaischlen, and Hugo von Hofmannsthal. These names are rather an impressive testimony to the patriotism and unity of the German "intellectuals." Especially is this so in view of the fact that before the war many of them were not noted for any extraordinary degree of "Vaterlandsliebe"; they were either social rebels or exponents of a totally "undeutsch" romanticism. Gerhart Hauptmann was censured in 1913 for not writing with sufficient fervour in celebration of the glorious victory of Leipsic; Thoma and Wedekind were continually outraging convention; Rilke and Schaukal were taboo among the ultra-patriots, because they were subject to the romantic and "mimosenhaft" influence of Maeterlinck. But all traces of revolt and exotic beauty vanished in August, 1914, and docile patriotism took their place. Several writers, notably Hugo von Hofmannsthal, publicly acknowledged their conversion to a sterner outlook on life; each of these confessions was hailed as a fresh triumph for Germanism, yet one more loosening of the fetters which had so long held the German intellect and imagination captive.

It must be admitted that many poets sustained the rather unusual rôle of patriot with great ability. One or two of Gerhart Haupt-

nann's lyrics are excellent, in particular his *Reiterlied*, which was dedicated to Fritz von Unruh, a younger fellow-dramatist and poet, who, at the outbreak of war, became an officer in an Uhlan regiment. The opening lines are typical of the sentiment which was almost universal in Germany at the time when they were written:—

“ Three robbers came upon us.
 Who goes there? Who goes there?
 Germany, yield your honour to us.
 Never shall we yield!
 And were you not three, but were you nine,
 My honour and country should still be mine;
 No one shall take them from us,
 God, Emperor, and Germany's army fight for us,
 Never shall we yield!

The German official account of the events leading up to the war, as given in Germany's notorious “ White Book,” may seem to us very unsatisfactory and insufficient, but a glance at the most popular war-poems of the first few months will show how completely it was impressed upon the imagination of the people. The dramatist Hermann Sudermann, for example, in addition to one or two stirring songs, such as his *Kaiserlied*, wrote, in obvious sincerity, a poem entitled, *Die Grosse Stunde* (“ The Great Hour ”), which begins thus:—

“ Whether, O Father in Heaven, we still put our trust in You,
 Or whether You are but a dream of a sacred past—
 See now, we swear to You, witness of Truth,
 We have not desired it—
 This murder, this world-ending murder—
 Which now, with blood-hot sighs
 Stamps over the shuddering earth.
 True to the soil, the bread-giving soil,
 Happy and cheerful in business and trade,
 Peaceful we sat in the oak-tree's shade,
 Peaceful—
 Though we were born to the sword.”

It may be remarked, however, that few poems written during this first period were so regretful or apologetic as this. The temper of the German nation as a whole was warlike; it was not anxious to examine the rights or wrongs of the case; the war was there—that was sufficient; the great opportunity had come for the German people to show its warrior-spirit, its devotion to the State and its military prowess. There was one poet who reflected this mood with peculiar exactness—Richard Dehmel, and in consequence for many months he remained by far the most popular poet in Germany. It would have been almost treasonable for Germans to suggest that his songs were not great masterpieces—landmarks in the history of German literature. But beyond a certain rhythmical facility and vigour, the impartial critic will see nothing very original or remarkable in them. In spite of the patriotic critics who asserted that at last Dehmel's creative period had opened, it seems likely that his work before the war will be much more enduring.

His war-poems occasionally reach an unusual depth of commonplaceness; they are filled with stock phrases—"death's hour," "heroic mind," "Tod," "Rot," "Vaterlandsliebe," "Sieg," "Krieg"—mere following of the outworn Arndt tradition. At other times there is an energy of manner, a flame which consumes the triteness of matter. This is particularly the case in the *Lied an Alle* ("Song to All"), without which no German anthology of war-poetry seems able to appear:—

"Blessèd be now this solemn hour,
Making us one and our hearts of steel;
In everyone's mouth were the words of peace,
But suspicion had paralysed friend and foe,
War now is here,
War for our honour!

One fiery will in its clearness hovers
Over the powder and dust and smoke;
Not for life, oh, not for life,
Is man fighting the battle of life!
Death always comes—
Death divine!

Strong in our faith, we seize the sword,
Fight for the spirit of our race,
Nation, thy honour is at stake,
Man, in sacrifice be thy joy—
Then will come triumph,
Glorious triumph!"

This joy in fighting, then, is the first "Leitmotiv" of German war-poetry—

"Deeds at last,
Pepper for the salad of blood . . ."

as the gentle novelist, Ludwig Ganghofer, humourously put it. The last writers one would expect to find glorifying war—idyllic poets such as Isolde Kurz and Cæsar Flaischlen—published poems full of extremely bellicose sentiments, exhorting Germany to draw the sword and show a world of foes how real warriors can fight. At the same time every event of the war—the important as well as the trivial—was accompanied by an immense amount of lyrical comment. The capture of Liège, the entry into Brussels, the march on Paris, the "victory" of the Marne, the sinking of the three English cruisers by Captain Weddigen, the execution of the spy Hans Lody, the exploits of the *Emden*, even the raising of the financial war-loan, above all the opening of the submarine "blockade"—each of these events had, so to speak, its own literature. The last group of poems—those which hailed Germany's declared intention of blockading England—forms part of a very large body of verse inspired by the second "Leitmotiv"—hate for "perfidious Albion."

This "hate" movement, it is fair to acknowledge, was speedily discredited among intelligent Germans. Several professors and teachers, in particular Professors Förster and Sieper, pour

ridicule on it; Karl Bleibtreu, the dramatist, wrote an emphatic protest against what came to be called "Lissauerei"; and Ernst Lissauer himself, the chief exponent of "hate-poetry," published a partial disclaimer in the *Berlin Tageblatt* for August 12th, 1915. Nevertheless, for the few months it lasted, the "hate" and the "Gott strafe England" cult was extraordinarily intense and fanatical. Many poets helped to stir up the popular frenzy. Herbert Eulenberg, one of Germany's best dramatists, wrote a *Song against England*, in which England's intervention is ascribed solely to "Geldinteressen"; Paul Keller, in an hysterical poem called *Tod England* ("Death to England"), chanted "ewiger Hass" and, addressing this country, shrieked "Judas, thy hand is red!"; Otto Ernst devoted an entire booklet of poems to the task of calling England a "Mordergouvernante"; Ludwig Finck, a well-known writer of South German *Novellen*, summed up the matter in the pun—"Engelland ist Teuffell" ("The land of angels is the land of devils"). Finally, a whole anthology entitled *Wehe dir England!* ("Woe to thee, England!") was published—a complete collection of excited tirades against the arch-enemy of the German race.

These curious products of overheated political passion may have some interest for students of national psychology, but from the literary point of view they are of no account whatever—with one exception. This is, of course, the famous *Hassgesang gegen England!* ("Hymn of Hate against England"), by Ernst Lissauer, which has, what any other "hate-poem" can claim, a refreshing freedom from artificial energy and the *cliché* phrase. The last lines in particular have a restrained vigour and impressiveness which the more fanatical outbursts completely lack. They are an excellent piece of rhetoric, and, read aloud in the original German, have an almost prophetic drone about them:—

"Hate by water and hate by land,
Hate of the head and hate of the hand,
Hate of hammers and hate of crowns,
Hate, throttling hate, from seventy millions.
They love as one and they hate as one,
And all of them have but one foe alone—England!"

Lissauer also wrote several other poems—among the most noteworthy are one on Heligoland, another called *England Dreams*, and a third with the title *Bread*, which first appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in March of 1915. The last is an odd example of how even England's so-called "Aushungerungsplan" was made a theme for poetry:—

"With arms they cannot overpower us,
With hunger they would fain devour us,
Foe beside foe in an iron ring.
Has want crossed our borders, or hunger, or death?
Listen: I chant the tidings of Spring:
Our soil is our ally in this great thing;
Already new bread is growing in the earth.
Save the food, and guard and hoard!
Bread is a sword. . . ."

The most serious criticism which can be made on most of the poets I have mentioned is this—that they are quite out of touch with the realities of war, and are therefore liable to all the faults of commonplace artificiality and rhetoric which result from such a condition. This was clearly shown during the “hate” and “Gott strafe England” period. Professor Wilhelm Förster put the matter concisely in his little essay in idealism entitled *Deutschlands Jugend und der Weltkrieg* (“Germany’s Young Men and the World-War”):—

“Hate disorganises, love disciplines. Fill yourselves with deepest sympathy for all who suffer in war, whose hearts are crushed, whose bodies are broken, whose homes are burned. Fill yourselves with enthusiasm for everything which your nation in the future shall build above these wrecks and ruins, and then charge and fight as one consecrated to death, doing your utmost to end this horror and win a peace which shall make a recurrence of such things impossible. Such a purification from the passion of hate is often easier on the field than at home. Those who remain have an abstract enemy in view.”

It is true that Dehmel, early in the war, volunteered for the front, but he has probably taken no part in the fighting. In regard to the majority of his ultra-Jingo, ineligible fellow-poets the criticism which—even in Germany—has been levelled against them, is, on the whole, justified; they are charged with being merely writers of *Schreibtischlyrik*—poetry written at the writing-table, in perfect security. In spite of the protest of one of their number, the poet and journalist, Alfred Kerr—

“We, who are far from the battle-field,
We fight with you, we die with you. . . .”

no fact is clearer than this, that the poets who, like Rudolf Herzog, cried “To Calais! To Calais! and Death to the ‘Britt,’” were generally men over fifty, skilful or talented writers, in a few cases true artists, but totally unable to appreciate the realities of war and present them in their true light. For many people in Germany it was a relief, after so much noisy and facile patriotism on the part of favourite poets, to turn to less popular writers whose contact with the war had given them artistic sincerity or to those who steadfastly refused to put a barrier between themselves and the artists of opposing nations.

In January, 1915, a young and almost unknown poet named Walter Heymann was killed on the Western Front, in a night attack near Soissons. Shortly afterwards a selection of his letters and poems from the firing-line was published. These seem to have had a sobering effect; the reviews, at least, appear to indicate this. There was nothing in them approaching pacifism or lukewarm patriotism, only a certain questioning—What, after all, are we fighting for? That Frenchman over there—what is he fighting for, and why should I kill him? Another poet-volunteer, Bruno Frank, supplied an answer, pathetic in its ingenuousness: We are fighting because we wish to end war for ever. There is no “kriegerischer Geist” in these utterances; the artist, with clear insight and true imagination, has seen through the outward splendour of war to

the inner, ugly reality. Fritz von Unruh, Hauptmann's friend, poet and soldier, is more martial, but there is little boasting or jubilation in his poems. Here is the beginning of his *Gebet* ("Prayer") :—

" Holy God, in Heaven's height,
Thou who livest eternally,
Give Germany's dreams reality,
Give her a soul again !
And from the battle's powder-smoke,
Send Thou down humility,
Thou from whose mind the world came forth,
Give faith the victory ! "

There are many other signs that militarism has not entirely conquered the intellectuals of Germany. Certain poets, in particular René Schickelée and Ernst Stadler, have made great efforts to keep alive an appreciation for foreign—especially French—culture, and in some way prevent an absolute collapse of that generous cosmopolitanism on which Germans used to pride themselves. Stadler, unfortunately for international culture, met his death on the Western Front some time early in the spring of last year. Among his last correspondence, so the reviews inform us, were several letters dealing with Verlaine and later modern French poets. Schickelée, who is a half-French Alsatian, was his friend in that group of artists which gathered round the periodical *Die Weissen Blätter*. This he still edits, and the fact is a hopeful one for the future of German art after the war. At present an unhealthy national self-consciousness is all-prevailing—"Deutschtum" is making its influence felt in every direction. Verhaeren's lyrical attack on German "barbarians" was received with incredulity. The critics asked, Has he, then, ceased to be *germanisch*?, which shows how the race-fallacy associated with the name of Houston Stewart Chamberlain has affected literary judgments. Or, again, Stefan Georg, the well-known Symbolist poet, has been boycotted because of his refusal to write war-poems; he has ceased, they say, to be "deutsch." But there are a few poets, particularly those who have been brought into actual touch with the war, who remain unaffected by this race-romanticism. They see how impossible it is for German art and German literature to remain for ever devoted to a narrow national ideal; they perceive that no art can thrive for long on mere patriotic bellicosity. Every day, as this brief summary may help to show, the tendency has been for the German poets to turn more and more in the direction of peace, or at least away from empty military boasting and mere blind hate. Even Dehmel, the super-patriot poet, entitles his most recently published poems *Friedensgedichte* ("Poems of Peace"); they are a notable contrast to his work of two years ago. In this Dehmel is typical of German war-poets in general. They may have failed to demonstrate the truth of Vischer's thesis, they may have failed to show how war can produce great lyrics; but they have at least provided us with an extraordinarily voluminous body of verse, sometimes of great interest in itself, but always of the highest value as an index to the changing mood of intellectual Germany.

ALEC W. G. RANDALL.

ORTHODOXY AND HERESY IN THE NEW DAY.

"We cannot get into a mix-up of this sort," writes Frederick Oliver in his "Ordeal by Battle," "without calling new parties into existence. When men are thrown into the crucible of such a war as this, the true ore will tend to run together, the dross to cake upon the surface. No matter to what parties men may have originally owed allegiance, the men who are in earnest and who see realities cannot but come together. Maybe for several centuries the old political distinctions will persist, like other picturesque survivals of ancient customs. But Liberal and Conservative, Radical and Tory, have ceased to be for the present real divisions. They had recently become highly artificial and confusing, and now they are gone, it is to be hoped, for ever."

THE translation of these words into their religious equivalents is obvious and inevitable. When Christian Churches are thrown together into the crucible of such a time as this, there must be a melting of old differences and a fusion of new interests. Doubtless the existing denominational distinctions will persist as interesting survivals of ancient church history. But most of these differences, which for some time have been highly artificial and confusing, are losing their meaning and slipping into the past. George Tyrrell once said that he saw no reason to strain at the gnat of Romanism after he had swallowed the camel of Christianity. Our present situation is much like his. A man ought to find little difficulty with the comparatively negligible theological differences between our many denominations once he has accomplished the preliminary feat of accepting as valid for his own life the simple premises of Christianity as they are found in the life and teaching of Jesus.

For whatever else the war may have done, it has shifted the whole centre of our religious thinking from the speculative and critical problems of our religion to its practical problems. Whereas formerly we were wrapped up in our efforts to define the Inspiration of the Bible, to discover what happened at the Resurrection, to decide how far the miracles can be squared with modern science, to propose some new psychological doctrine of the divinity of Jesus, now we have laid these considerations to one side and are wrestling with such questions as these:—"Precisely what did Jesus mean when He said we are not to resist evil, but are to overcome evil with good; that we are to go out of our way in advance to be reconciled with our brother, and are to love our enemies; and how do these injunctions relate themselves to the particular problems with which we are to-day confronted?"

Indeed, seen in the perspective of this new time, the world of our former theological and ecclesiastical interests seems remote and even trivial. There is a resolute word of Jesus as He set His face to go to Jerusalem which rings in our ears with new imperiousness, "Let the dead bury their dead; go thou and preach the Kingdom of God." The times seem to challenge us to have the

ern courage to leave behind us the relatively dead theological obblems of yesterday and face these other problems, not of speculative dogma, but of applied Christianity which the day lays so heavily upon us. And, as a matter of fact, we begin to suspect that our former effort to achieve a revival of Christian piety by way of a new theology, we were approaching our task in the wrong direction. For in that classic manual of faith, the fourth gospel, is specified not that those who have an adequate theology shall obtain the life, but that those who do the will shall know the doctrine. It seems fairly clear that any valid "new theology" which we achieve must be reached by way of some fresh preliminary discipline in experimental Christianity. Theology is always conclusion and never a premise, and it seems to be the premises of Christianity that are most in question to-day.

The area of religious thought where there is room for keen controversy to-day is comparatively narrow. The actual storm centre would seem to be the Teaching of Jesus Himself, and, in particular, the Sermon on the Mount. There is a certain irony in this situation which gives to our present dilemma added interest. Our liberal Christianity a half-century ago saw that it could not hold the too-ambitious theological outposts of traditional dogma against the advance of modern science, and so began to sound a retreat. Colenso retreated from the Book of Genesis and gave it over to the geologists. From all quarters men began to fall back upon the simple gospel teaching of Jesus as being the central essence of Christianity. The defenders of the faith took it for granted that when they had taken their stand upon this high and restricted ground they had fortified themselves in an impregnable position. As late as 1868 Charles Kingsley could say, "So far, none of her enemies have objected to the Christian ethic."

But since then the situation has been materially altered. There have been Philistine fightings without, and now there are disconcerting fears within. Ten years ago a radical Oxford don wrote, "The last few years have seen a kind of collapse of Christianity. I mean that there exists to-day an enormous and ever-increasing number of persons whom Christianity *ethically* fails to satisfy. The difficulty which young men have to-day in accepting Christianity is not intellectual but moral. I speak that which I know." Words like these seem almost prophetic. For this fortress of the primitive gospel, this citadel of the Sermon on the Mount, so far from being an inviolable theological Zion is, as we have since learned, a tremendously difficult position to hold against the onslaught of brutal facts. And many hard-pressed disciples of Jesus are now looking anxiously around for some way of effecting a dignified and strategic retreat from those beleaguered chapters in the Gospel of Matthew. On the other hand, all sorts of unexpected recruits are making their appearance and offering their services to fight the thing out on just these grounds. It is somewhat of a surprise to find Mr. Bernard Shaw proffering himself as a defender of the faith, yet it is in just that rôle that he presents himself to us in his amazing Tract for the Times, "Androcles and the Lion." "Why not give Christianity a trial?" he asks in the preface to

his strange, double-barrelled play. "The question seems a hopeless one after about 2,000 years of resolute adherence to the old cry, 'Not this man, but Barabbas.' Yet it is beginning to look as if Barabbas was a failure in spite of his strong right hand, his victories, his empires, his millions of money. 'This man' has not been a failure yet, for nobody has ever been sane enough to try his way. The moneyed, respectable, capable world has been steadily anti-Christian and Barabbasque since the crucifixion; and the specific doctrine of Jesus has not in all that time been put into political or general social practice. I am no more a Christian than Pilate was, or you, gentle reader; and yet I am ready to admit that after contemplating the world and human nature for nearly sixty years, I see no way out of the world's misery but the way which would have been found by Christ's will if He had undertaken the work of a modern practical statesman."

The one really vital distinction between Christians to-day is the distinction which instantly appears the moment you apply the drastic acid test of the undiluted words of Jesus. For whenever the simple gospel statements of Jesus about the method of the religious life are presented to any company of modern Christians you get a double reaction, half reacting toward those statements and half reacting away from them. Neither reaction has clearly defined itself as yet. The people who want to take Jesus at His word do not see their way through, and the people who cannot take Him at His word have nothing better to offer. Neither of those very characteristic modern reactions has been thought through to its consequences; but, nevertheless, they both exist, and they constitute for the time being the one really important difference between us.

Half of us, when we re-read for the hundredth time the Sermon on the Mount, bow our heads in humility and say "Yes," and the other half of us shake our heads in perplexity and say "Yes, but——" and that last qualification means far more than the preliminary affirmation. Half of us feel the tremendous hopefulness, the paradoxical wisdom of Jesus' way of dealing with life's problems, and the other half of us feel with equal depth the tragic hopelessness, the plain folly of taking these baffling words of Jesus at their face value. I venture to think that this schism already apparent in every company must eventually mean some new wholesale realignment of religious loyalties. Whatever meaning the words "heresy" and "orthodoxy" may come to have in the new day will be very largely determined by the solution of these latest problems. And the strange significance of this new distinction is this, that it is not a distinction between church and church, but is a rift that runs across all churches dividing each congregation and each denomination into these two more or less clearly-marked groups. For the present we have not found it possible to see eye to eye. Our reactions to the time, and to the prescribed remedy for the time in the gospel of Jesus, are so different that we find it very hard to understand one another. And yet it is, surely, a hopeful sign that wherever Christians meet and talk this is the one subject in their minds and on their lips. It is at least a pledge of the fact

that we are not content to fiddle old theological tunes while Rome burns.

The case against the literal reading of the gospels is so strong that it needs no "apologia" here. The whole crushing burden of fact, the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible time is on that side. There is everything to be said for "inching along" toward the Kingdom of Heaven pretty much as we have been doing, or taking the little you can get when obviously you can't get all. And yet this natural, almost inevitable reaction away from the plain teaching of Jesus as it stands, does not carry with it any real promise that Christianity will do more in the future than it has done in the past to keep the world out of sin and misery. We are all of us wallowing in a slough of despond, from which we see no near way of escape. And the best that we can do is to share with one another our initial impressions of our situation, and of the proposed means of escape from our extremity.

All I wish, therefore, is to record two or three personal impressions which are becoming more and more deeply rooted as these days go on. A first impression is this, that we ought to look twice at the very familiar current theory that the gospel of Jesus is binding upon individuals but is not applicable to groups of men or wide relationships. This is a very common position to-day. Jesus's teaching is meant to work in private life, it cannot be worked in the world of international relationships. It is worth while suggesting that this general point of view is a strange recurrence in our modern world of the impulse to monasticism, bred to-day of just the same mood which prompted it yesterday, the sense of defeat and the suspicion that Christianity never can overcome the world. Those who tell us to-day that Christianity cannot be applied to international politics, are simply the lineal successors of those first hermits who left Alexandria and went out into the deserts of Egypt. St. Simeon Stylites has been for centuries an object of our manly protestant contempt. But the top of his lonely column has been getting very crowded of late with a rapidly increasing number of pillar saints from the modern world. Unless we are willing to retract our condemnation of monasticism in its claim to be the essence of Christianity and return candidly to the hermit days and hermit ways of yesterday—unless we are prepared to defend the thesis that Jesus was essentially a monk—it will be very difficult for us to explain to ourselves and others just why Jesus's programme is for individuals but not for corporations. To renounce the dream that the kingdoms of this world ought to be the kingdoms of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is to surrender those kingdoms to Satan and retire into the wilderness of a purely private piety.

In the second place, it must seem to the plain man that the very familiar business of translating the Sermon on the Mount into a somewhat less exacting requirement, and underwriting it with a practically indefinite series of exceptions, promises ill for the future of the Church. We are accustomed to be told that it is not the letter of Christ's teaching, but His spirit that is binding upon us; let this vague "spirit of Christ," as it too often appears in our

liberal Protestant interpretation, is something much less heroic and exacting and revolutionary than the original letter. When this distinction is ordinarily made, the spirit is supposed to be something larger and freer and finer than the letter. I think we have reason to suspect any spiritualising of the Gospels which only succeeds in minimising their letter to fit present facts. This that, to-day, we are accustomed to call the "spirit" of Christ's words and life, like the spirit of German grammar, seems usually to find its actual expression, not in the ample principles at the head of the page, but in the wilderness of exceptions to the principle at the bottom of the page. As a simple matter of propagandism it does not promise well for our preaching of the gospel of Jesus that we must say to the world, "This is the plain letter of Jesus's word; but note exceptions at the bottom of the page and further spiritual attenuation of his teaching in our voluminous appendix!"

Furthermore, this business of underwriting the original sayings of Jesus with a long list of permissible exceptions is due to the irresistible but insidious temptation to make Christianity the umpire or referee of the game of civilisation as it is now played. To conceive of Christianity as merely an umpire working with the existing rules is to lose sight of the original revolutionary nature of the gospel. There are a great many pressing contemporary questions to which there is no clear Christian answer, simply because the premises upon which the questions rest are candidly un-Christian. It is worth while remembering that Jesus himself, when confronted with concrete problems which had an irreligious premise, refused to attempt a religious answer. I see no reason to think that the disciple must improve upon the practice of his master. Jesus was far more concerned with inaugurating an actual revolution in the world than he was with assuming immediate dictatorship over the world as it now exists. When, therefore, the Christian is confronted with such questions as these, "What is the religious difference between a Gatling gun and an aerial bomb?" "State in the terms of a punitive expedition the bearing of the Sermon on the Mount upon the Mexican question," or, "Deduce from the teaching of Jesus the size of standing Army and Navy which is compatible with love of our enemies," I think he may well follow the example of Jesus, and leave that sort of problem unanswered. For the effort to give a Christian answer to such questions as these commits the Christian in advance to the un-Christian ground on which the questions rest, and ties him up with things as they are. It is just because Christianity has been so tied up with things as they are, because the Church has been trying to referee the game of civilisation as the world now plays it rather than to revolutionise the game, that we have landed where we now are. It is just because the "saints" have yielded to the seductive temptation to become umpires of business and political transactions as they are now conducted, and have shirked the more radical task of being revolutionists that we are at present so far removed from the original mind of Christ. But what else does "conversion to Christianity" mean than an actual transvaluation of existing values and the discovery of an entirely unique and different method of approaching

our human problems which distinguishes the new man in Christ Jesus from the "old man" whose major impulses are those that look, not to Galilee, but to Neanderthal. The gospel of Jesus was not advanced as a set of checks and balances to be applied directly to the natural man. It looks for nothing less drastic than an actual private and social revolution.

Finally, it is no indictment of the position of those who find themselves groping blindly after the letter of Jesus's teaching that they cannot give us in advance a categorical answer to all the objections which we can urge against them. Mark Rutherford says somewhere that it is no sign of any great profundity of mind to be able to ask questions no one can answer. Confessedly the advocates of the letter of the primitive and revolutionary teaching of Jesus cannot furnish us with a chart of the untried way which they see ahead of them, or a map of the city of God upon earth which they believe lies at the far end of the road. The practical, hard-headed man cannot dismiss the Sermon on the Mount from serious consideration simply because he does not know where it will take him. I suppose that his common-sense neighbours in Ur of the Chaldees urged this consideration very strongly upon Abraham when he went out not knowing whither he went. But it is no indictment of Abraham that he had no map of the Promised Land, and that he did not know the way to get there until he had actually made the pilgrimage of faith. Indeed, this is just the quality in the man which commended him to his descendants and gave to him his prestige as the forefather of all genuinely religious men.

Nobody can prophesy in advance what would happen if we were to take Jesus at His word and put His programme to the test. But that is not a serious indictment of the programme. In his study of the life of Newman, James Anthony Froude says: "He told us what he believed to be true. He did not know where it would carry him. No one who has ever risen to any great height in this world has refused to move till he knows where he is going. He is impelled on each step which he takes by a force within himself. He satisfies himself only that the step is a right one, and leaves the rest to Providence." That is the real spiritual weakness of our time. We are afraid to move till we know where we are going. We have lost sight of the venturesomeness of faith. We decorate the tombs of Abraham and Luther and the Pilgrim Fathers, men who literally went out not knowing whither they went, but we have not the courage to perpetuate their spirit and continue their adventure. We must have given us in advance a detailed description of the steps by which we are to reach the blessed city and a map of the city itself with our private freehold there already specified. And that is just the thing we cannot have. It is not going to be very difficult to keep on going around in the old, familiar, vicious circle of civilisation as it now is. It is very hard, indeed, for the individual to get out of that circle and move in a new orbit. But somebody has got to break away, somebody has got to break the spell of things as they now are, unless we are to go on in a cycle of increasing tragedies. If not Christianity, then some radical economic revolution, like Socialism or Syndicalism, will finally break the evil charm that

seems to have settled on us all. Surely it was the presence or absence of this quality in the lives of his disciples that Jesus had in mind when He cried, as He looked forward into the unknown future, "When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?"

Let me conclude with a trenchant and suggestive paragraph which Tolstoi quotes from Herzen: "What will there be beyond the walls of the world we leave behind? Terror seizes us—the void, expanse, freedom. . . . How can we go without knowing whither? How can we lose without seeing any acquisition? If Columbus had reflected thus he would never have weighed anchor. It is madness to sail the sea without knowing the way, to sail the sea no one has ever traversed before—to make for a country the existence of which is a question. But with this madness he discovered a new world. Of course, if the nations could move from one furnished apartment to another it would be easier; but, unfortunately, there is no one to arrange the new quarters. In the future it is worse than on the sea—there is nothing; it will be what circumstances and men make it."

"I dimly guess what Time in mists confounds,
Yet ever and anon a trumpet sounds
From the hid battlements of eternity;
Those shaken mists a space unsettle, then
Round the half-glanced turrets slowly wash again,
But not ere Him who summoneth
I first have seen . . .
His name I know and what His trumpet saith."

WILLARD L. SPERRY.

WE regret to record the death, at the age of seventy-three, of Sir John McDougall, a Director since 1891 of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW COMPANY, LIMITED. He succeeded the late Sir Percy Bunting as the Chairman of the Company. A brief appreciation of his public work and influence, from the pen of Dr. Scott Lidgett, will be found at the end of this month's Literary Supplement.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE NEW SCHOOLHOUSE. By J. E. G. DE M.	761
REVIEWS	765
HIGHER CRITICISM AND THE OLD TESTAMENT; PHYSICAL WELFARE OF MOTHERS AND CHILDREN; PROOFS OF IMMORTALITY; ANCIENT SARDINIA; AN OLD SOLDIER.	
SHORTER REVIEWS:—"Memoir of Arthur John Butler," etc.	776
NOTICES OF BOOKS	778
SIR JOHN McDOUGALL: AN APPRECIATION	779

THE NEW SCHOOLHOUSE.

TRADITION is a wonderful thing. However unconscious of it we may be, it is moulding us from dawn to eve, from eve to dawn. We live by tradition and we are making it all the day long. The little boy, with impressionable mind trotting beside his father, is absorbing it at every running step. The little girl, sedately moulding herself on her mother's model, is drinking it in at every pore. To each of them grandparents and those lines of ancestors who retire from view at a rate that perhaps may be measured by the inverse square of the distance in time, are full of fascination, especially if there are family portraits to eke out the illusion. That ruffian there, ill-painted and unkempt, lived before the Reformation, was a friend and servant of Richard Crookback, and (we fondly suspect) had a hand in the tragedy of the Tower. But as children how much he meant to us, his sins forgiven, and all for the sake of a twinkle in his eye that we all have inherited. He is in our tradition: that twinkle looked on Caxton, and we turn to our books and handle our *cunabula* as though that fifteenth-century eye had made them. Then, again, there is our Elizabethan ancestress, the Queen of women in our eyes, who spoke Italian and Spanish as well as French, read her Tully and her Flaccus with delight, preferred Petrarch to Dante and Ariosto to both, and adorned her youth with a romance worthy of these. But a hard woman withal, and a lover of money. These latter things we forget, or she is in our tradition, and the younger Holbein in his inimitable portrait remembers none of them. It is the same everywhere. Families, institutions, schools, colleges, churches, cathedrals—all have their traditions, which form a sort of body of doctrine or wisdom that our souls inhabit, a body refined of all the accidentals and all the disagreeable things, a body so ideal that it is a very Palace of Souls. Peculiarly is this true of schools. The Wiltwater Grammar School has its traditions running up, or down, from mediæval times, enriched by every generation, and at last refined to such a degree that every little schoolboy becomes, as it were,

not only an inhabiter of the tradition, but a veritable living stone in the structure of the Palace. Now, it so happened that the pious Founder of the school was a woman, the daughter of a Palatine house, who, herself the last of her line, vowed, as she laid her little child in the grave, to erect an eternal memorial that should be to little children for evermore what she herself would have wished to be to her son. Ample was the endowment, and in later ages as it grew more ample, surplus funds were devoted to the teaching of girls. Many a nunnery benefited in pre-Reformation days, and then after the great Revolution of 1688 a little charity school for girls was founded out of the funds, and this flickered on proud of its womanly source, but with no stately abiding place until after the year 1869, when the Endowed Schools Act made it possible to erect a school that had much the same objects in view for girls that the Old Schoolhouse, with its delightful quadrangle, had for boys. A woman of great wisdom, iron will, and high ideals was its first ruler. She, indeed, was chosen before the New Schoolhouse on the hill was built, and she saw to it that it incorporated something of the spirit of the real foundress who lived and died so many centuries before. She was too wise to imitate the actual structure of the boys' school. Girls are, after all, not boys. But the school was built round and incorporated a very ancient building, a ruinous chapel of the fifteenth century. It had been the chapel of an old house that tradition gave to the foundress of the school. Restored, it became the chapel of the New Schoolhouse, and round this centre was built in elliptical fashion the new buildings. There was an arcade or covered cloister that ran from the great school to the chapel. For the rest there was a vast ellipse of emerald turf on which the windows of the buildings looked, and all eyes saw the lovely lawn, and in its midst the architectural gem which was the school's link with the past.

Miss Grain had before her a tremendous task. From the first the school was full with its appointed number of boarders, with its considerable army of day scholars, some of whom boarded in the little town. But the school was a rabble, despite its order, its discipline, its university achievements. Years passed before it found itself. Yet Miss Grain watched the slow progress with untroubled heart. She was true to her name. She knew that the school in a sense had to die before it could be born. From her point of view it was dying all these years. Her staff knew it too, and, being young, were furious. They thought that it required merely the wave of the pedagogic wand, the magic of University hoods, the latest methods of teaching, perfect discipline, excellent taste, to make it something better than the Old Schoolhouse *down*, they repeated *down*, in the town. But Miss Grain was under no such illusion. She was excellent friends with the old headmaster, and he, a judge of wines, said to her one day, "You are laying down your wine very well, Miss Grain. Don't expect it to mature very fast." "Do you think that it will be a school in my time?" she asked anxiously. "Frankly, I do not. It took over five hundred years to bring my school to life, and to be truthful, Miss Grain, I do not think you will live so long." "But," said she, as she buttoned up her

leather jacket and shook his hand at the door of the master's lodge as she faced the hill and the winter wind: "Surely, we have some part in your tradition?" "Well," said he, stroking his iron-grey beard and knitting those eyebrows of his that had terrified many a rascal of a boy, "well, that never occurred to me before. Have girls any traditions?" Miss Grain replied tartly, as she passed into the gloomy afternoon: "It was, at any rate, a woman who gave you your tradition." The headmaster, who was never averse to a just rebuke, thought deeply over this, and took action. The first result of that action was a modification of the statutory schemes of the two schools, by which certain exhibitions were created for both schools bearing identical names, "The Lady Constance Exhibitions" tenable at certain places of higher education. A second result was a less tangible one. The Headmaster begged the loan of the ancient chapel for an Annual Commemoration of Benefactors, and suggested that Miss Grain should also have an annual service. A third and even less substantial event followed: the presentation to the girls' school from an unknown donor of a Missal that was, in fact, known to have belonged to the foundress. Then the school actually died. An epidemic smote it. The girls were scattered, and Miss Grain had nearly a whole term and the long vacation to rest and think things out. When the school re-assembled in the autumn she realised that it was at last alive. There was no apparent outward difference. The Venus de Medici at one end of the hall smiled benignly at the Praxitelean Faun at the other, just as if the school were still dead. But that break after a quarter of a century of unremitting work had told. For one thing the girls had been passionately anxious to get back; for another a generation of mothers had arisen who had been at the school; for a third thing the University Colleges had missed the girls who would normally have come up from the school. But these were small things. In the outside world womanhood was finding itself, and the fact re-acted on the school. The school had steadily, or rather Miss Grain had steadily, worked with the end in view that every girl who left the school should leave it with a sense of vocation and should feel that she owed that sense to the school. A growing circle of women began to look at the chapel as the centre of their widening circle of time, as it had been the focus in their school days of their spacious lawn. The school began to be for a larger and larger circle something in the nature of a shrine. And Miss Grain, as she grew older, saw that her goal was possible of accomplishment. The re-assembled school after the break had given her new hope. It began to give out a single note such as a great church bell gives when one taps it with the fore-finger nail, a note identical with its own great boom. But it took still some time for a new girl to become incorporated, part of the spiritual structure of the Bell, so that on a word she responded with the exact Note of the School. At the old school the boys, the new boys, instantly responded. They were, however stupid, overwhelmed by the tradition of the school, were absorbed by it and became part of its Note. Miss Grain knew that this could only slowly come unless something wonderful happened finally to weld the Bell-metal into a Bell of purest tone.

The war came, and the Wonderful Thing happened. It was in this wise; and perhaps this is the true significance of tragedy, that it makes men and women realise all that they might be.

Many of the mistresses at the school were old girls. That was part of Miss Grain's policy. On the outbreak of war a number of mistresses took up definite war work, and among them were three old girls who went into training for Red Cross work: there was the gym. mistress, a paragon of muscle, good temper, and common-sense; there was the history specialist, who was regarded by the Sixth as really too good looking altogether, and too just for human nature's daily food, and was suspected by the younger members of the Classical Division of being a direct descendant of a masterpiece by Skopas in the Mausoleum; and there was the minute, nervous Froebel-certificated girl who made heaven in the First Form. They disappeared from sight, and nobody thought any more of them after a term except for an occasional moan at the loss of muscle, of justice, and of tenderness severally associated with these three. Miss Grain, of course, had news of them and of their work; but news grew scantier, for they had gone East. At last came news that stang the school and the whole district into recollection. The three were dead. A hospital ship had been lost, and these three were among the missing. To the last they had stood to their task. That unnecessary item of news came to hand. The Greek goddess who had been so dear and winsome and just; the girl of thews who had been so joyous; the tender fragile little thing who loved the children so; dead, all dead, the miraculous flotsam of the tyrannous tides, dear daughters of duty dead beyond recall, silent for evermore. The Greek goddess sang like a thrush when she was happy. She sang, they said, in the boats as they were shelled—silent for evermore.

At a meeting of the staff the mistresses asked Miss Grain what announcement she would make to the school about her niece and the others. "None," she said, and in answer to expostulations replied, "You are too young to understand." The school was restless and expected something to be said at prayers, but days passed and nothing came. Meantime, the girls collected memories of the dead, little gifts, little sayings. Here She stood; there She sat; this was her song; that was her stroke at tennis; this was her book; pansies were her flowers. Gradually the dead took new form. They entered into the soul of the school. The blow seemed to have turned Miss Grain to stone. The glory of that June weather showed her old and grey, old and grey like the stones on the hill that had seen so many sorrows; grey like the houses on the moor, grey and hard amid the glories of the sun-smitten gorse and the young heather and the leaping bracken. Then one morning she announced that a memorial service for three members of the school would be held in the chapel, that each form was to elect representatives to attend, that the rest of the school would meet in the hall during the service, and she would be glad if they, in the absence of mistresses, would think over a fitting memorial. Of that memorial service it is not seemly to write, not even of the lesson beginning, "Let us praise famous men," nor of the sermon on the

text, "Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all." It was a service that is so recorded in certain hearts as to make words unreal. Certainly never in the long centuries had the Missal of the Foundress known such triumphant woe.

But the meeting in the great School Hall was a different matter. There the girls were free. The Head of the school, her hair up, a new and unstable venture, addressed the girls from beside the Faun of Praxiteles, and spoke freely, holding in her large red hands (for she was still in that stage) a tennis racket. "Order," said she, "and if Janet Pickleback doesn't stop making that noise she goes out; and you too, Elsie. I won't have anyone in the tournament who doesn't listen. Now we have thought of some sort of a memorial for, for, you know. It is like this. Everyone has to give something, from a shilling up to anything, and people outside are going to give too—Janet Pickleback, leave the hall, hop—and that will give the school a hospital scholarship for ever and ever. Please don't snuffle down the hall. Snuffling's nonsense. No, I'm not snuffling, Elsie Bodkin. Well, as I was saying, we will have a Tablet in the chapel, with just this on it: the names and all that, and underneath" (she read it out of a piece of crumpled paper) "just this:—

"AMOR VINCIT OMNIA."

Then the mourners came back, and old Miss Grain—"Barley" was her nickname—dismissed the school. The tennis tournament had been fixed for that Saturday, and it took place. But "Barley" spent the afternoon in the chapel with the Missal in her hands. As she sat there she heard her Goddess singing. "Amor Vincit Omnia; yes, even death." And the school had found its soul.

J. E. G. DE M.

REVIEWS.

HIGHER CRITICISM AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.*

It was about time that the manifold absurdities, the astounding crankiness of some of the current Higher Criticism of the Old Testament was exposed. The methods of the Baconians in respect to the authorship of the plays written by Shakespeare are mild compared with the methods of certain higher critics of Germany, England, and America with respect to the authorship of the books of the Old Testament. Such methods have now been adequately exposed in a trenchant fashion by one of the most eminent of living Egyptologists, Professor Naville, in his Schweich Lectures for 1915, which deal with "the text according to the Higher

* *The British Academy. The Text of the Old Testament.* By Édouard Naville, D.C.L., LL.D., D.Litt., F.S.A, Professor at the University of Geneva, Foreign Associate of the Institute of France. The Schweich Lectures, 1915. (London. Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 3s. net.)

Criticism," "Babylonian Cuneiform and the Canaanite Script," and "Aramaic and Hebrew," and are a development of the ideas put forward in his work, *Archæology of the Old Testament*. Professor Naville's own position as to the script of the Old Testament is stated as follows:—

"The books of the Old Testament are not in their original form. The earliest of them were written in Babylonian cuneiform, the later ones in Aramaic. Their present form was given them when the rabbis turned the books into the vernacular of Jerusalem, to which a new script, the square Hebrew, derived from Aramaic, was adopted. The Judaic dialect, written with that alphabet, is what we call Hebrew. . . . The present language of the books, the Hebrew of the Bible, is the vernacular idiom of Jerusalem, which became a literary language when the Hebrews put it in writing, and invented the square Hebrew. . . . Instead of the literary Aramaic the rabbis turned the sacred writings into the language of the people, that which was heard at Jerusalem and spoken by all classes of the population, just as later on the authors of the books of the New Testament used also for their writings the popular language. A change in that direction would, in my opinion, exactly produce the variety of style which may be noticed in the books. We cannot suppose that they were all translated by the same man; there may be also a difference of date."

Professor Naville takes a wise course in dealing with the higher critics. He does not attack, it needs no attack, the extreme German view that has had as its result for certain minds the dissolution of the sanctity of the Bible. We are seeing now in this war the significance of the German attack on revealed religion. It does not need the Nasmyth hammer of Professor Naville's mind to deal with this type of thing. He prefers to deal with a scholar like the late Dr. Briggs, "who in all his discussions and arguments shows great respect for Holy Writ; but who at the same time is a convinced disciple of the Higher Critical School." Dr. Briggs was an enthusiast who believed that Higher Criticism alone could "vindicate Scripture against the infatuated defenders of tradition." Professor Naville adds that the result:—

"has turned out to be just the contrary of what Dr. Briggs expected. I have no hesitation in saying that, apart from the religious point of view, nothing has shaken, I may even say shattered, the confidence of many in the authority of Scripture so completely as Higher Criticism. Readers of the numerous books which appear every year, especially in Germany, on the ancient history of the East, or on any subject connected with the Old Testament, will easily see what remains of this authority."

Professor Naville turns the processes of criticism on the Higher Critics themselves, and they are very angry: "Let us judge them with the judgment with which they judge others." Dr. Briggs sweeps away, as authors, Moses, Ezra, Nehemiah, Jeremiah, David. "The great mass of the Old Testament was written by authors whose names and connection with their writings are lost in oblivion." So says Dr. Briggs, and he denies all legitimacy to tradition; he declares that "tradition is the bastard of history."

No modern historian adopts that view. The historical value of continuous tradition is more and more recognised in the science of history. The tradition as to the authorship of the basic books of the Old Testament is a written tradition of immense antiquity. It is not difficult to prove to the satisfaction of many that a book which is in fact by a particular author, and has always been attributed to him, is by someone else. Differences of style will enable the higher critic of, say, *The Divine Comedy* to point to passages of doubt, and so cast doubt on the whole book. It could easily be proved that Dante never wrote the *Comedy*, that Chaucer never wrote the *Canterbury Tales*, that Shakespeare never wrote his plays. This from the point of view of the higher critic is the simplest thing in the world. Set Dr. Briggs down to the *Comedy*, and his analysis will give you a whole school of authors who have pieced together a library of works, and produced the *Inferno*, the *Purgatorio*, the *Paradiso*. This, in fact, has been done for Shakespeare, and there would be no difficulty in doing it for any other writer whatsoever. But, as Professor Naville says, there is a difficulty in assigning a de-authorised book to another author. It is all very well for the Higher Critics to find that Genesis consists of 264 fragments pieced by a *redactor*, but what about this imaginary *redactor* who is said by them to have completed his work in the fourth century? Tradition is here replaced by pure invention and by pure nonsense to anyone who has any literary sense. Dr. Briggs tells us that that perfect poem which is beyond all doubt to the literary mind a single whole, chapter xlviii. of Genesis, describing the visit of Joseph to his father, consists of twelve fragments by four different authors between the ninth and the fourth century, B.C. Professor Naville gives us the analysis supplied by what we may call the Higher Baconians, and it is impossible to retain a vestige of gravity in the face of such nonsense. The Higher Baconians multiply authors to meet textual incongruities revealed by a microscopic analysis of a text which is in itself as much a translation from an original as our English Bible. In the case of the critic who laughs at the value of tradition, there is something absurd when he postulates the existence of a school of writers without any evidence at all on the subject other than his own arbitrary re-grouping of the text of the Pentateuch. Professor Naville boldly attacks Principal Skinner on this point. This type of reasoning is

“an example of a kind of criticism found in a considerable number of German historical and philological works. . . . The principle of the system is this: the texts are not to be taken in their obvious and clear sense; they have a hidden meaning or hidden purpose which is revealed by the critic, and which is the interpretation he gives of the text in accordance with his own ideas. In order to support this interpretation, it is necessary to imagine a fact or suppose the existence of a man or school, of which there is no historical evidence and which cannot be established by real arguments. Nevertheless, this new creation is so completely identified with history, its historical value is so well recognised, that the critic takes it as a solid basis, so that the contrary opinion, derived from the plain meaning of the text, becomes for him a hypothesis.”

Professor Naville is probably unfamiliar with the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy that was thrust upon the public here some years before the war by a ragged battalion of Higher Critics. In fact, his description of Higher Criticism as applied to Moses and others exactly describes this Higher Criticism as applied to Shakespeare and others. The type of mind is the same, but the English Biblical critics have hitherto saved themselves from the ridicule that has overwhelmed the Higher Baconians by hiding under the authority of German scholars. We therefore commend to Professor Naville the painful but very humorous story of the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy. However, Professor Naville does his own ironic trouncing very thoroughly. How, he asks, did J (the Judaic author of the ninth century) and E (the Ephramistic author of the eighth), those unknown and nameless creations of the Higher Critics for the purpose of securing a source for the history of Joseph, how did they come to have any knowledge of Joseph other than traditional outlines of his life? Tradition, indeed, could not have preserved the detailed story; it was not, in fact, preserved in Egypt; there must have been the early, the contemporary, or nearly contemporary record. "This narrative can only have been written in Egypt, by a man like Moses, who was a Hebrew, and who had access to the court of Pharaoh. Moses has written not only the Egyptian part, but the whole of Genesis, as it is maintained by tradition. There are several Mosaic touches which reveal the man who wrote in Egypt and who had Egypt before his eyes." This form of argument, their own argument, lashes the Germans, who having constructed their theory regard it as sacrosanct, to fury. Professor Koenig shouts out: "It is unmethodical to scatter by the way such isolated passages throughout an investigation, in order to arouse suspicion against a great conviction, the new theory as to the Pentateuch." We might add that the authorship of Moses and the authorship of Shakespeare are also great convictions. Again, Deuteronomy is either by Moses or it is a forgery. There is no getting away from this position. It claims to be written by Moses. "These be the words that Moses spake." Who is this Moses? Is he the emasculated shadow of the critics, or the great lawgiver who spoke face to face with God? The method of the higher criticism in the case of Genesis (and elsewhere) is: "A document does not agree with a system or theory, therefore the document must be corrupt or interpolated." It is only fair to German scholars to say that this method is not restricted to Holy Writ. It is used in all German historical research: find your theory, fit your facts to it. Professor Naville holds (and for this purpose it is not necessary to accept his whole theory) that the facts are totally inconsistent with the higher critical theory. When Abram left Babylonia in the age of Hammurabi and settled in Canaan, he carried his religious tablets with him, the source of Genesis, written in a tongue that was the written language of Canaan, and became the literary language of Moses, and had always been "the language of laws." In that language Moses wrote his books. This view is perhaps extreme, but has been confidently advanced by Colonel Conder and Professor Sayce, as

well as Professor Naville. This collection of tablets (not books in our modern sense) was converted into books in our modern sense by, possibly, Ezra. The books as we have them are not the original documents. The Higher Critics have wasted their substance on the verbal structure of translations. It is clear enough now that the religious books of the Hebrews were not written in the foreign Canaanite script which Sir Arthur Evans has shown came from Crete, was a trade script and was not really prevalent. Professor Naville strongly insists that Aramaic was the language of Canaan, and Aramaic became the script of everyday life. Cuneiform was not practical enough. This script was contemporaneous with cuneiform, and it is concluded here that the Prophets wrote in Aramaic. The conclusion is based and built up on the Elephantine papyri, and is not a theory at all. Moreover, Aramaic "was the only written language of the Hebrews." The Jews could not have used the Phœnician script of the Samaritans. Jaho, the name of God in the Hebrew religious books, is an Aramaic word, a fact of no little importance. Professor Naville suggests as probable that it was in the busy age of Solomon that Aramaic script began to spread, and it is equally probable that Ezra was the scholar who turned the cuneiform tablets into Aramaic. The tablets may well, in accordance with the practice of that age, have been carried to Babylon. Ezra, a man of like training to Moses, gave the books of Moses anew to Israel, and these not many decades before our era were transcribed into the new formal square Hebrew script. This is a rational theory based on facts. The theorisings of Dr. Briggs, Professor Eduard Meyer, and others, are often mere wrenching of facts to fit their theories. The Higher Criticism of the Old Testament is not inconsistent with faith when it is based on sound principles of research. But much of the criticism here attacked is either sound nor sensible.

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PHYSICAL WELFARE OF MOTHERS AND CHILDREN.*

The Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees have produced these comprehensive and immensely-valuable Reports because, in the words of the Secretary, Mr. A. L. Hetherington, "the rate of infantile mortality, with its predominant causes, and the health-supervision of children from infancy to the age of admission to schools are—in their opinion—among the most important questions of the present day relating to the well-being of the people."

The Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, in a preliminary note, points out that, "on the average in England and Wales there occur week by week sixty-seven deaths of mothers as the result of pregnancy and parturition, of which number twenty-

* The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. *Report on the Physical Welfare of Mothers and Children, England and Wales*. Vol. I. By E. W. Hope, M.D., D.Sc., Medical Officer of Health for the City and Port of Liverpool, and Professor of Public Health, University of Liverpool. Vol. II. (Midwives and Midwifery, Voluntary Work for Infant Welfare, Play Centres and Playgrounds), by Janet M. Campbell, M.D., M.S., one of the Senior Medical Officers, Board of Education. (East Port, Dunfermline.)

four are due to puerperal infection." The great variation of incidence in different districts shows that a great part of this great loss is preventible. The same is true of the mortality among infants:—

"The conditions leading to this excessive maternal and early infantile mortality are complex; but two stand out as most important. These are, the lack of skilled medical nursing and ancillary domestic assistance; and the fact that such assistance as is obtainable is given under unsatisfactory domiciliary conditions. One out of eight families in England and Wales lives in a dwelling comprising only one or two rooms; and in these rooms confinement must take place while ordinary domestic life is continued. It is not surprising that under such circumstances the mortality of mothers and the ante—and post—natal mortality of infants should be excessive."

Mr. Hope points out that public interest is awakening to the necessities of the problem. Sanitary authorities are not always able or willing to do more than attend to the most pressing needs of their districts. The housing problem is still shamefully with us, despite the great energy of many authorities. "Even in districts where the local authorities have dealt manfully with the evil, an immense amount still remains to be done." But there are some districts (we venture to refer to an area in South London with many underground dwellings) where the conditions are still shameful. Public spirit is sometimes lacking, and local authorities are often ignorant and heedless. Then there is the need for an "adequate midwifery service," which "has led some County Councils and County Nursing Associations to provide scholarships for students in midwifery." All education authorities should attend to this. Mr. Hope tells us that "with this question is intimately associated the facilities afforded for the training of medical officers of health, health visitors, midwives, voluntary workers, and for enlightening administrative bodies and the people generally. The recognition by the Universities, and other educational centres, of the importance of the subject has been of material help in meeting the requirements of administrative bodies." Maternity homes for rural districts are needed to an extent that only those who live in remote districts can know. Infant clinics and schools for mothers are spreading, but the supply in no substantial measure meets the demand, while there are very few ante-natal welfare centres. The case of the illegitimate child is sad indeed, and requires very special consideration. Indeed, the whole question of the physical care of mothers and infants needs the most thorough and careful combination of voluntary and State effort. Here is a field in which the wealthy philanthropist may shine side by side with the poor but equally public-spirited worker, and jointly with public-spirited local authorities and enthusiastic State Departments. The State is certainly awake, and there will be few limits to its efforts if the private individual and the local authorities combine to stamp down the dreadful death-rate of mothers and children at a time when every child born into the world has, if we may say so, an added value.

The figures available are most striking. If the death-rate of

male infants during the last fifty years had been the *same* as it is now, "at least 500,000 more men would have been available for the defence of the country to-day." Even now 90,000 of the infants born annually "in England and Wales fail to survive the first twelve months of life, and at each one of the succeeding four years of age a large, though rapidly diminishing, proportion succumbs." The loss is still so great that better conditions do not make up for the fall of the birth-rate that has gone on for many years past; to infer that "a diminished birth-rate is a good thing, because infant mortality is lessened, is unsound." It is the high birth-rate that dominates the increase of population. The local conditions have a direct relation to the infantile death-rate, since the germs that abound enter the child's digestive tract with the food, and cause diarrhoea and enteritis:—

"In towns where an out-of-date conservancy system is employed, or the pail-closet system used, the infant mortality is excessive; conversely the lowest incidence of diarrhoeal disease occurs when the districts are supplied with a water-carriage system. . . . If the general sanitation of the area is good, it becomes a far easier task to bring into effective operation the measures directed more precisely to domestic necessities and the rearing of infants. . . . It is undeniable that many Sanitary Authorities have even now made little, if any, effort to promote schemes in connection with infant and maternal welfare."

This is a terrible indictment, and upon this note we must close these brief words on a publication of absolutely the first national importance. The war has brought the value of child-life home to the narrowest-minded of men. We trust that there will not be a local authority in this country that will not instruct its clerk to obtain a copy of these Reports, and to peruse the same and to report on the volumes in respect of what must be done locally to check suffering and the present intolerable loss of that chiefest of national capital—child-life.

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PROOFS OF IMMORTALITY.*

Mr. Arthur Hill, arguing from the changes in the course of a man's life, does not readily adopt the idea of "personal" immortality, but he looks for and believes that he has proof of, at any rate, a continuity of consciousness after what we call death. We may say at once that we disagree with his idea as to the changes in personality during normal life. We believe that personality does not in any way lose its individuality, though that individuality may by means of its environment ripen or attain its fullest worth during life. But it is always the same person from the moment that consciousness becomes self-consciousness. However, we do not propose to argue with Mr. Hill on this point. We are content here and now to

"think of immortality as a proximate survival of the personality past bodily death, not worrying much about more ultimate things. But the question is, Is such a survival a fact? If men

* *Psychical Investigations: Some Personally-observed Proofs of Survival*, by J. Arthur Hill. (Cassell & Co., Ltd., price 6s. net.)

die, shall they live again, and, if they do, with what body do they come? What is their experience like in their new state? Some of these questions are now answerable. Not answerable in as complete and cut-and-dried a way as some would have us believe, for it is certain that any description of a spiritual world in materialistic terms must be wrong or inadequate; but answerable at least as to the main points. The advance in psychical research during the last thirty years enables us, as it seems to me, to go as far as that, to say that personal survival is a fact, and that something—not everything—may be learnt of the surviving spirit's state and powers and interests and feelings."

Mr. Hill, as a man "of exceptionally sceptical habit of mind," stood like more faithful people in need of "personal experience." Like Thomas, he would not believe unless he saw and touched. He has obtained the "proofs" he needs by experiments

"mainly in the 'Normal Clairvoyance' department, there being a good medium not far away whom I can see occasionally. The advantages of being unknown are here absent, but my friends and I have established the fact of this medium's possession of super-normal powers by introducing friends from distant towns, quite unexpectedly, and without giving any names. Their deceased relatives and friends have in several cases been named and described as fully and correctly as my own. Also, it is a common thing for my intimate family matters to be referred to in my sittings—matters which the medium could not have learnt by any amount of outside enquiry. We were sceptical when we began the investigation, ten years ago; we are now fully convinced, all of us, that the explanation must be super-normal, and, further, that the telepathic hypothesis seems, on the whole, much less rational than the spiritistic. In fact, we do not stop at the "hypothesis" stage; we think the case is proved, so far as proof is possible."

It will be observed, as indeed is obviously necessary, that the proofs relied on by Mr. Hill entirely depend for their validity on the honesty of the medium. It is not a satisfactory position. For true intellectual satisfaction each man or woman should be his own or her own medium if, that is, we are to abandon the region of faith altogether. Mr. Hill has faith, no doubt quite rightly, in his medium. We should have thought that it was as sensible to have faith in the pronouncements of the Founder of Christianity.

We in no way wish to cast doubt on the medium employed by Mr. Hill, or, indeed, on the significance of the curious facts, if facts they are to be called, brought together as the result of various sittings with the medium. We are not convinced that these facts were communicated by persons who had passed away, but we especially guard ourselves from saying that they are not spiritually communicated. It does not, however, seem to us on the evidence here presented that the cases could not be explainable by telepathy, or by fraud. However, they satisfy Mr. Hill that "all dying people are met and helped over by friends or relatives on the other side," and that thought has comfort for many from many points of view. But to most Christians the proofs here offered are surely unnecessary. It is pleasant to learn that the "lower brute creation

passes into spirit life, same as us," to use the words of a certain spirit, "Owd Billy Matthews." To a particular type of mind and personality, these interviews with a medium undoubtedly offer a peculiar fascination. Rightly or wrongly, the belief is engendered of almost direct contact with those who have passed out of this earthly life. It is certainly natural to think that those we loved here will watch over us during our continued sojourn, and in so far as these investigations support that idea, no harm is done. But, frankly, there is a materialistic aspect to the whole business that seems contrary to religion at its purest and best; and, even if the proofs create confidence, they will hardly strengthen faith.

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ANCIENT SARDINIA.*

Mr. Bouchier has a well-earned reputation for careful and scholarly work in Roman history. His edition of Mr. Arnold's admirable volume on *Roman Provincial Administration* he has supplemented by two spacious and most useful volumes on Spain and Syria under the Roman Empire. Now he gives us a book that abounds in writing on a subject that has attracted few English scholars, Ancient Sardinia. It was "a small and poor province," and was not the fountain-head of any great religious, political, or literary movement. Yet the record teems with interest. The island was the true link between the civilisations of Northern Africa and Italy. In it Roman and Carthaginian met and mingled. It is haunted by the ghosts of Phœnician, and perhaps Cretan, Grecian, Punic, Latin life. Even to this day echoes of ancient faiths, perhaps the mutter of Punic charms, still stir the hearts of a people who are Africans in soul and stature, but Romans in tongue. The peasants to-day "are grave and sober, yet sociable and hospitable, docile, with strong family affections, and respectful, but demanding respect in turn." They are born poets, and they inherit in a degree unknown almost elsewhere in Southern Europe, if we except parts of Portugal, the traditions of prehistoric ages, traditions sometimes terrible, and happily at last extinct, such as the practice of "finishing" the dying by the hands of a class of women called *uccadore*. This was a remnant in the eighteenth century of the prehistoric practice of the killing off by the heir of the old people. Even to-day, expiatory sacrifices survive, and other extraordinary customs that belong perhaps to the earliest religious practices of the Mediterranean.

Mr. Bouchier declares, and rightly, that Sardinia merits attention,

"alike for the primitive civilisation of which the architectural and artistic remains are numerous and varied, for the flourishing Phœnician colonies which fringed the southern and western shores during several centuries, and for the proof here given of the stimulating and consolidating effect of Roman rule even amidst unpromising surroundings. Nor are the islanders themselves unworthy of study. The builders of the great fortresses and

* *Sardinia in Ancient Times*, by E. S. Bouchier, M.A. (B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, net.)

sepulchres, the designers of the quaint bronze figures, animals, and votive ships, were not mere savages. They had an invincible love of freedom, and for centuries withstood vastly superior armies, displaying a martial spirit which has again characterised the Sardinian regiments in the struggle to redeem their countrymen from Austrian oppression. Even when sold in gangs in the Roman slave-market, they maintained their fierce and unbending demeanour. In the Middle Ages their local republics were among the few examples of that type of government then in existence. Lastly, Sardinia, the only remnant of free Italy during the Napoleonic *régime*, gave its name to the kingdom which, when foreign and domestic tyrants had been expelled, was to embrace the entire nation."

Such a record is of peculiar interest to our own race, which has undergone experiences not dissimilar from those that have befallen Sardinia. The sympathy with which this book has been written makes it certain that a similar book on Ancient or Roman Britain would fit well into the series of volumes on the Roman Provinces that Mr. Bouchier is steadily producing. It is true that Professor Haverfield's volume on "the Romanisation of Britain" covers some of the ground, but, in fact, he has also written on Sardinia, and, moreover, there is room for a volume that will discuss in detail the Roman road system, the scheme of stations and defence, the imports and exports, and the method of government in its relation to the system in force before the time of the second Roman invasion.

In this volume Mr. Bouchier shows us prehistoric Sardinia with its *nuraghi* (or conical towers rising to as much as 60 feet) of African origin. "These chains of forts suggest a peculiar form of land ownership, the soil being presumably subdivided among a number of petty chiefs in close alliance with one another." This prehistoric civilisation anteceding that of Rome perhaps ended about the seventh century before our era. It was probably derived from Africa—legends and remains alike point to this—and apparently yielded to Phœnician invaders. At the end of the sixth century before our era Carthage was in possession of Southern and Western Sardinia, while the Etruscans held Corsica. At the end of the fourth century the Romans begin to settle in the island, the beginning of a policy of breaking the island-ring by which Carthage cut Rome off from the south and west. By the middle of the third century the Romans in the first Punic War overran the island, and it was in the harbour of Sulci that Hannibal fell at the hands of his own mutinous troops. The Carthaginians were driven out, but the Punic tongue (there survive about fifty inscriptions) held its own almost into our era, and perhaps never wholly died, but remains in some debased customary forms, as in the case of charms, to this day. The chapter on natural products and commerce is very interesting, but it is not always possible to tell clearly from the text whether Mr. Bouchier is writing of the produce of to-day or of two thousand years ago. We do not propose here to trace the careful and learned chapters on the details of the Roman occupation, or the fascinating account of the towns, Carales (Cagliari), Sulci, Olbia, Nora, Tharros. The book is very thorough and has not a dull page.

AN OLD SOLDIER.*

There is a peculiar pathos about these reminiscences, collected by Sir Henry Hallam Parr during his retirement, and continued by his only surviving son, a young soldier of great promise, killed in Flanders in 1914. Military biographies are seldom of general interest, but these of Sir Henry Hallam Parr are written in a fresh and vivid style, which makes them very pleasant reading. Parr was as a child in Rome in 1857—a delightful account is given of the Eternal City—and thence he went to Eton, where the dreamy, unpractical boy “wasted a great deal of time in doing nothing, and was very happy doing it.” In 1862 he passed into Sandhurst, where he learnt a great deal of useful riding and apparently little else. The system of education was not bad, but the discipline very faulty. Parr was gazetted in 1865 to the 13th Light Infantry soon after he was eighteen, and in 1867 was sent to Ireland where the treasonable propaganda, exciting the people against the Government, was as mischievous as in the late rebellion. His regiment was then sent to Gibraltar, a very favourite station, where Parr could indulge in riding and where he wisely learnt French and Spanish. In 1874 the regiment sailed for the Cape, and, after a disagreeable voyage, dropped anchor in Table Bay. The beauty of the mountains, the rich vegetation, the picturesque gabled farm-houses made a scene not to be forgotten. Here Parr was offered the post of District Staff-Officer in Natal, and later was on the staff of Sir Garnet Wolseley, serving with Pomeroy Colley, Henry Brackenbury, and William Butler—all keen on military progress.

On Sir Henry Barkly's term of office coming to an end, Sir Bartle Frere was appointed High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape, and Parr accompanied him as aide-de-camp. It is curious that one of Sir Bartle's first despatches referred to German penetration. Some picturesque incidents are recorded of the Kaffir and Zulu risings, and of the able and sympathetic rule of Sir Bartle Frere. Of the fatal day of Isandhlwana and the struggle for the Colours of Melville and Coghill, Parr gives a thrilling account, as also of Rorke's Drift. Our deplorable mismanagement and the grand mistake of recalling Sir Bartle Frere did not raise our prestige in South Africa. Parr returned to England just after the Phoenix Park murders, and a month later was sent to Alexandria as Commandant of Mounted Infantry. He took part in the different actions—wounded at Ismalia and receiving two clasps for Tamai and Taminieb—and became Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1885 he was appointed second in command and A.A.G. of the Egyptian Army. In 1888 he resigned his appointment through ill-health, and received a gratifying tribute to his work from Lord Wolseley and the Sirdar. The same year he married, and a few months after was given command of his old regiment. The next four years were very happy ones. In 1893 the regiment embarked for India, in 1895 Parr was appointed General of Ordnance, and,

* *Major-General Sir Henry Hallam Parr, K.C.B., C.M.G., Colonel, Prince Albert's Somerset Light Infantry.* Edited by Sir Charles Fortescue-Brickdale. (Fisher Unwin, 15s. net.)

later, given the Dover, Shorncliffe, and Chester commands; but broken health obliged him to retire at fifty-five, and he died after a few years of quiet, useful happiness in his beautiful country house.

C. R. DE H.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has written an interesting and lightly-touched "Memoir of Arthur John Butler" (Smith, Elder, 7s. 6d. net), the Dante scholar. Butler was born, of Welsh and Irish stock, on June 21st, 1844, at Putney, and died on February 26th, 1910. He was educated at Eton and Trinity, where he gained a Fellowship; in 1870 he was appointed an Examiner in the Education Department—an office that the author of the Memoir considers still to be a public scandal. Butler married in 1875. His prose translation of "The Purgatory" appeared in 1880 (2nd edition, 1892). It was, says Sir Frederick Pollock, "pioneer work in England." "The Paradise" followed in 1885, "The Hell" in 1892, "A Companion to Dante" in 1893, "Dante: His Times and His Work" in 1895, while "The Fore-runners of Dante" appeared posthumously in 1910 (it was reviewed in these pages). Butler gave up the Education Office in 1887. In 1898 he became the Professor of Italian Language and Literature in London University, and in 1909 the Barlow Professor in University College, London. He was a fine scholar, with a clear, good mind; his life was very happy and full of use to the world; he certainly lives in the hearts of very many devoted friends. This book is a pleasing memorial of a scholar whose memory will not readily fade.

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Mr. C. R. Ashbee, in "The American League to Enforce Peace: An English Interpretation" (George Allen & Unwin, 2s. 6d. net) writes: "I recall few more significant and dramatic moments than at the close of the afternoon of June 17th, 1915, in the intense heat of the Philadelphia summer. The delegates had dropped off one by one from sheer heat, exhausted, and the gathering was reduced to less than half its number, when the Peace-at-any-price party, who hold Peace to be an end in itself, backed by the pro-Germans of Milwaukee, brought in their amendment to cut out the word 'Enforce.' Here was Christian pacifism caught in the German militarist net. It was equivalent to wrecking the whole thing. President Lowell, of Harvard, sprang up and cried, 'Either we are here to *enforce* peace, or we are here for nothing at all!' The Chairman put the amendment, and, because extremists, especially when they are pacifists, have louder voices, the ayes had it. For a moment everything seemed lost; then the party of reason called for a count, and by only eleven votes the amendment was reversed, and the American League to Enforce Peace came into being." Mr. Ashbee has no love for the ultra-pacifist: "To repudiate the policeman while we accept his services in guarding our possessions is dishonest as well as illogical." But alas! we have these dishonest people in England, at Cambridge and elsewhere. America had no monopoly before she joined in the war. We appear to have the monopoly now. The League to Enforce Peace

s the enemy of the extreme militarists as well. These men "hold, quite honestly and rightly, that the Allies are fighting the battle of American Democracy. But, as far as they think at all, they believe in force as an end; they believe that the big stick is the last word. And though they would fight the Germans, they hold the German point of view." The business of the League is to "convert an army into a police." Mr. Lowes Dickinson in his Introduction admits that "the only way out of the vicious circle of armed anarchy seems to be to form an international agreement to refer disputes to peaceable settlement, and to back that agreement, in case of need, by such armaments as it may be necessary to maintain for that purpose."

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"A Bulwark Against Germany," by Dr. Bogumil Vosujak, late lecturer at the University of Agram (Allen & Unwin, 1917), contains the first detailed account in English of the Slovenes and their fight for existence in the past and present. The author is proud of his race, and is filled with an ardent desire to see its union with the Croats and Serbs into a powerful and prosperous Jugo-Slav State. An admirable large-scale map at the end of the volume shows the situation of this outpost, exposed to, and menaced by, the Austrian-Germans, the Magyars, and the Italians. Owing to their north-westerly position, the Slovenes form the true national, political, and economic rampart of Jugoslavdom." As they only number $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, they have had a hard struggle in the districts of Styria, Carniola, Carinthia, Gorizia, Istria, and Trieste; but their racial consciousness has never waxed faint, and the war has brought their sufferings and ideals before Europe. The author depicts an attractive picture of this little democratic community, healthy in mind and body, agricultural rather than industrial, free from the extremes of wealth and poverty, and eager for education and intellectual life. "Without an aristocracy, without an ancient nobility, without strongly-marked class distinctions, the Slovenes are a nation of self-made men in the best sense of the word." He urges the inclusion of the Slovenes in the Jugoslav State for their own sake; but he adds that the new State will profit no less. "Not unless it is permitted to include the Slovenes will it be able to enter completely into the world of Western culture, and gradually to discard the last remnants of Oriental manner and Byzantine traditions."

G. P. G.

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Mr. Robert Grant Webster, in "The Awakening of an Empire" (John Murray, 6s. net), advocates a reconstructive policy which, he claims, "will tend not only to remedy the flaring defects in our present ill-conceived, narrow-minded, and inadequate economic system, but also, it is believed, will remove numerous other evils by which our crafty competitors in the Central Empires have taken undue advantage of our haphazard policy and fatuous good nature." Mr. Webster wishes us to sweep away "laissez faire," to kill "the fetish of Free Import trade," to become as independent as possible of imported food, to secure Imperial Unity by (*inter alia*) reciprocal trading, to preserve unity with our present Allies after the war. The whole book is well meant, but intolerant, and the author is not accurate when he says of the German economic system "how much more efficiently their system has stood the supreme test of war than ours." This is simply not a fact, as any great banker—and the chief English bankers are Free Traders—will tell Mr. Webster. The astonishing fact about the book is that it includes no chapter on

educational reconstruction. All reconstruction turns on that. If we are to hold our old position, and improve it after the war, it must be done not by sulking behind our cliffs and playing with Customs duties, but by making every child, boy or girl, a fit, patriotic, highly trained, and worthy citizen. Unless we do this, no playing with economics will save us. Our only real capital is our children. These must capture the industries and markets of the world, and must develop our home industries, and, in particular, agriculture. National reconstruction in education is the first and the last word in the revival of national life after the war, yet the subject is scarcely touched in a book that purports to deal with "the awakening of an Empire." If we have a well-educated people, then we *shall* secure "a well-balanced system of interchange of commodities within the Empire and in co-operation with our Allies and friendly powers." In this connection we would draw Mr. Webster's attention to the fact that this is well recognised in the Dominions.

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The "Foreword" of the Bishop of London to Miss Sawbridge's admirable book ("The Vision and the Mission of Womanhood in the "Empire and Beyond," by Laura Helen Sawbridge; Wells, Gardner, Darton, 2s. net), emphasises its main object, the responsibility of womanhood in the great movements of the world, and woman's call to lift the Holy Grail before the men of her generation, not only in European, but in Indian and Moslem homes. To this the unity of the Empire calls them, united as we never were before in the comradeship of sacrifice and service. Women must raise the standard of purity and self-sacrifice before the world. The call from the Overseas Dominions to the daughters of the Motherland, is met in Africa by "Protected Emigration," which is proving invaluable. The harm done by drink and loose living can only be combated by religion; morals without it are powerless. The claims of India are very great, and a word of caution is wisely given for the need of more gentleness and reserve in dealing with Indian women, to whom the rough-and-ready manners of too many Englishwomen are most repugnant. A wise word of Ellice Hopkins may be quoted: "The great British Empire can only be saved by her women combining to bring back simplicity of life, reverence for marriage laws, chivalrous respect for women, and a high standard of purity for men and women alike."

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The teaching of history through sources has become very usual with history specialists in secondary schools, and though the method is looked at askance by some teachers, such as Mr. Marten, of Eton, who pleads with force in the current issue of "History" for humanistic rather than scientific teaching of history in schools, yet there is much to be said for it, especially if source and humanistic teaching is combined as it was by the late Professor Maitland. In "The Manufacture of Historical Material: An Elementary Study in the Sources of Story" (Williams & Norgate, 6s. net), Mr. J. W. Jeudwine gives us a book that shows something of the charm of "source-study." He first discusses the value of early written documents, the oral or earlier manuscripts on which they depend. "The sources of story were the same then as now. Just as at the present day, the monk

dealt with the actual undoubted fact, brought to him by a reliable informant and witness, or recorded in parchment by some former writer who had heard the story from the lips of some traveller—fact which eventually, so far as it is allowed to be told, will become history; he had, secondly, what is called news, the current rumour which is circulated from hour to hour only to be immediately contradicted.” But, as Mr. Jeudwine truly says, the monastic records did not represent public opinion of the moment, though we should add that they very often incorporated the public superstition of the moment, while they did represent what may be called race-memory, oral tradition handed down for possibly many generations. So we get the ‘poet-lawyer-historian,’ of whom Mr. Jeudwine writes fully, and traces his hand in Welsh, English, and Irish laws. The second part of the book deals usefully with our English Legal Year Books, one of our most useful late mediæval sources for the history of the people. In the third section we read of the reduction of material to writing, and of the monastic historians and the written records of laws. Lastly, Mr. Jeudwine deals with the fashion in which source-material is to be used, the troubles of the archivist, the transcriber, the student. The book will, we think, inspire many students.

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The reprint under the title of “Sea Warfare” (Macmillan, 5s. net) of Mr. Rudyard Kipling’s articles on the Naval forces of Great Britain will be read with avidity. “The Fringes of the Fleet” tell the almost miraculous story of the auxiliary ships that have dealt with the German submarines and mines. “Tales of the Trade” give the heroic record of our own submarines. It is unknown “how the title of ‘The Trade’ came to be applied to the submarine service.” It is certainly most curious title, and probably sprang from “the Lower Deck.” The third section of the book tells the story of “The Destroyers at Jutland”—a wonderful story indeed. Mr. Kipling’s book is a footnote to history that will not soon be forgotten.



SIR JOHN McDougall: AN APPRECIATION.

Sir John McDougall’s outfit for his public career was simple, yet ample; easily described, but rarely possessed. At the foundation of all he was and did lay deep sympathies and warm love for his kind, especially for the weakest and least regarded. Such were the children for whom he cared, and those who had suffered the saddest calamity of life, the dethronement of reason. At the service of his sympathy and love was bound business capacity, which enabled him to deal with affairs, and to mass his forces upon the work in hand. In addition to this, he was an optimist. He believed that the world was destined to move forward to better things. His optimism was not merely sentimental, but inspired in him a strong and unflinching determination to do all that in him lay to promote this movement towards higher and larger well-being. What was still more important, he was a man of the highest moral courage, who never shrank from taking risks, never chose the easiest course, and never allowed the influences of public life to lower or pervert his aim. Added to all this were the directness and transparency of complete selfishness and absorption in the public good. In his earlier years, and in the scanty leisure of a successful business career, his experience in the East End, especially in the care of poor and neglected children, had done much to fit him for public life. So, when the great reform of

London Government brought into operation in 1889 the new order under which we now live, Mr. McDougall became one of the first members of the London County Council. He was one of those who are now known as "the Old Guard." He took part in laying down the lines of the new administration, and helped both to create the organs and to shape the policy of wider municipal life for London as a whole. He did this, not merely for the sake of outward efficiency but in order to create and evoke a collective civic consciousness throughout our vast and separated population. Above all, his aim was to bring the whole wealth and strength of the community to improve the conditions of the poorest and least cared for parts of our great city.

Yet in the early days of this absorbing work, Mr. McDougall felt called to put the whole of his reputation and career to the hazard of moral fidelity. He did so first of all in regard to the interests of Temperance, a cause which did not then hold the position it occupies to-day. A more searching call came to him in regard to the amusements of the people. He did not go out to seek it; no true reformers do. It met him and challenged him. He felt in his inmost conscience that he could not evade it. Appointed a member of the Theatres and Music Halls Committee, he was compelled to take his part in licensing the entertainments of London, when the Council had no expert staff to guide its decisions. He refused to make himself responsible for what he knew nothing about, and therefore spent his evenings visiting the places of amusement throughout London. Then he dealt faithfully and fearlessly, both in Committee and on the Council, with the abuses he had witnessed. He aroused a hurricane of abuse, ridicule, and misrepresentation, but he persisted in what he felt to be his duty till his task was accomplished. He was too wise to imagine that men could be made moral by Act of Parliament, or by the administration of the County Council, but he recognised the duty of the community to lessen the temptations to evil which press upon the weak. He recognised also the important part which imagination plays in the matter. He knew well that, unless the moral interests of the community are upheld, all other progress will ultimately fail. Hence, he stood firm, and eventually had the satisfaction of knowing that those who were engaged in the work of providing public entertainments confessed how salutary were the changes he had brought about, and how great a burden had been taken from their shoulders by his courageous action. With the success of his high endeavour, he was enabled to resume the works of humanity which lay nearest his heart, and passed from reproach to honour, the honour paid to him both by the Council of which he became Chairman and by the King.

Thus, throughout his career, Sir John McDougall rendered a twofold service to public life and to the Christian Church; to the former by emphasising the primary claims of humanity and morality in securing the general well-being. Perhaps even more important was his service to the Church. At a time when the conception was less common than nowadays, he showed that civic is indeed Christian service. He did this, not by word, which is all too common from pulpits and platforms, but by deed, which, after all, is the one thing that counts. He did his part in enlarging the spirit, aims, and methods of practical religion. Hence, we thank God for our departed friend, as one who "endured hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ," and we draw from his example encouragement and guidance in serving the needs of the vast city to which we belong.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

